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“—FIAT JUSTITIA.—”

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THE readers of the British Review will perceive that it has passed into the hands of new Conductors. They will not, therefore, consider the declaration quite unnecessary on the part of those now responsible, that the principles of the work, its general scope and intention, have undergone no change. Upon whatever grounds they have hitherto been accustomed to give it their confidence and support, those grounds will, it is hoped and intended, remain unaltered.

One deviation from the original plan will, however, be perceived in the present number. It consists in the partial or entire omission of subjects which *can* interest only a small portion of Readers, and in the allowed predominance of that topic which most especially concerns them all. At the same time no backwardness will be shewn, either to give publicity to scientific discoveries, or to discuss the merits of any work in the whole compass of literature, which may seem to prefer a just claim to public attention.

In short, it is intended, that, as the Public have long considered the British Review to be a Literary work, of a character decidedly Religious, it shall now take the full

advantage of this understanding, by rendering to the cause of Religion, all the service of which it can be made capable. And this, without at all abandoning its station in the general field of Literature, or suffering one publication of general utility or interest, to pass unnoticed.

The effect of this alteration will be, to enable the Conductors to comprise their quarterly publication within smaller limits, and to offer it to their Readers at a proportionably lower charge than heretofore, an advantage of which they have now availed themselves.

NO. XLII. WILL BE PUBLISHED IN NOVEMBER.

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THE
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AUGUST, 1823.

ART. I.---TRAVELS IN INDIA, EGYPT, & PALESTINE.

Diary of a Tour through Southern India, Egypt, and Palestine, in the Years 1821 and 1822; By a Field Officer of Cavalry. 8vo. pp. viii. & 372. London. Hatchard. 1823.

It has always appeared to us an object of prime importance to exhibit Religion not only in her robe of state and ceremony, in which she is approached with reserve and caution, but in the ordinary attire of common life, in which the native ease and grace of her character may be studied at leisure, and her legitimate influence over the concerns of every day observed and understood. It is seldom that in a published work she can be caught in this attitude. In sermons she is teaching others, rather than acting herself; in controversy she is too frequently rather the absent subject of dispute than the present guide of the inquiry; even in biography, as the whole character of an individual, if the author be faithful, is necessarily brought out to view, there are commonly some parts of the record, in which the influence of Religion is wanting; and in professed narratives of all sorts, the impressions and sentiments of the writer, however excellent, are usually sunk in the more prominent interest, given to the incidents described.

It therefore affords us much pleasure to introduce to our readers in the present number the journal of a Christian traveller, occupied in the search of such objects, as derive their interest from the common hope, that is set before us, by whom throughout the whole volume

“ The simple form of his Diary has been preserved, with a view to the advantage it offers, of communicating to others the impressions produced on his own mind by events at the time of their oc-

curing; being sensible how apt the mind is to allow unconsciously the colouring of subsequent ideas, and altered modes of thinking to influence the narration of simple facts." (P. vii., viii.)

The field officer to whom we are indebted for this interesting work, set out on the first of December, in the year 1820, from Bangalore, the principal military station of the Madras government, to visit the ancient Syrian churches in the neighbourhood of Travancore,

"With the additional intention of inquiring into the state of the Christian missions of various denominations, now existing on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, and of learning whether the progress made in the great work of converting the native heathen to Christianity justified the pecuniary sacrifices made by the English nation to that effect; as well as whether the reports of the missionaries themselves were sufficiently accurate." (P. 3.)

He proceeded in the first instance to Madras, thence to Tranquebar and Trichinopoly, and so by Palamcottah along the coast of Travancore; whence, returning through Coimbatore and Seringapatam, he arrived at Bangalore on the twenty-ninth of March, after an absence of nearly four months. Afterwards, on the twenty-third of August in the same year, having obtained two years' leave of absence for the purpose of returning to England, he went by land to Tellicherry; whence having proceeded in a free trading ship to Bombay, he embarked on the eighteenth of November on board the *Antelope*, and arrived on the second of December at Mocha. Navigating the Red Sea to Juddah and Kosseir, he thence crossed the desert to ancient Thebes, visited Grand Cairo and a considerable part of Palestine, and was fortunate enough to fall in with Mr. Wolf at Jaffa, as the latter was hastening to Jerusalem.

In this extensive route it was obviously quite impossible for a person animated by the true spirit of Christianity, not to meet with many things that would naturally interest his best feelings, or not to make various discoveries, worthy of being communicated to the world.

At the same time the charm of this book in our eyes arises, as we have hinted before, from the light in which it presents the author himself to our notice, as a Christian traveller, pursuing Christian objects, acting on Christian principles, holding in reverence all those ordinances, which a Christian is bound to respect, and daily noting down the impressions, which passing objects and new observations made upon him, with a view to revive for himself and communicate to his private friends, feelings, otherwise evanescent and transitory. Thus we find him, suspending all his operations every week

for the rest of the sabbath, and arranging his plans with a reference to that object, if, even by encountering additional labour on the preceding days, he might be enabled to reach a spot, where that sacred season might be most profitably spent. We find him, employing that day in suitable exercises and meditations, whether he was at the time in the midst of heathens, Jews, Mahometans, or Christians, while in his daily removals from place to place, no variety of scenery, no novelty of manners, no change of society withdrew his attention from that one object, on which it seems constantly to have rested, the means by which he might advance himself in the knowledge and love of God, or by which the kingdom of Christ and the honour of his name might be most effectually extended in the world.

We are tempted here to introduce a short specimen of the thoughts, which the recurrence of a sabbath, under whatever circumstances, and in whatever society, seems constantly to have presented to his mind.

“ I remained here alone to spend the sabbath to my best ability, in the service of my God, and to the profit of my own soul. May he enable me, through the comforting influence of His gracious spirit to rejoice at being separated from the society of the world, and to pass His day, as even a poor sinful mortal may do, in spiritual communion with the innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect; with those blessed children of our Father whom we once knew on earth, and still more, in the presence of our beloved Saviour and friend.” (P. 5, 6.)

“ This place has proved to me a most unfavourable one for passing the sabbath, and indulging in the peaceful happiness of religious meditation, for it is very populous; and I have not only been subjected to continual interruption, and unable to discover a private walk, but have also been the object of much curiosity among the natives, and was followed by a crowd of them, whenever I attempted to leave my tent. Well! blessed be God! I shall enjoy hereafter a retired sabbath walk with a double relish.” (P. 26.)

“ There are few situations more favourable, humanly speaking, for the maintenance and growth of faith and trust in God, than those resulting from daily journeying through wild uncivilized countries, where the events of each day are mostly unforeseen, and dependent on many minor contingencies. We then especially remember our God, as we see, more clearly and *practically*, how dependent we are on Him, even for “ our daily bread.” We feel ourselves exposed to many troublesome though trifling difficulties, and to some more serious dangers, from which His arm can alone deliver us; and, after a time, we begin to place such a confidence in Him for help in all our troubles, that every fear ceases; and we know, experimentally, how God ever keeps that man in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on Him.” (P. 61.)

These extracts shew a mind, watchful for those opportunities, which every situation may afford, of cultivating that communion with God, for which the sabbath was especially intended upon Earth, and in which the eternal sabbath will be passed in Heaven.

The pleasure, however, arising from this contemplation, is perhaps in some measure heightened by the recollection, that the traveller, whose diary gives rise to it, is a military officer, and was therefore not governed by any professional consideration but by the principles of our common christianity in the original selection of those objects, to which his attention was directed.

There are indeed passages in his book, strictly professional : and we confess we were occasionally amused by the ease and rapidity of his transitions from speculations of a purely religious character to calculations of military prowess and measures of attack and defence. Thus after having traced some of the operations of the British and Foreign Bible Society in parts of Palestine he is led into the following, certainly not uninteresting, disquisition.

“ It is surprising to hear the universal desire expressed by all classes of people in this country, that an European Christian power should be induced to come and take possession of it. I am credibly informed, that the greater number even of the Turks themselves, wish it (those in office of course excepted) ; and that multitudes of them would embrace Christianity, *if they dared*, but they dread the vengeance of their countrymen. Their punishments, if caught, would assuredly be tremendous ; a stake would be run through each of their bodies, while alive ; and their families, women and children, shut up in a house and burnt. All seem to have an idea, probably from some confused notion of the ancient prophecies, that the Mahometan empire is to be overturned, and their religion destroyed almost immediately. Several of the natives, knowing me to be a British officer, have, on taking leave, expressed their hope of soon seeing me again with the troops of my nation. From all I have seen of these countries, and from every observation I could make of the actual weakness of the Turkish character, I should be inclined to think, that if no European power intermeddled, ten thousand British troops would suffice to conquer Egypt ; and four thousand more, with the *indubitable* assistance of the native inhabitants, would as easily take possession of all Syria, including Damascus and Aleppo.” (P. 340, 341.)

The author then proceeds without more ado

“ to point out in a loose sketch, such a general plan of operations for the conquest of Egypt and Syria, as a knowledge of the country and its inhabitants has suggested. A naval force capable of escorting and conveying fourteen thousand infantry, two thousand dismounted and four hundred mounted cavalry, with a due proportion of guns and mi-

litary stores, should rendezvous at Malta in January, and proceed from thence in three divisions; eight thousand to Alexandria, three thousand to Rosetta, and five thousand four hundred to Damietta: they should land respectively and independently, and take possession of those three places, which are incapable of presenting any serious difficulties to a regular force. The Rosetta and Alexandria divisions should then unite at Ramanieh, where the two Western branches of the Nile separate, one of them now forming the navigable canal of Alexandria; and they would thus benefit by an easy water carriage for both divisions to the point of junction. Here they should open a communication with the division at Damietta, which should then march forward, and move in a parallel column with the main division, so as to march up on both banks of the Nile to Cairo; and by means of a flotilla of boats, they would not find it difficult to assist each other in case the enemy should attempt to bring his whole force against either of them."

The field-officer next puts his invading forces in possession of Cairo, embarks them at Alexandria or Damietta, besieges Acre, secures the alliance and co-operation of Emir Beshyr, prince of Mount Lebanon, takes Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Gaza, and then concludes as follows:

"These successes obtained, the whole of Palestine Proper would be securely held, and at the disposition of the British Ministry. Every aid may be expected from the native Christians; but they must not be too implicitly relied on. The army might then march for Damascus; of which place however I know nothing personally. In all these countries the Turks keep very few troops, and those I have seen of the poorest description: many bodies of Desert Arabians would undoubtedly join them, and harass our convoys; but they are not otherwise dangerous, and would soon tire of a war, which would produce more blows than plunder. No fortress of consequence, besides those above-mentioned, exists in the Holy Land." (P. 346.)

Now our gentle readers must not too hastily imagine, that the author, whom we have hitherto introduced to them, as a peaceful Christian, though a man of war, is anxious to lead or to instigate a new crusade against the land, still profaned by the touch of Mahometans. These remarks, as we have hinted, are professional: and therefore, taking up the question, as a Christian, he says in the course of them---

"By what possible right we should attempt such a conquest, is a question not to be so readily answered, however desirable to the people themselves its probable consequences may appear. And perhaps our God may hereafter see fit to point out some other way, more apparently and openly illustrative of His Almighty Power, for the extension of the Gospel throughout those once favoured regions. All things are alike easy to Him." (P. 341, 342.)

We do indeed trust, that no facilities of conquest will ever induce our rulers to listen to the suggestions of political ag-

grandisement or national ambition, in which right, religion, and the peace of the world must be arrayed on the one side, and brute force marshalled on the other; nor will they probably omit to remember the vast difference, uniformly found, between the disaffected numbers, reported by a sanguine traveller, as ready to join a foreign standard, and those, who actually flock to it in the hour of need, or the still more fearful difference between conquering an ill-defended country, and retaining it afterwards in subjection. The time may indeed come, in the course of providence, when plans, like these, will be useful and necessary. But we much doubt the prudence and even the propriety of submitting them in a time of peace to the discussion of those whose profession is war, and whom opportunity may tempt to desire it.

We willingly turn, therefore, from this part of the work before us, and proceed to lay before our readers a few of those interesting particulars, which transpire in the narrative of a journey through provinces so full of interest to a Christian philosopher, some of them dear to memory, and others big with hope.

It may be proper to premise, that the reader must not expect from this journal any communications, likely to enlarge the boundaries of science, to gratify the curiosity of an antiquary, or to make part in the philosophical transactions of the day.

There are indeed a few curious facts, such as the following description of a singular species of husbandry, practised in Munro island, which is a piece of ground in the back-water, that lines a great part of the coast of Travancore.

“A shoal attached to the northwest extremity of the island, has been converted into a range of paddy-grounds, of a singular description. They are covered with water, which is never less than a foot in depth, and of course there is then no means of sowing them with grain; but, to remedy this, the natives sow the seed elsewhere on the island, and when the crop is about eight or ten inches high, they transplant it to these sub-marine fields, taking care to arrange the seed-time, so as to bring forward the paddy to a proper height at the period when the first rains of the monsoon have brought the freshes down from the Malabar mountains, and expelled the salt water further towards the sea. By this method, the paddy ripens before the effects of the monsoon have ceased; and the harvest is beyond all comparison richer than in any other part of the country.” (P. 86, 87.)

There are also various fragments of historical achievements connected with the events which have passed in India under British government, or in the progressive career of British conquest, which naturally present themselves in the course

of this diary. Such is the following anecdote related with a delicate expression of feeling, that leaves nothing to be desired.

“The Tritchinopoly race-course runs over the very spot of ground where the main battle, between the English and French regiments, was fought. Had the latter been victorious, a trophy would probably have marked a field of battle become sacred in their military annals: and neither the shouts of victorious, nor the curses of disappointed lovers of the turf, would have been heard over the graves of the slain. But I have often remarked, that my countrymen have little of what may be termed the *romance* of military feeling; they feel a sense of duty, and the general esteem of the country, sufficient for their desires; and seek no further excitement in the path of military glory.” (P. 47.)

The following account of an Indian village will gratify the admirers of what may be called the poetical picturesque.

“Half way from this place to Baitmungalum, is a village presenting a singular and romantic appearance; being built in the midst of huge masses of granite rock, from which the rudely formed cottages are scarcely distinguishable; and the traveller is altogether surprised at seeing a wild rocky desert suddenly peopled, and swarming with natives in all directions, eyeing him over the summits, and through the crevices of these primeval mansions. It reminded me of the poetical scene of ‘Clan Alpine’s warriors true.’” (P. 8.)

The description of an elephant carriage is also magnificent.

“We took an airing in the Rajah’s elephant carriage, which is by far the most magnificent conveyance I ever saw: the Genius of Aladdin could scarcely have done more. Its interior is a double sofa for six persons, covered with dark green velvet and gold, surmounted by an awning of cloth of gold, in the shape of two small scalloped domes, meeting over the centre, and surrounded by a richly ornamented varandah, supported by light, elegant, fluted, gilt pillars; the whole is capable of containing *sixty* persons, and is about twenty-two feet in height. It moves on four wheels; the hinder ones eight feet in diameter, with a breadth of twelve feet between them. It is drawn by six immense elephants, (with a driver on each,) harnessed to the carriage by traces, as in England, and their huge heads covered with a sort of cap, made of richly embroidered cloth. The pace at which they moved, was that of a slow trot, of about seven miles an hour; they were very steady, and the springs of the carriage particularly easy. As it is crane-necked, the elephants turned round with it on coming back with the greatest facility. The shape of the body is extremely elegant, resembling a flat scollop-shell, and painted dark green and gold. The elephants are an exact match, but, as stated, of an enormous size. The whole was constructed by native workmen, assisted by one half-caste Frenchman, under the immediate directions of the Rajah.” (P. 146, 147.)

We might here introduce a remarkable adventure with a wild elephant, or the chase of an antelope. But we omit

them for the sake of an entertaining narrative, which may serve as a lively illustration of our Saviour's words, that the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light. The scene of it is laid at Seringapettah, a village not far from Trichinopoly, celebrated for the dexterity of its thieves.

“ Some years ago, a detachment of the king's artillery, intending to halt there for the night, was advised of this propensity of the natives, and recommended to be well on their guard against it. The two officers in charge of the detachment, as well as the men, ridiculed and scorned the idea of these poor wretches, (such they seemed to be,) being able to rob the King's artillery, but took the precaution of placing sentries over all the tents, and a double one at that of the quarter guard, with orders, rendered unnecessary by the awakened pride of the sentries themselves, to be more than usually watchful. The inhabitants, through the means of the native servants, heard that their skill in thieving was set at nought, and their vanity was proportionably piqued. Next morning the officers, rising early, missed nothing, and began to exult in their security, when one of the serjeants arrived, with shame and dismay pictured on his countenance, and informed them, that the whole of the arms belonging to the main guard were missing, and that all the natives had abandoned the village. Every search, though undertaken instantly, was in vain, and the detachment was compelled to march away unarmed, and fully aware of the reception they would be likely to meet with from their corps, when their disaster became known. The manner in which this dexterous theft was achieved, long remained unknown; but many years afterwards, when the circumstance was almost forgotten, the villagers themselves voluntarily surrendered the arms to the authorities of the country, and declared they had taken them merely because their skill in thieving had been called in question; and observed, in confirmation of this, that they had not taken a single article, with the exception of the arms, which they now restored. Being asked how they had contrived to steal them from the centre of a tent, the guard sleeping around them, and two sentries outside, they gave the following account: Several of them stripped themselves naked, and oiled their bodies over, that, if caught, they might not be easily held; they then approached that part of the tent where the sentry in the rear was posted, who, as usual, was walking about twenty paces backwards and forwards. The night was dark, and the most bold and dexterous among them advanced obliquely towards the tent, creeping on his belly, lying still while the sentry was pacing towards him, and only moving on slowly and cautiously, when his back was turned. In this way he arrived at the tent, and his black body was, in the dark, invisible to the sentry. He now, with the utmost adroitness, lifted up a part of the side of the tent, having carefully removed one peg, and soon found that all the guard was asleep, relying on their double sentries. By this time the other villagers had followed their leader, and were all lying in the same posture, with the head of each touching the

feet of the one who had preceded him. In this way, the arms, being slowly removed, without the slightest noise, by the most advanced thief, were with equal caution, passed along from one to another, until the whole were secured, and the thieves retired as they came, unseen and unsuspected." (P. 41—43.)

But the interest, excited by all these, and different other anecdotes such as books of travels ordinarily furnish, is absorbed in that, awakened by the more valuable facts which are collected in this diary, respecting the present state and future prospects of our holy religion, both in that country, where patriarchs, apostles, and even our blessed Saviour himself laboured and bled, or in that more benighted land, to which we yet trust that the East India Company will be disposed to realize in its best sense the promise held out in the motto of their arms—

‘ Redit a nobis Aurora, diemque reducit.’

In remarking on any of the statements, contained in this narrative, we of course take the facts as we find them in the pages of the field officer, and leave him to vouch for their authenticity.

The first important particular, which we are desirous of citing from this pleasing volume, is the substantial confirmation which it gives to the statements of the late Dr. Buchanan concerning the Syrian churches of Travancore. It is well known to the public, how much suspicion has been cast on the representations and researches of that excellent man, by persons who have found the high opinion they had been led to form of the Syrian Christians, disappointed by the subsequent result of a personal observation. We look upon the establishment of that valuable author's veracity, as a matter of considerable moment to the Christian public; because, if he was capable of giving to the world exaggerated or embellished representations of facts, which passed immediately under his own eye, that circumstance detracts most fatally from his authority, not only as a writer on the state of Christianity, heathenism, and Mahometanism, in India, but also, as a divine, descanting on the great truths and duties of religion: for who can place confidence in the judgment of a man on matters of opinion and sentiment, who even sees and hears through the medium of a distorting imagination? We think, however, that we can sufficiently account for the impression, which has been made on the public mind concerning Dr. Buchanan, without any impeachment either of his judgment or of the veracity of others. Dr. Buchanan did certainly write with the enthusiasm of one who felt what he stated. We

should indeed pity the man, who could see all that he saw, and hear what he heard, without being moved by it, or who could address a public, capable of conferring such extensive benefits on the various classes of persons, whom he visited, Hindoos, Mahometans, and Christians of opposite and even (we are sorry to be obliged to say) of hostile churches, without giving to his statements all the strength which was necessary to their effect. Further than this we are firmly persuaded, that he has not gone. Later researches have not really falsified any fact, which he has reported, as true. Yet such was the nature of the particulars he exhibited to the public eye, such was the painfully interesting contrast between the scenes of impurity and blood, which were darkly alluded to in one part of his heart-thrilling tale, and the real though ignorant Christianity of the churches, which he brought into clearer light in another, that the imagination of his readers was roused by it, and, as always happens in such cases, easily overran the sobriety of his statements. The feelings of the public had indeed been accustomed to be moved by statements, relating to that interesting people; witness the following account of them in Cave's *Life of St. Thomas*, published about a hundred and fifty years ago, which could not fail to engage the affections of the Christian world in their favour. "From these first plantations of Christianity in the Eastern Indias by our apostle, there is said to have been a continued series and succession of Christians, hence called Saint Thomas Christians, in those parts unto this day. The Portuguese at their first arrival here found them in great numbers in several places, no less, as some tell us, than fifteen or sixteen thousand families. They are very poor, and their churches generally mean and sordid, wherein they had no images of saints, nor any representations, but that of the cross. They are governed in spirituals by a high priest, whom some make an Armenian patriarch of the sect of Nestorius, but who in truth is no other than the patriarch of Muzal, the remainder, as is probable, of the ancient Seleucia, and by some, though erroneously, styled Babylon, residing northward in the mountains, who, together with twelve cardinals, two patriarchs, and several bishops, disposes of all affairs, referring to religion; and to him all the Christians of the east yield subjection. They promiscuously admit all to the holy communion, which they receive under both kinds of bread and wine, though instead of wine, which their country affords not, making use of the juice of raisins, steeped one night in water, and then pressed forth." Such obscure sketches as these having been given from time to time of this re-

markable body of oriental Christians, surrounded by wretched idolaters, when Dr. Buchanan came forward to fill up the outline, and give body and substance to the representation, Utopian pictures were immediately drawn in the minds of all his readers, which led them to expect a state of purity, innocence, and Christian simplicity, which when investigation failed to authenticate, the mistake, according to the natural propensity of men to shift the blame of their own errors upon the shoulders of others, was attributed to an inaccuracy in Dr. Buchanan, when in fact it existed only in the excited imaginations of his readers. The following extracts will probably set this matter on the right foundation:

“ With Dr. Buchanan’s account of them in my hand, I went where he went, and sometimes where he went not; and I seize with pleasure this opportunity of offering the testimony of an individual, who, however obscure and unknown, has been an eye-witness to most of what has been asserted on this head by the first friend, and now beloved benefactor, of the neglected Syrians. He is gone to reap the fruits of his labours, from a master who is not unrighteous, that he should forget our work and labour of love; but the cause of Christianity itself requires that those who have had the opportunity of convincing themselves, should join in rescuing others from believing the imputation so readily cast on the veracity of a good Christian.” (P. 101, 102.)

“ The following extract of a letter from the truly pious and indefatigable Mr. Hough, is too valuable a testimony to the veracity of the celebrated Dr. Buchanan, not to be preserved.

“ *December 30th.—Madras.*

“ Dr. Buchanan’s account of these people has been most undeservedly depreciated. I travelled with his book in my hand; visited four of the churches which he describes; compared his descriptions with what I saw; and actually found that his language, glowing as I thought it when at a distance, did not adequately express my feelings on the spot. I would not envy the feelings of the man, who could visit a body of Christians, in the mountains and wilds of Malabar, still, notwithstanding their degenerated condition, loving and assenting to the word of God, confessing their ignorance, and desiring to be taught, with other emotions than those of Dr. Buchanan.

“ I asked several gentlemen in Travancore, whom I heard retailing the current complaints of the Doctor’s exaggerations, whether they could mention a single fact, wherein he had departed from the truth; and not one replied in the affirmative. The Missionaries felt at first, that the state of the people did not answer the expectations, which the African researches had tended to raise in their minds: but it does not necessarily follow, hence, that the pictures there given were false representations. I do not think they charge the Doctor with one inaccuracy, and verily believe they thank him for writing in the animated style he adopted.” (P. 372.)

Of the extent of Indian idolatry the author draws a painful picture.

"Thousands of Indians, passing along, on account of some great heathen festival, gave animation to the scene, and communicated a favourable idea of the amount of the population in this part of the country; but that feeling was not unaccompanied with regret, in witnessing the numbers whom the corruption of human nature, and the seductions of Satan, had brought to bow the knee at shrines and temples erected in honour of him: here and there they were so numerous, that great care was necessary to avoid hurting some by riding over them; nor could I proceed among them faster than at a walk."

We copy some remarks on visiting heathen temples, in the hope that the hints they suggest may not be lost upon our Indian travellers.

"The pagoda here is a very large one, and in great repute; and is a good specimen of what such buildings usually are. Four squares of stone walls one within another, having gateways in the centre of each wall, facing the four cardinal points, and the gateways of the second wall surmounted each with an immense pagoda-shaped tower, form the principal outline of the building. The detail is filled up with rich, but badly-executed ornaments, in the most lavish profusion, and designed to express several imaginary adventures and attributes of the silly god to whom the whole is dedicated. Who this one was, I did not trouble myself to inquire. His shrine is in the centre of the whole, and a brahmin offered to conduct me to it, if I chose to pay for admission; this I declined, being aware that they consider the money so paid as an offering in honour of their god." (P. 26, 27.)

"I know not how far a Christian can be justified in going, for the mere purpose of gratifying his curiosity, to visit the temple of a miserable idol, when that visit is given out by the brahmins, (and unquestionably regarded by the natives) to be made as a mark of respect to the idol itself." (P. 50.)

One feature in our Indian policy is brought forward in this volume, and deserves public attention. We certainly do not advocate the policy, recommended by Mr. Kolhoff's pupil,

"That most places of favour and emolument under the British government should be given to none but Christians;" (P. 35, 36.)

nor would we have Christianity guarded by any civil immunities and political privileges. But neither do we see either justice, decorum, or piety in repressing it by disabilities. Yet our author tells us,

"A very respectable native, principal interpreter to the judicial and revenue departments, who is a disciple of Swartz, and, as far as I could judge, a sincere Christian, called upon me, and spent about an hour in conversation. I had often heard before, that the civil servants of the Honourable Company shew rather a marked repugnance to the employment of Christian natives in their offices, and

what I learned from this man confirms it; though his strong respect for his employers always weakened and diminished, what truth would else have compelled him to admit. I have since found, in the official Madras regulations, a paragraph on the subject, shewing that no Christian is eligible to the important situation of District Moonsif, or Judge." (P. 36, 37.)

The regulation itself is as follows:

"The Zillah Judges shall recommend to the provincial courts, the persons whom they may deem fit for the office of district moonsif, but no person shall be authorized to officiate as a district moonsif, without the previous sanction of the provincial court, nor *unless he be of the Hindoo or Mahometan persuasion.*" (P. 371.)

Much may undoubtedly be said for the equity of placing the natives under the government of judges of their own nation. The East India Company deserve all credit on that score. But why the conversion of a native should disqualify him for such an office in the eye of a British government, even if notwithstanding his Christianity he should be approved by the natives, is hard to reconcile with a real regard for their best interests, however it may be recommended by that specious liberality, which prefers men's prejudices to their welfare.

Yet this is not all. We must be allowed to extract an account of the exactions and cruelties to which Christians, because they are Christians, are subject even under British protection. The district in which the occurrence, which we are going to mention, took place, is Travancore.

"During the able and vigorous government of Colonel Munro, who was, *in fact*, the Ranee's Prime Minister, and thoroughly acquainted with the country and its inhabitants, this Duan, who is a Mahratta Brahmin, named Vencataray, was a valuable servant to the Ranee, as he dared not risk the commission of acts of oppression, through fear of discovery. At that period, in order probably to pay his court, indirectly, to Colonel Munro, he sent a letter to the Missionaries, (still I believe in their possession,) with a list of *three hundred* vacant places, of more or less trust, under government, and requested them to name Syrians, who might be appointed to them. The list was returned filled, as had been desired, and the Syrians were appointed. No sooner, however, had Colonel Munro left the country, than they were all deprived of their situations, without any reason being assigned, except eight; and those eight were retained as *treasurers and cash-keepers*, because it was difficult to find others equally trust-worthy. The inferior officers of the Travancore Government, judging from these proceedings, that they might now harrass and insult the Christians with impunity, exercised cruelties towards them, a detail of which is

scarcely credible; under an administration, in which an English officer enjoyed sufficient influence to have prevented them altogether, had he chosen to exert it. The following are a few of the vexations, which I heard from them, and took pains to verify in the best manner I could. Though my means of information were certainly much limited, and of an *ex-parte* nature, yet I have reason, on the whole, to believe that there is no great exaggeration or inaccuracy. Their heathen neighbours forced them to work without payment, not only on Sundays, but also at the repairs of heathen pagodas. They blocked up the roads to their Churches; namely, among others, to that of Carancherry:—they refused to sell them salt at any price:—justice was invariably denied them on all occasions: and in numerous instances they were put to the torture. Of this last, one refined species I never remember to have met with an account of in any other country. An inferior officer of the Raneé, seized a Christian native of Cotyam, with a view to extract money from him, and with no other pretence than a mere arbitrary demand. As the Syrian refused to pay the sum required, the officer and his colleagues, by main force, so crossed his legs, one within another, over and under the upper part of the thighs; that when the poor sufferer was overcome by the excruciating torment of the position, the aid of a strong lever was necessary to disengage them. The Missionaries, very properly thinking that any interference of theirs in matters not belonging to their immediate pursuits, was unadvisable, long refused to take any steps; but as these cruelties continued, and their silence began to be construed into indifference towards the sufferings of their poor brethren, they at last were prevailed on to forward an account of these things to the then Resident. The Resident, in compliance we should hope with his general instructions, though a violation of them in this instance would hardly have been disapproved, merely referred the complaint to the Duan; to him who was himself at the bottom of the whole business, and whose natural Brahminical hatred of the Christian name, and eagerness to acquire wealth by any means, had been augmented to a high pitch by the moderation and restraint he had been compelled to practise, while under the eye of Colonel Munro. I scarcely need add, that the oppressions continue *to this day*, unpunished and unabated." (P. 73—75.)

The sheep complained to the dog, appointed to guard them; and he referred their complaints to the wolf.

"They are sadly oppressed by the Travancore government, and by their idolatrous neighbours, since the departure of Colonel Munro. It strikes me, that perhaps that good man shewed them too much favor: more than in justice and prudence he ought to have done; and their present miseries are the natural consequences of a re-action. For their former prosperous state must have excited the jealousy of the heathen, who are now furnished with ample means, and actual encouragement for gratifying its dictates." (P. 103, 104.)

This explanation however is no adequate defence. The conduct of a retired metropolitan is a further illustration of

the extent of the persecution to which that oppressed people are subject.

“ This aged Metropolitan has built the house in which he resides, within the Honourable Company’s territory, in order, by becoming a British subject, to escape the continued insults and persecutions of the inferior officers of the Travancore Government. The line of demarcation in this part, is a small rivulet, which flows close under the Metropolitan’s garden, so that he enjoys the vicinity of his countrymen, by whom he is revered as a saint, and is no longer subject to the same oppressions under which they are labouring.” (P. 113.)

We have been induced to transcribe these passages at length, because we feel, that they cannot be too generally known, till the evils they detail have been corrected; and then (we would add) they cannot be too soon forgotten. Surely it becomes a Christian government to extend a more liberal protection to the professors of their own faith, and partners of the same hope with themselves, and at least not to furnish an argument against their own sincerity to the enemies of our holy religion by their indifference to the welfare of those who embrace it.

That there are native Christians in British India, worthy of the name, and consequently entitled not only to the protection, but to the respect and favorable regard of their superiors, and that not in Travancore alone, but in other parts of the Peninsula, may be exemplified in this exhibition of the liberal spirit of Christianity by a native boy at Tranquebar, which we copy from our author.

“ He had lately been undertaking a journey, to defray the expences of which his uncle had presented him with a * pagoda; but being already possessed of † five fanams, he contrived to subsist on that, and expended the pagoda in the purchase of a Tamul bible. (P. 29.)

“ The boy, having been sent on a journey by his master, on arriving at a ‡ Choultry took out his Tamul bible, and began to read to himself. Ashamed of the false shame which prevented his reading aloud, he began to do so; and soon after an old man entered the Choultry, and the scene passed which is detailed in Ayavoo’s letter, in a style and language far more interesting than any account I could offer.” (P. 30.)

The boy read to his aged companion, prayed with him, and, finding that he valued the book, presented it to him

“ In a spirit of Christian charity which can only be fully appreciated by those who are acquainted with the natural selfishness of the

* Eight shillings.

† About one shilling.

‡ An open public building, erected on the road-side for the convenience of travellers.

poor heathens, and the sacrifice which, as a boy, Ayavoo had made to obtain it. He will not remain long without procuring another." (P. 30.)

But this is no solitary, insulated fact, at variance with the general strain of the author's observations.

"I have become acquainted," (says the traveller,) "with that which is quite sufficient to convince me that those pious men, who bestow labour and money on the maintenance of missions among the heathen, neither labour nor spend in vain. The harvest may be delayed, but it will come, and the sower shall reap the fruits of his seed." (P. 33.)

"The general result of my inquiries is the all-but-formed conviction, that there are, in this remote and almost unknown corner of the world, (he is speaking now of the Malabar coast,) between sixty and seventy thousand souls ready to receive the Gospel, as soon as it shall be preached among them unfettered by an unknown and obsolete tongue." (P. 115.)

Indeed the great want of the scriptures for circulation in the vernacular languages spoken by Christians in India, notwithstanding all the efforts of societies and missionaries, is attested by many facts. In the Tinevelly country, Messrs. Rhenius and Schmidt

"Discovered a considerable number of self-called Christian congregations, some Catholic and some Protestant, but most of them plunged in deplorable ignorance. However, they evinced much gratitude for the visit of the Missionaries; and so eagerly accepted a few books and tracts in their native language, that Mr. Rhenius regretted he had not brought more with him. One poor boy, in particular, after having several times, in vain, solicited a book, as the Missionaries were obliged to be somewhat sparing, brought them, as his only means of purchase, a little paper full of sugar; and it was probably the sum of his earthly possessions, as the natives in those parts are wretchedly poor, and subsist entirely on the scanty produce of the palmyra tree." (P. 53.)

Our traveller's report of the state of the schools in the south of India, is not very flattering. They labour of course, under many difficulties; and the frequency of Hindoo feasts in their neighbourhood, is a great interruption to them, especially in respect to the regularity of attendance. Yet at Nagracoil, he gives this account of the principal Tamul School, supported by the London Missionary Society.

"I asked the senior boys a great number of questions on Scripture doctrines and history; and the answers evinced decidedly a more thorough knowledge of Scripture, than I had found in any of the Schools I had previously visited. On one or two occasions, I was quite astonished at their answers. Such a state of improvement, is highly creditable to their instructors, and has been

produced, they think, by the habit of passing much time in daily questioning them as to the meaning of all they read. I asked one little boy, of eleven years old, whether he ever prayed to God, independently of the form of prayer which had been taught him? He replied, that he did sometimes; and when further questioned, as to what he prayed for? his answer was literally thus: 'My sins are as numberless as the * sands, and so I pray to God to take them from me by the power of His Holy Spirit.'" (P. 57—58.)

At Cotyam he says :---

"The College has two stories, and a useful, though very small library, provided chiefly at the expence of the Church Missionary Society. There are at present, fourteen students, destined for the sacred ministry, besides a considerable number of boys, selected from the Church Schools, and sent here to finish their education. The whole is yet in it's infancy, having been but fifteen months in action; but I have seldom seen a better promise of future success than it presents, from three principal causes: The affection which the young men and boys evince towards their instructor; their strongly expressed desire of learning; and his capability of filling the situation, in which he takes the warmest interest. Of the most intelligent and promising of the young men, named Marcus, I shall probably have occasion to say more hereafter: to-day I saw but little of him, except during his examination in the rudiments of the Latin grammar. As far as he had advanced in it, he was well informed." (P, 71, 72.)

"He is about eighteen years of age, of a lively and strikingly intelligent countenance, and easy gentle manners, though somewhat high spirited: already thoroughly acquainted with the Sacred Writings, and thirsting after knowledge, he has also made considerable progress in the English and Latin tongues, and is quite master of Syriac and Malayalim. His attachment to Mr. Fenn is like that of a son to a father; and every look and action betray it to the least attentive observer. But that which is far more important, is, that his progress in Christian knowledge and conduct, give every reason to hope he is becoming a sincere believer and partaker of the blessings of vital religion. He is indeed the subject of many fervent prayers, for all who know him love him; and I humbly trust it will please our Heavenly Father so to pour out His Holy Spirit upon him, that he may hereafter become a main instrument in restoring to his countrymen the light and consolations of the Gospel of Christ." (P. 114.)

But of the difficulties in the way of these Institutions, more especially as they regard the native females, some estimate may be formed from the statement, which we next subjoin.

"A Girl's School has been commenced, under the superintendence of the Missionaries' wives, but with little success at present; in fact, the morals of the natives are so depraved, that they suspect even the Missionaries of improper motives in desiring to form them; and it

* Nagracoil is not far from the sea shore.

will be only a long residence among them, that can ever, humanly speaking, remove the prejudice. (P. 58.)

"I did not leave Aleppie till half-past ten, having been to visit Mr. Norton's Schools. They have not made the progress which might have been expected, as he experiences considerable difficulty in inducing the natives to send their children, from a report, which the Roman Catholics of the neighbourhood have sedulously spread, that he means to send them, when educated, off to England; and nothing is too absurd or improbable to be credited among these poor people, especially when it accords with their own ideas and prejudices." (P. 64, 65.)

In a field of labour so extensive, and presenting so many obstacles to the moral culture, bestowed on it, the proceedings of the Travancore Missionaries, and the sort of intercourse which subsists between them, and the highest authorities in the Syrian church, are too promising, and (we may say) too beautiful, to be passed over in silence.

"In the valley was the Syrian College. I landed about half a mile from Mr. Fenn's house, and proceeded towards it on foot; but before I entered his grounds, he came himself to meet me, and gave me a Christian welcome. He, with Messrs. Bailey and Baker, are Clergymen of the Church of England, sent out by its peculiar Missionary Society, to the Syrians at Malabar. (P. 66.)

"They have at Mr. Fenn's suggestion, each taken a separate line of usefulness. Mr. Fenn superintends the College and its concerns; Mr. Baker the Schools; and Mr. Bailey translates, preaches, and visits the Churches. By this excellent regulation, each becomes better master of the business in his own appointed line: no one interferes with another's pursuits; and all things are conducted with unbroken harmony. They speak in high terms of the Metropolitan's humility and plain good sense: and they have hopes that the work of Divine Grace is really begun in his heart: particularly since they have reason to believe, that he does not neglect the important work of *private* prayer, a part of religious duty which appears to have fallen into almost general and total disuse among the Syrians. Whenever the Missionaries express a wish, he gladly accedes to it, as far as he is able; but this they seldom do in a direct manner, as their object is rather to let improvements spring from their suggestions, acting on the gradually increasing light of his own mind. Some few ameliorations have been already effected, and among them, one very important one; namely, the marriage of a large body of the Catanars. In these improvements, the Metran modestly declines any share of merit; openly attributing all to the friendly counsel of the Missionaries, and acknowledging his own sad ignorance, and earnest desire of further light and instruction. He personally resides in the College; and every evening regularly questions the students as to what they have been learning during the day.

"We met the principal Malpan of the College of Cotyam; he is an active intelligent little man, well versed, as Mr. Fenn assures me, in the scriptures. (P. 69, 70. 97.)

“He is a great advocate for the duty of frequent fasting, and does not give his unqualified assent to the measure of allowing the Catanars to marry, although he never openly opposes it; and cannot deny, that the last Bishop who visited them from Antioch, about sixty years ago, insisted on it, and actually compelled the four Malpans of his time, to take wives. He maintains that Anti-christ is not yet come; and says he is unable to discover him in the Pope, though he thinks the latter answers the description in several points, but not in all. This Malpan’s authority and influence in the Syrian Church are very considerable, as he is much respected for his talents and learning: indeed his very obstinacy is useful to the Missionaries; because, as they never even suggest any improvements without consulting him, nor adopt any without his concurrence, they are sure of never doing too much, or of advancing beyond the present light and knowledge which the Syrians possess. (P. 98, 99.)

“When the Metropolitan retired, the three Missionaries accompanied him to his palankeen, with the greatest possible respect and deference; by which, and similar means, they render him venerable in the eyes of his people, from the honour, which the notice of Europeans in this country always confers: and thus, through his influence, they will be able to introduce gradually into the Syrian Church, amendments corresponding with its gradual increase in the knowledge of the Gospel.” (P. 89.)

The improvements which have already taken place among the Syrian Christians, are thus detailed and elucidated.

“The following are the four main improvements, which have been effected with general approbation, or at least without any dislike having been openly manifested.

“1st. The marriage of the Clergy.

“2d. The removal of all images from the Churches.

“3d. The reading a portion of the Scriptures every Sunday, in Malayalim.

“4th. The opening of Schools, attached to most of the Churches.

“These reforms may be safely considered as general in spirit, although in fact, from the remoteness of some of the Churches, and the short space of time which has elapsed since the reform commenced, they cannot be yet said to be in universal operation: in a very few more months, with God’s blessing, I have no doubt they will be entirely so. Among partial amendments may be reckoned, a decreasing estimation, in the eyes of the principal clergy, of pomp and ceremony: a desire, openly manifested, to study the scriptures: an humble acknowledgment of the dreadful state of ignorance in which they are plunged: gratitude towards those who are assisting in rescuing them from it: and a greater regard to cleanliness and decency of apparel. Since all this has been effected, through the Divine permission, in the short space of four years, (when Mr. Bailey, the first Missionary, settled among them,) can we doubt, I would say it with humble rever-

ence, but that it seems to be our God's good pleasure, that this once flourishing Church should be restored? (P. 99.)

"When the Syrian Divine Service of the day was over, in which, for the first time, the *prayers*, as well as the portions of scripture, were read in the Malayalim tongue, Mr. Bailey went through a part of the English Liturgy in the same language; and then preached a short sermon to them, on the 9th verse of the 4th chapter of the First Epistle of St. John. During the sermon, contrary to their usual custom, they were all attention, and crowded one upon another, in order to get nearer to the Preacher. The Catanars appeared particularly struck, as much with the novelty, as with the interest of the scene: for this was the first sermon they had ever heard, it not being the custom among them to preach. But Mr. Bailey has exhorted them to commence; and I trust, *in time*, they will: as yet, most of them are too ignorant themselves of the scriptures to do so. (P. 82, 83.)

"It was very remarkable, how different the attention of the people was during the few prayers which were yet recited in the ancient Syriac.

"Several of the Syrians called on Mr. Bailey in the afternoon; and one or two of them entering on the subject of his sermon, recapitulated to him the whole scope of it: and observed, how much happier their brethren at Cotyam were, who would have such frequent opportunities of hearing him preach." (P. 84, 85.)

The courteous and simple visit of the Metropolitan to the Missionaries, and the contrast between his robes of state and his ordinary accommodations, may possibly excite a smile, but certainly not a contemptuous one.

"The Metropolitan came to us in state; which he had kindly consented to do, in order to afford me the gratification of seeing him in his pontifical robes. He wears a mitre on these occasions, and the pastoral crook, or crozier, is carried before him. The latter is of a very ancient form, having the top ornamented with gold, and the staff made of polished black wood, with a stripe of silver descending spirally from the top to the bottom. After a short time, he took off most of his robes, and kept on only the usual one, of crimson silk. (P. 88.)

"We then visited the Metropolitan; and it was not without some emotion of sorrow, that I finally quitted this venerable man. He received me as before, in his little bed-room, the furniture of which consisted simply of a bed, three chairs, and a very small table, a wooden chest, and a brass lamp; from the canopy of his bed, some dresses of ceremony were hanging on a cord, and a very few books lay on the chest opposite one small window. Besides this little room, he has one other, not much larger, which is nearly empty. Such I pictured to myself the abode of an Archbishop in the primitive ages of the Church, before the progress of society and civilization had effected a corresponding change." (P. 90, 91.)

Our traveller met also with the Abbe Dubois, and Dr.

Prendergast, the Romish Missionaries. But though his account of them is in many respects pleasing, although the former denounces the worship of images, and is friendly to the circulation of the scriptures; they do not appear either of them to be sufficiently men of the other world, to make the small number of their converts a matter of surprise. We may probably have occasion to say more concerning the Abbe hereafter.

To those, who doubt the advantage of Christianity, or the preference which is justly due to it, above all human systems, which have been compared to it, we recommend a comparison between the following description of a French revolutionary Atheist, and one, which we shall afterwards bring forward, of an infant Christian, in the agonies of a mortal disease. The first case is thus described.

“He is an unhappy native of Paris, a rank Buonapartist, and at the age of seventy-two, compelled to fly his country from the violence of his political opinions. Unacquainted with the language of Egypt, deprived of every friend, and not knowing a single individual with whom he can associate, except his * Drogman, a Corfiote Greek, who speaks Venetian Italian, and understands a few words of French; accustomed to all the elegancies and comforts with which the French capital abounds, and now little capable of sustaining hardship or exertion; this miserable old man seems condemned to spend his few remaining years far from every thing that can render life supportable, yet suffering under a terror of death amounting to agony. A professed believer in the soul’s annihilation at the death of the body, a contemner of Christianity, and a practical Atheist, he repeated to me that he ‘gloried in calling himself a perfect Frenchman.’ He confessed that his life was such a burden to him, that he should long ago himself have brought it to a close, but for his dread of death: and still he spoke with pride and delight on the superiority of man’s natural reason over ‘the absurd and fabulous delusions’ of revealed religion.” (P. 229.)

With this melancholy account of an unhappy exile, who rejects, as poison, the only true comfort which belongs to his condition, we will now contrast the closing scene of a child six years old, the only son of his parents, who underwent the distressing and hopeless miseries of hydrophobia.

“During sufferings, which I have rarely seen equalled in a man, and never before in a child, John only once permitted a word of complaint, and it was but a slight one, to escape his lips. He said, “It is very sore to die.” In the moments of intermission from acute pain, he sometimes begged his mother to read to him out of a little book containing stories from the Bible; at other times he wished her to sing some of his favourite hymns; his poor mother being, as may be sup-

* Interpreter.

posed in such circumstances, quite incapable of singing, now and then repeated to him the words of a hymn, to which he listened with evident pleasure.

When sorrow overcame her, and tears flowed down her cheeks, he would say, "Don't cry, dear mamma, I am quite happy;" but when the sacred spirit of a Christian silenced in her for a moment the anguish of a mother, and she once asked him, "whether he did not know that he had often been a great sinner in the pure eyes of Almighty God?" "Oh yes, mamma," said the little sufferer; "but Jesus Christ died on the Cross for me." "But Johnny," she added, "do you feel sure you shall go to Heaven?" "Yes mamma; and when I am a little angel, I will fly behind you, and take care of you."

The mother could bear no more, and few who were present were able to restrain their tears. At the time when his paroxysms were most violent, he would never suffer his mother to come near him, lest, as in his momentary madness he snapped at every thing within his reach, he might chance to bite even her. He never would confess to her that he was in pain, but always maintained he was "quite willing to go to Heaven." By degrees nature, exhausted with suffering and agony, began to grow feebler and feebler, and the spasms were proportionably less violent; but his ideas wandered, and after two hours unquiet yet lethargic slumber, his sweet soul, without any apparent pain or struggle, left its earthly prison, and flew to join the ransomed thousands of those innocents whom Jesus loved, and to chant with them the "New Song" of the Redeemed of the Lamb.

"It was about ten o'clock at night that he ceased to breathe; and to my astonishment, no mark of the agonies he had endured was visible on his lovely and placid countenance—it was beautiful even in death. The corpse, having been washed, and dressed in a long white robe, was laid out in the bed in which he usually slept; and the attachment of the poor Hindoos covered it, on the following morning, with sweet fresh flowers. Scarcely a word was spoken, which had not some reference to the virtues of this pious and amiable child. His little sister told us a thing, of which his father even was as ignorant as we were, of no common nature. For a long time past, every Sunday on returning from church, he was accustomed to seek out a retired corner of the house, where no eye could see him but that of his heavenly Father, and there pour out his little soul in earnest prayer. We learned from his father, that whenever he had any pocket money, he made two equal divisions of it; one part was placed in his father's hands for the support of the Bible and Church Missionary Societies, and with the other he used to visit the huts of the poorer natives, and relieve their wants as far his means would extend.

"Such was John S. at the age of six years and a half, for he was no more when he died! His funeral was attended by the General, and most of the officers of the garrison, who knew and loved him young as he was; but that which stamped on the melancholy procession a more peculiar interest, was the number of poor natives, who accompanied it in tears, and who, at the moment of committing the corpse to its last

earthly home, pressed forward to throw each his little handful of earth on the coffin, which held all that now remained of him who once enjoyed among them the blessed title of 'The poor man's friend.'

"A small monument has since been erected to his memory, where, on a tablet of white marble, are simply recorded his name, age, and death; together with the words of Him, who, in the days of his sorrow, loved to take little children in his arms and bless them, saying, 'Of such is the kingdom of Heaven.'" (P. 13—16.)

In connexion with the preceding narrative, though (we trust) the bereft parents have long ceased to mourn the departure of an infant, who was unquestionably an heir of glory, we feel impelled by a sense of humanity to recal public attention to an extraordinary cure of hydrophobia, which occurred in the native hospital at Calcutta in 1812. From a patient under the aggravated symptoms of that disease forty ounces of blood were taken, which produced immediate relief. The rabid symptoms re-appearing in about two hours, blood was again let, till he fainted, which happened after eight ounces were taken. After the second bleeding the disorder did not return. But considerable quantities of calomel and opium were administered; and he was discharged in a fortnight. We believe that two other instances have occurred of similar treatment with equal success, though in one of them no mercury was administered. It is also stated, that a physician at Padua in 1816 cured a patient by making him swallow a pound of vinegar in the morning, another at noon, and a third at night.

Our author met in the course of his travels with one of those proofs of the debasing influence of the slave trade on all, who are any way concerned in it, which ought to stimulate our efforts, and animate our perseverance, till the legal abolition of that nefarious traffic shall become universally effectual. At Cairo he says,

"We also went to see the market for black slaves, than which I never beheld a scene of more consummate filth, misery, and degradation. Men, women, and children, covered with every species of dirt, many of them *totally* naked, are huddled together, and crowded almost to suffocation, in dark and dismal cells under ground, which are never cleaned, and have no outlet except the strong gates opening on the slave bazar. From these dungeons they are brought forth for sale, like articles of merchandise, to every passing customer: and, to complete the scene, most of the purchasers who came there while I was on the spot were well dressed females, with their faces veiled as usual. Is it not a remarkable contradiction, that they who consider it a deep offence to the modesty of their sex, should a man at any time chance to see their face, can yet become so reconciled by habit to the sight of slaves, in the state I have described, as to consider that sight not only tole-

nable, but as being also not at all unbecoming their own sex and condition?" (P. 244.)

Our readers will naturally wish to accompany the author in his tour through Palestine, and to trace his feelings in walking upon that ground, the very touch of which must awaken recollections, eminently sacred.

Sed fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus,
Singula dum, capti, circumvectamur, amore.

We therefore restrain ourselves, and will do little more than quote the rule, which he has prescribed for himself, in attempting to draw the line between childish credulity and unfeeling scepticism, in a place where Superstition has been above all others fertile in invention.

"I will not allow myself to disbelieve those accounts of *places*, which on closely consulting the Bible as my *only* guide, I have reason to think *may* be true; and I will decidedly reject every history of them as fabulous, to which the Bible makes no allusion." (P. 290.)

The particulars which are detailed to a traveller in this which may be called the classic region of piety, are indeed minute *usque ad fastidium*. Very different from these juggling trifles is the combination of interesting names and circumstances, in the following account of Cana and its neighbourhood.

"Before entering the village from Nazareth, and a little to the right of the road, is a fig tree, which marks a spot where our Saviour is reported frequently to have sat in retirement with his disciples, expounding to them his doctrines, and teaching his gospel. From it there is a pleasing view of Cana, and the valley below. Close to the village is another tree planted, where Jesus at the marriage feast changed the water into wine. It is singular, that though there are now no Christians in the village, all the marriages are celebrated under this tree, in commemoration of the miracle just mentioned. Not far from the tree is a beautiful well of ancient structure; and as it is the only one in the vicinity, it is not improbable that it really is, what tradition calls it, the self-same well, whence the water was borne to 'the governor of the feast.' I saw with pleasure several 'waterpots' of an antique shape, with which the Arab women come to fetch water: they are of brown clay, and about two feet high; small at the bottom, with a narrow neck and a wide mouth; there are two circular handles fixed to the neck. Our route continued to lead us through a country generally mountainous; and when we were within five miles of Tiberias, we visited the spot where our Saviour is said to have delivered his 'Sermon on the Mount.' There is a granite rock rising four feet above the summit of a sloping hill, against which tradition asserts that He leaned his back as He spoke. If it be true, He must have faced the North, with ancient Bethulia towering on an opposite mountain; and to the East He commanded a beautiful prospect of the Galilean sea, and the mountains which environ it. From the West and South, the ground

descends as far as the rock, with so gentle an inclination as to be almost a plain; and there is ‘much grass in the place;’ so much so, that it is to the neighbourhood of this very spot that the modern Pachas of Acre annually send their horses to graze. The place pointed out as the scene where the ‘five thousand’ were miraculously fed, is only a few yards further on towards Tiberias.” (P. 292—294.)

The simple devotion which breathes through the following sentence, is a beautiful contrast to the mummery of Romish and Greek, as well as Mahometan pilgrimages.

“I have knelt down and kissed the spot where He once lay, and *that*, where I hope my sins are for ever laid the foot of His Cross! The places were indeed there, but all around was confusion. Greeks, Armenians and Roman Catholics, all singing their masses in the same Church, at the same moment: Turks walking among them, and eyeing all with supercilious derision: hundreds of poor ignorant Christians assisting at their several rites, some, I should hope, with that humble heart, and spark of true faith, which a merciful and gracious Saviour will not disdain.” (P. 315.)

As nothing is added in this tour or sought to be added to our topographical acquaintance with these consecrated spots, we content ourselves with the foregoing specimens of the feeling, with which they were visited, and close our quotation with the very gratifying account of the meeting between the field-officer and Mr. Wolf, to which we have already alluded.

“After a long privation of the blessings of real Christian communion and conversation, I have to thank my God for the valued privilege of meeting here with a Christian friend, whose history and character demand a more than common interest. Born a Jew, and brought up in the religion of his fathers, it has pleased the Almighty to single him out as a monument of mercy from the thousands of his perishing nation. He has embraced from the heart the truths of Christianity, and is now a zealous Ambassador from Heaven to beseech mankind that they would be reconciled to their offended God. His name is the Rev. Joseph Wolf. *He* is going to Jerusalem, and *I* am coming from it: *he* arrived by sea, and *I* by land; and we have met together, without any previous concert or knowledge of each other, on the same day, in the same city, and at the house of Simon the Tanner! And how truly precious a day I have passed in his society! We remained together during the whole of it, and slept in the same room at night. So many uninterrupted hours of conversation fully developed before me a character, which is in itself thoroughly open and undisguised. I found him a child in the world, but a giant in the cause of his God. He is going as a sheep among wolves; but the Great Shepherd of Israel will neither slumber nor sleep. He is going alone, but it is with a firm reliance on that Arm, which can alone protect him, to preach the Gospel of Jesus. There is something in his mere pronounciation of the *name* of his Saviour; something which be-

speaks a mind more tenderly alive to the value of the sacrifice made for him; something which denotes a more peculiar personal appropriation of the Messiah to him, as being a Jew, than ordinary Christians appear to feel. He never utters the name of *Jesus*, without seeming to imply, in voice and manner, that his heart whispers at the same time, from its inmost core, "*Jesus is mine.*" (P. 330—332.)

May the labours of this zealous missionary and of his coadjutors be abundantly blessed in awakening attention among the members of the Jewish synagogue to the proofs, that he, whom their fathers crucified in that very spot, was their own Messiah! Of the preparation which the minds of many in that remarkable nation are undergoing for the eventual reception of the gospel among them, the following authentic account of one of the Jews of Cochin, affords an acceptable specimen.

"Moses Azarphati, an eminent Jew, met us, and conducted us immediately, at our request, to a Synagogue, in which, it being Saturday, the principal Jews were assembled to hear the law of Moses." (P. 92.)

"I had a long and interesting conversation with Moses, in the Portuguese language, of which, fortunately, he understood a little. The sum of what he told me was, that the Jews, those at least who had studied the Sacred Writings, all agreed, that the 53rd chapter of Isaiah related to the Messiah; that the accounts given of Jesus of Nazareth, exactly correspond with the description of him given therein; but that there is one material point, in which he fails; which is, that, having publicly declared He came to fulfil the law of Moses, He nevertheless permitted his followers to dispense with the rite of circumcision, and to change the day of the Sabbath;—acts which positively violated the law of Moses; and such, therefore, as the true Messiah would never have allowed. This was, he said, the common opinion of the Jews; but he admitted that, for his own part, the undeniable conformity of Jesus to the predicted Messiah, the long and dreadful dispersion and sufferings of the Jews, and the present returning kindness of the nations towards them, in seeming conformity with the time pointed out in the prophecies of the 1260 days: all combined to throw his mind into an indescribable state of ferment. He *almost* believed—but then the unaccountable change of the most holy Sabbath-day! He allowed the total confusion of tribes, so that, if Messiah were yet to come, He could not be known to be of the tribe of Judah, unless by a miracle. Still, he thought, God would perhaps vouchsafe a miracle to restore the identity of families and tribes; and that this was a general belief among his brethren. He says he has read the New Testament with attention, and thinks it a most excellent work: but if its accounts had been true, how was it possible that so many thousands of Israelites, living witnesses of the miracles therein related, could yet refuse to believe, and even punish the supposed Messiah with death? I have purposely abstained from recapitulating the arguments usually employed against what Moses Azarphati advanced, as they are well known to every Christian of common intelligence, who has at all studied the grounds

of his own belief; but I thought it might not be uninteresting to know from the fountain head, what the Jews think and say for themselves; and Moses is really a fair specimen of the most liberal among them; being also a man of considerable natural abilities, improved by study, and free from violent prejudices. Before he left me, he presented me with a printed Hebrew almanac, and some manuscripts in Hebrew, of a trifling nature; one of which, however, kindly written by himself on purpose for me, contains an account of all that is known concerning the settlement and subsequent history of the Jews at Cochin. On shaking hands with him, I told him I should earnestly pray that God would enlighten his mind, so that he might see the truth: he squeezed my hand with warmth, and said he sincerely hoped it might be so." (P. 108—110.)

The simultaneous abatement of those prejudices against Christianity, which had long prevailed with the force of a second nature in the breasts of Jews and heathens in various parts of the world, coupled with the present expectations of both Jews and Mahometans, forms together one of the most awakening signs of the times, and affords the highest encouragement to those efforts of the Christian church, which, however feebly concerted and weakly supported, must continue to increase and to prevail till the day, when it shall be seen through the blessing of him, who refuses not to reward a cup of cold water, given in the name of a disciple, that no pious endeavour of any Christian missionary has ever been made in vain.

ART. II.—THE DISMISSAL OF CURATES.

A Charge, delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, at the Visitation in July, 1822. By William, Lord Bishop of London. 4to. London, Rivingtons, Payne and Foss, and Hatchard. Oxford, Parker. pp. 22.

With a Preface, by the Rev. Rowland Hill, A. M. A Candid Appeal to the religious Public, in a Letter, addressed to the Inhabitants of the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire, occasioned by the dismissal of the Rev. Isaac Bridgman, A. B. of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, from the Curacy of Trinity Church, in the said Forest. 8vo. London, Westley. 1823. pp. 52.

A Reply to a Candid Appeal to the religious Public, occasioned by the Dismissal of the Rev. Isaac Bridgman, A. B. from the Curacy of Trinity Church, in the Forest of Dean. By the Rev. Henry Berkin, A. M. perpetual Curate of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire. 8vo. London, Hatchard and Son, Seeley and Son. 1823. pp. 53.

Remarks on the Reply of the Rev. H. Berkin, A. M. to a Candid Appeal to the religious Public, occasioned by the Dismissal of the Rev. Isaac Bridgman, A. B. from the Curacy of Trinity Church, in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire. By the Rev. Isaac Bridgman, A. B. *With a Preface by the Rev. Rowland Hill, A. M.* London, Westley. Gloucester, Lea. Cheltenham, Robinson. Bristol, Wood. 1823. 8vo. pp. viii & 24.

THE case, to which the last three pamphlets at the head of this article relate, is a truly distressing one. We regret that it has been brought forward. But, as an appeal has, in point of fact, been made upon it to the British public, it becomes our duty to draw from it all the instruction which it is calculated to convey. As we have now before us both the Appeal, the Reply, and the rejoinder, we presume we are in possession of all the important facts which belong to it. They are as follow.

The Rev. Henry Berkin, having for several years held a curacy in the neighbourhood of the forest of Dean, and having thus been involved in much necessary intercourse with many of the inhabitants of that extra-parochial district, became at length the incumbent of one of the churches, which have been recently built within it. We deem it to be but justice to allow him to detail in his own language the particulars, which led to this appointment.

“ The Forest of Dean is one of the royal forests, containing about 22,000 acres, wholly extra-parochial. It has now three churches for the use of the inhabitants, all of which have been built within the last few years, viz. Christ Church, situated on the south-west border, consecrated in 1816; the Church of the Holy Trinity, on the north-east, consecrated in 1817; and St. Paul’s, on the south, consecrated in 1822. These churches will accommodate about 3000 souls. The whole population comprizes, I believe, about 6000. My acquaintance with the Forest of Dean began about fourteen years since, when, being curate of Micheldean, I was often requested to visit sick persons there. Finding a large number of children growing up in a state of ignorance, I opened a Sunday school in Micheldean, for their instruction; and at length, by the assistance of friends, a large room was built for that purpose; of which a more detailed account may be found in the first Report of the National Society. In process of time, the school increased till it was attended by more than 500 children; and many of the parents were induced to attend divine service at the church of that parish: but, to their general attendance, various impediments existed, and the distance alone presented a serious obstacle.

“ I had been invited, in January 1812, by one of the master colliers living in the forest, to make an evening pastoral visit occasion-

ally to his house, for the purpose of reading the Holy Scriptures to his family and neighbours. I was then requested to do the same by persons in other parts; till at length I had five stations in the forest, which occupied me nearly every night in the week. This plan had been adopted several years before, on the opposite side of the forest, by the late Rev. P. M. Proctor, Vicar of Newland, and afterwards Incumbent of Christ Church, in the Forest of Dean, from the peculiar circumstances of the inhabitants, as they were at that time destitute of churches and ministers whom they could properly call their own. We both found the practice attended with the most happy effects, in the moral and religious improvement of the people: and thus, for the sake both of the children and the inhabitants generally, I was led to turn my attention to the building of a church in the forest, for their exclusive use. After many difficulties, and several years' delay, this desirable event was carried into execution. With the kind assistance of his Majesty's government, and by the liberality of the public, the church of the Holy Trinity was begun on June 4, 1816, and was opened for public worship on February 5, in the following year.

“ From the extremely scattered state of the population, it was found difficult to place the church in a situation convenient to all; and it was therefore built, as nearly as circumstances would allow, in the centre of that district of the forest for the use of which it was especially designed. This part, which may be considered as more particularly allotted to my church, contains about 500 cottages, inhabited by about 2500 persons of all ages. With the exception of one pew for the minister's family, and one other for strangers, the sittings in the church are entirely free, and will afford accommodation to about 1000 persons. It is distant about six miles from Christ Church, and about eight from St. Paul's.” (Pp. 5—7.)

Besides this church, however, it appears that Mr. Berkin has under his care two small parishes in Wales, and is, moreover, the stipendiary curate of Hope Mansel. Whatever may be our opinion concerning the fitness of uniting distant cures under the superintendence of a non-resident pastor, it at least does not appear, that these various appointments contributed much to the wealth of their possessor, or placed him in a situation of affluence.

The next particular, which requires to be detailed, relates to the formation of a congregation, in a place called Lidbrook; of which Mr. Berkin gives the following account:

“ Lidbrook is in a part of the forest distant between three and four miles from my church, having a considerable population, chiefly among the coal and iron works. As much as ten years since, many of the children came to my Sunday school, when I was curate of Micheldean; and I was in the habit of visiting their sick, and was acquainted with many of the inhabitants. At various times within the last five or six years, several of its more respectable inhabitants

had asked me, if it were not possible to procure a church or episcopal chapel to be built there? I always felt, and expressed, an earnest desire to help them; but I also acknowledged my fears, that, on account of the expence and other impediments, such an object would be of very difficult attainment. I, however, promised to attempt it, should any favourable circumstances arise.

“About two years ago, after a severe attack of illness, a friend having, as I have before stated, generously made me an offer of assistance towards keeping a curate, I determined to use it.” (P. 48.)

The immediate consequence of this determination was the appointment of the Rev. Isaac Bridgman to be Mr. Berkin's curate and assistant, with a salary of eighty pounds a year, thirty of which were supplied by Mr. Berkin, and fifty by his friend. Mr. Bridgman, though at this time about thirty-two years of age, was not in orders, but was ordained on the title of this curacy, and entered upon his charge in the month of March, 1821. He appears to have undertaken the office with a full purpose to discharge its duties without sparing himself or shrinking from any sacrifice, which it might require from him. Accordingly he receives this testimony from the pen of his employer.

“I found him active and diligent amongst the numerous poor of my district of the forest.” (P. 12.)

Mr. Bridgman himself gives this account of his services.

“I looked around me, and soon found more employ in my Lord's vineyard, and * * * * within three months from the time I came into the forest, I had three services on Sundays, and a lecture on every night in the week, nor did I ever ask, nor did I ever receive any further acknowledgment than that which I always found, namely, a kind and hospitable reception from the respectable part of the inhabitants, and the hearty and sometimes overwhelming blessings of the poor.” (Appeal, p. 17.)

Mr. Berkin then adds,---

“When Mr. Bridgman came to me, I took him to Lidbrook, as I should have taken any other clergyman who had become my curate, and informed him that one chief reason of my engaging a curate was, that I might supply the want of instruction at that place.” (P. 48.)

“I had drawn a plan, and made estimates for the building of a chapel; but various impediments presented themselves; and the one article of expence, which could not be brought under £1200, made me despair of effecting the plan. It was at length agreed, that a large room should be built, as a Sunday school for the children; and the bishop kindly promised me the episcopal licence, authorizing the reading of the Liturgy, and preaching, agreeably to the usage of the Church of England; as had been done, in several instances, in national schools, and particularly by Bishop Huntingford, in the case

of the late Rev. P. M. Proctor, for his national school at Berry Hill, in the Forest of Dean.

“ Some of the principal inhabitants of Lidbrook then informed me, that they would attempt to raise the money for building the room; but that, if it was left to the management of many, various unpleasant consequences might follow; and they therefore requested me to undertake the direction of the work. I desired a meeting to be called, that the object might be clearly defined and understood; and I accordingly met ten or twelve of the principal inhabitants for that purpose. I informed them, from the bishop, that the only way in which his lordship could consent to the plan, was for the school-room to be considered as an appendage to my church of Holy Trinity, to be vested in the same trustees, and to be a part of the cure of the minister of that church for the time being. They all approved most highly of the plan, as the best that could be adopted. A subscription list was opened by myself and the persons present, who agreed to solicit their friends to join in providing the necessary funds. I then purchased a piece of ground, and the building was begun. It soon, however, appeared, that, from various causes, but a small part of the money could be raised in Lidbrook; and I took on myself the responsibility of providing the deficiency. In fact, out of £310, which was the whole of the expence, about £200 was raised by myself. The room was finished in the latter end of the year, but the opening of it was delayed for a while, in consequence of my illness. In January, 1822, divine service was performed in it for the first time, by myself, under the authority of the bishop's licence, addressed to me alone.” (P. 49, 50.)

“ When his lordship came to view the situation, one of the inhabitants, who was not a subscriber to the building, expressed a wish that Mr. Bridgman's services should be continued. But no formal request was ever made, that Mr. Bridgman should be the licensed minister.” (P. 51.)

This transaction is thus represented by Mr. Bridgman.

“ Mr. Berkin did not, as he says, take me there. I heard of its situation from his niece, and I visited it by myself. I visited some of the inhabitants, and the following week one of them invited me to his house to preach. With some difficulty I obtained Mr. Berkin's permission, and went on Sunday evening, and continued to go for twenty months, the first ten months twice, the latter ten three times in a week; and as I did not receive any additional remuneration from Mr. Berkin, and *none at all from the people*, I may fairly make my appeal, if I did not speak the truth in saying, I served the people at Lidbrook gratuitously? Very soon after I went to them, several of the people expressed a wish to have a chapel erected, and their desire that I should be the minister of it.” (Remarks, p. 19.)

It is painful to read conflicting statements from two clergymen concerning the same occurrence. Taking, however, those particulars only which are undisputed in the case, we

must express it as our decided opinion, that it was a most unreasonable expectation to form, and one which would be absolutely subversive of that confidence, which is necessary for all partnership in duty, that a gentleman originally introduced into the Forest of Dean, and then acting in it, as Mr. Berkin's Curate, should be erected into an independent minister within the district of his superior, even had Mr. Berkin not been the virtual founder of the establishment. However the Bishop did not so appoint him; and it is requisite in order to afford to the reader a complete view of the case, to subjoin the following statement of Mr. Berkin's concerning his own situation at this time.

“After twelve years of incessant labour in and near the Forest of Dean, it pleased God, at the close of the year 1821, to visit me with a paralytic stroke. From December 1821, to April 1822, I did no public duty whatever, except twice consecrating the elements at the Lord's Supper, and opening the school-room at Lidbrook. When I recovered from this illness, I was ordered to resume my labours slowly; and therefore took that portion of duty which lay nearest home, and performed the service at Lidbrook but seldom through the summer, instead of sharing it equally with my curate, as I should otherwise have done.” (P. 50, 51.)

Before we proceed further it will be desirable briefly to recapitulate as much of the case which has been reported hitherto as rests on uncontradicted evidence. Mr. Bridgman was licensed in March, 1821. After a while he obtained Mr. Berkin's permission to preach at Lidbrook in a private house on Sunday evenings. In January, 1822, a room having through Mr. Berkin's exertions been built for that purpose, Mr. Berkin under the Bishop's licence opened it by the performance of Divine service. Being however at this time under the influence of a paralytic stroke, he was not for some months able without imprudence to repeat that duty, but left it, as well as the active labours of his ministry, under the care of Mr. Bridgman.

The next occurrence to which we feel it necessary to direct the attention of our readers, is the following pastoral letter from the excellent Bishop of Gloucester, addressed to Mr. Bridgman less than four months after his ordination. We copy it entire, because, while it exhibits the truly apostolical character of a man, watching over the flock entrusted to his care, and anxious to repress and correct evils, before they require to be punished, it is accompanied by a declaration on Mr. Berkin's part, that the information, on which it is grounded, was not furnished by him, which implies the greater notoriety of the facts referred to.

“REV. AND DEAR SIR,

Palace, July 3, 1821.

“It is with much concern, that I feel myself obliged to address you with feelings of disapprobation, and in the language of reproof. I had not, and have not, any reason to doubt the correctness of your moral conduct, as a man and a clergyman, your devotedness to your profession, the rectitude of your principles, the earnestness and sincerity of your zeal to do good, or the soundness of your doctrine. But, although these are the most important fundamental qualities of the clerical character, they are not all. In our communion, at least, all things must be done, not only ‘unto edifying,’ but ‘decently and in order:’ and it is upon particulars in your conduct, apparently inconsistent with this rule, that I find it my duty to expostulate with you.

“I understand, from undoubted authority, that in reading the service, you occasionally introduce explanatory words: that your manner and style in the pulpit are much too nearly resembling familiar conversation: that your discourses abound in anecdotes; and those expressed in language not befitting the gravity and dignity of your office and station: that various persons of the higher ranks have taken offence, much more at these particularities than at your doctrine: that in your zeal to do good, you associate too much with the lower classes of a family, so as probably to diminish their respect, and thus lessen the usefulness of your ministry: and that additional and unnecessary stumbling-blocks are in this way added to the inevitable offence of the Cross, and much reproach is excited against yourself, and all connected with you, which might be avoided, without any diminution, perhaps rather with increase, of your ministerial influence and success.

“Repeating, then, the full credit which I give to your motives, and the respect I entertain for your character, and devotedness to the cause of our Redeemer, I must exhort, urge, nay, even insist upon your correcting these prejudicial irregularities without delay. The habit of *writing* the whole, or most part, of your sermons, would do much as to one material point. I conclude with intreating you to recollect, that your perseverance in this mode of conduct might throw great and insuperable difficulties in the regular discharge of your ministry, and the attainment of the higher degree. Beseeching you to receive these admonitions, as they are meant, in affection, and anxiety for the full and unimpeded progress of well regulated efforts, on your part, for the salvation of souls, I remain,

“Dear Sir, your very sincere well-wisher,

(Reply, Pp. 11, 12.)

“H. GLOUCESTER.”

This letter the Bishop addressed to Mr. Berkin, desiring him, after he had read it, to convey it to Mr. Bridgman. Instead, however, of following this direction, Mr. Berkin, unwilling to give pain to his Curate, solicited and obtained leave from the Bishop to return the letter to his lordship, and to substitute for an authoritative communication a friendly remonstrance. Mr. Berkin’s proceeding, in this instance

(we conceive), however kindly intended, was ill-judged. The disposition to deviate from established rule was likely to obstruct the success of Mr. Bridgman's labours as a minister in the established church, and he could not too soon have an opportunity of being made acquainted with the sentiments of an ecclesiastical governor, whose disapprobation he possibly might not suspect. The Bishop's letter therefore, might not only have corrected his practice in an early part of his career, but have influenced his judgment also, before he was too far committed to recede with ease: instead of which the effect actually produced seems to have been this, that the expostulation was believed to proceed from the jealousy of his Rector instead of originating in the affectionate consideration of the prelate who had ordained him. His own representation of the affair we subjoin.

"I took my Bible into the pulpit, supposing, that simple and plain addresses from the scriptures would be most conducive to your instruction and edification; and to this you have borne ample, and frequent testimony: this brought on me my rector's animadversion, and he said with much gravity "the bishop will not like it." (Appeal, Pp. 17, 18.)

In regard to the alleged practice of explaining parts of the Liturgy from the desk, it is right, that our readers should be enabled to compare the different statements of the two parties concerning the extent, to which it was carried. Mr. Bridgman says in his Appeal,---

"When I considered the kind of people I stood before, I confess I took a liberty which perhaps I should not have done in a city church, namely, of explaining a hard word or two in the lessons of the day, such as Jehovah Jireh, Eleloh, Israel, and other words, which, although significant and important, convey no meaning to an English ear, until explained; I soon perceived that an increased attention was excited to the scriptures, and that you consequently derived more instruction from them.

"This practice was not an innovation of mine, it has been recommended by Archbishop Secker, and by several bishops, and I had witnessed the custom in two London churches, and in other places, but although so laudable in itself, and so acceptable to you, it gave offence to my rector, he forbade it, and I relinquished it." (P. 18.)

Mr. Berkin on the other hand declares,---

"What Mr. Bridgman calls his 'explanation of a hard word or two in the lessons of the day,' were, in fact, observations carried to a much greater extent. He made a series of remarks on various points, and gave continued comments." (P. 10.)

The other reported irregularities or indiscretions we forbear to criticize, only observing, that many things assume an im-

portance in the aggregate, which in each particular instance may be regarded as trifles.

The above letter (it will be observed) was written on the third of July. On the seventh of August the late Queen of England died: and this event, so prolific in unhappy consequences, gave rise to an occurrence, of which from the various representations of it before us we collect the following outline.

Previously to hearing of this event Mr. Bridgman had selected for a text the words of Job,---“There the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary are at rest:”--and in preaching upon it he began thus:

“Death has again come into our windows, and entered our palaces; our afflicted and persecuted queen has entered that place where the wicked will cease, &c.” (Reply, P. 14.)

Of the remainder of the sermon Mr. Bridgman writes as follows:

“I said no more, my subject was entirely spiritual, and I dwelt wholly on the attacks of Satan the evil one, and his temptations, and then spake of that rest which was provided for the weary and heavy laden sinner *here* in the mercy, and *hereafter* in the glory of the Saviour. I gave notice that God willing I would preach a funeral sermon for her majesty on the following Lord’s day; I did so in the simplicity of my mind, not imagining that I should give the slightest offence to God or man.” (Appeal, P. 45.)

Of this notice to preach on the following Sunday, Mr. Berkin heard nothing till the Saturday, when he wrote to Mr. Bridgman a letter, of which the following passage conveys the scope.

“MY DEAR SIR,

August 18, 1821.

“I have just been informed, that, on Sunday last, you introduced the subject of the queen, and that it is your intention to preach on it to-morrow. I, of course, know not whether the report be correct; but if so, I feel compelled to say, I ought previously to have known of it. I presume not to interfere with private opinions; and in general company, as a member of society, you have a full right to choose and maintain your own. But the pulpit should be held sacred for the great work of the ministry, and mine shall never be prostituted to political or party purposes. I have no other wish than to labour with you in the solemn office to which we are appointed, and a change of assistants would give me much pain. But if our connection is to continue, I must require a distinct pledge on your part, that, both in my church, and the lectures in the Forest, (for I am there identified with yourself,) you will abstain from these and similar subjects.

“Should this not meet your views, we will part on as friendly terms as we met. I can get a temporary supply for Hope, and will

make up your stipend the same as if previous notice had been given." (Reply, P. 15.)

In consequence of this letter, Mr. Bridgman on ascending the pulpit the next day, instead of delivering his intended sermon, addressed a crowded audience as follows :

" Dearly beloved, I did design according to the notice given, to preach to you a funeral sermon for her late majesty, but I am prohibited by higher authority ; I must therefore turn your attention to a common subject, and address you from the words of the prophet, ' O earth, earth, earth, hear the words of the Lord ! ' " (Appeal, P. 46.)

Of this proceeding Mr. Berkin sent an account to the Bishop of Gloucester, and received the following reply.

" You will now, I am sure, regret your having checked, though from the kindest motives, the progress of my letter to Mr. Bridgman. His departure from the diocese is become indispensable ; and were I to follow the first, and perhaps the best dictates of my mind, I should revoke his licence, and forbid his preaching, by this post. But I feel, upon more mature consideration, reluctant to do so, as he can then have no testimonial countersigned, cannot enter into any diocese, and must of course become a dissenter. The only middle course that suggests itself is the following : For him to have from you immediate notice of dismissal at Christmas, or 1st of January, accompanied by an assurance, that unless he expresses his full conviction of the impropriety of his conduct, in preaching upon such a text, with such an allusion, and in apologizing for his abrupt discontinuance of the subject in such a manner ; unless he expresses his full conviction of the impropriety of his introducing explanations of the Lessons in the desk, and of his other irregularities ; and unless he declares his resolution (and absolutely perseveres in it) of adhering strictly and completely to the Rubric in future, he must leave the diocese *without a testimonial*. Indeed, were he to persevere, I must report his conduct to the archbishop, and desire a caveat against him." (Reply, P. 16.)

This extract having been read to Mr. Bridgman, he intreated to be continued in the curacy, and wrote to the Bishop a letter of explanation, which produced a retraction of the sentence against him.

The next important feature in this case is as follows. The Rev. Rowland Hill of Surrey Chapel had been accustomed to pay occasional visits to the Forest of Dean, before any episcopal places of worship were erected there. On the first of September, in 1822, Mr. Bridgman was requested to permit Mr. Hill, who was then expected in the Forest, to preach for him on three days at the places where he was in the habit of holding week-day lectures. To this proposal Mr. Bridgman cordially assented, and gave notice the same evening, it being Sunday, that, God willing, Mr. Hill would preach there on the

following Wednesday, and also at the Church in Ruardean, a village, where Mr Bridgman had been for some time permitted by the Rev. T. Fosbroke, its Curate, to deliver a weekly lecture, on Friday. When Mr. Berkin heard of this notice, he refused his consent to Mr. Hill's preaching at Lidbrook, and remonstrated on the impropriety of Mr. Bridgman's introducing him to Ruardean, without first obtaining the approbation either of Mr. Fosbroke, or of his vicar. In the course of this interview Mr. Bridgman told his employer, that, as he considered the congregation at Lidbrook one of his own forming, he did not hold himself under the same obligation to acquaint him with his intentions as he might have done under other circumstances. This claim being however denied by Mr. Berkin, Mr. Bridgman closed the conversation by saying---

"Well Sir, since you lay claim to Lidbrook Chapel, Mr. Hill shall not preach there, I will go myself." (Appeal, P. 24.)

The result was, that Mr. Hill preached at Ruardean, but not at Lidbrook. Mr. Bridgman wrote an explanation of his conduct to the Bishop, who also received a statement from Mr. Fosbroke, of which the following is a part :

"I was necessitated to accept the services of Mr. Bridgman, at Ruardean, for some time during last year; and from gratitude and personal esteem, I assented to his delivering lectures, every Friday evening, in my Church. He has availed himself of this to introduce the Rev. Rowland Hill to preach without my knowledge. I solemnly declare, that I have no jealousy of Mr. B. whose motives I respect, and whose sneer concerning the pulpit I forgive.* I know Mr. Hill, and respect his private virtues; but if a gentleman, who has a Dissenting Chapel of his own, is to enter our Churches, it is opposite to my principles. Mr. B. wrote to your Lordship without my knowledge: he introduced Mr. Hill without my knowledge: he has exceeded his powers. The motives, the character, and the zeal, (when under judgment,) of Mr. B. I respect; and it would distress me much, if I could be supposed to entertain a wish, that he should, from well meaning, incur the slightest displeasure on the part of your Lordship."

"The Bishop after a consideration of the case, wrote a letter to Mr. Bridgman of which the following is a copy.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR,

Deanery, Sept. 27, 1822.

"I have received your letter. I have heard from Mr. Berkin upon the general matter of it, as well as upon some other points of your conduct; and have *now* entered fully into the subject, in conversation with him. I have also heard from Mr. Fosbroke. The result of the whole, upon the best consideration which I can give it, is, that it will be far better for all parties, and for the ultimate and real interests of genuine religion, that you should leave the Forest of Dean.

* The sneer concerning the pulpit, here alluded to, was, that he (Mr. Bridgman) "would have it well washed out before the next Sunday."

“ It is due to Mr. Berkin to add, that in all my various communications with him about you, he has uniformly shewn the most Christian forbearance and kindness. He will give you a quarter's notice. I am willing to do full justice to your ardent zeal : but more of real humility, judgment, and temper, are in my opinion wanting. And I sincerely hope and pray, that in a different situation, and under other circumstances, these requisites may, under the Divine blessing, be acquired. I remain,

“ Rev. and Dear Sir, your faithful Brother,
(Reply, p. 25.) “ HENRY GLOUCESTER.”

Before this last letter was delivered, Mr. Bridgman, anticipating its contents, wrote to Mr. Berkin, concluding, as follows :

“ I trust you will not persist in your determination to dismiss me from the Forest. The consequences I cannot be accountable for, if you do; and I have reason to fear the result. Give me Lidbrook, and the wound may yet be healed. Deny it me, and I think you will find it a festering sore to your dying day. May the good Lord direct you to do that which shall be for his glory, and the spiritual welfare of the people; and I shall still remain your affectionate,

(Reply, P. 27.) “ I. BRIDGMAN.”

On the following day, in performing divine service at Mr. Berkin's Church, Mr. Bridgman

“ began the prayers apparently under great agitation; stopped several times to shed tears; in the midst of the service desired the congregation to pray for him, as one under deep trouble and distress; and appeared hardly able to finish the prayers. He then preached from these words, “ I have said before, that ye are in our hearts to live and die with you;” and, for the space of nearly an hour, did little more than recapitulate his services and labours; the benefits which, he said, many had received from them; his unwillingness to leave them; his desire to live and die with them, and be buried in their church-yard. All this he delivered with the most impassioned gestures and language, accompanied with sobs and tears, and every mark of severe affliction.” (P. 28.)

On the next day he received the Bishop's letter together with a quarter of a year's notice of dismissal from Mr. Berkin.

After this stage in the proceedings, Mr. Bridgman wrote letters of complaint and expostulation to Mr. Berkin and to the Bishop, in the latter of which he says,

“ I can assure your lordship, on good authority, that the dissenters are determined, if I leave at Christmas, to raise three chapels in the east part of the Forest; one at Lidbrook, one at Littledean Hill, and one near Blakeney; places where I preach weekly to nearly, if not quite, twelve hundred people. Nor will your lordship find this a chimera; for however the foresters are naturally attached to the established church, they feel so wounded, not to say indignant, at my

removal from them, that the dissenters mean to make use of their present feelings, in order to raise the chapels, and to support ministers." (Reply, P. 34.)

He also drew up petitions, addressed to Mr. Berkin, to solicit his continuance in the curacy, or else his being licensed to Lidbrook, recapitulating his services and claims in the Forest. He read these petitions to the people, and left them for their signature. But though numerous signatures were affixed to them, and one of them was presented to the Bishop, none of them in point of fact came into the hands of Mr. Berkin.

On the following Sunday, Mr. Berkin having given notice to his Curate of his intention to officiate at Lidbrook in the evening, as he had done in the afternoon a fortnight before, Mr. Bridgman announced this intention of his principal after his morning sermon, in the manner following. We give his words from his own report of them; for here also there is a variation in the accounts.

"The Rev. Mr. Berkin means to favour you with his presence this evening; from what motive I cannot tell, excepting it be to prepare you for my entire exclusion. If you are willing that I should leave you, well; if not, the fault will not be mine if you lose me." (Remarks, P. 16.)

The consequence is thus related by Mr. Berkin.

"Before my arrival at the school-room, the lamps had been blown out more than once. Persons had been stationed at the doors, to prevent the people from entering; and other means used to prevent the assembling of the congregation. Some of those who were on the outside, and who remained there during the time of service, muttered curses as I passed through them, accompanied by the friends I have mentioned; and a small party had been overheard debating, whether I could not be seized in the dark, and thrown into the forge-pool. Even during divine service, some stones were thrown at the doors." (P. 40.)

These particulars, having been represented to the Bishop, led to the concluding act of his authority, which we transcribe.

"REV. SIR,

Palace, Gloucester, Nov. 4th, 1822.

"I hereby revoke your license to the assistant curacy of Holy Trinity Church, in the Forest of Dean, and interdict you from officiating in any church in my diocese. I remain, Rev. Sir,

(Appeal, P. 36.) "Your faithful Servant, H. GLOUCESTER."

The proceedings of Mr. Bridgman on receiving this letter, are the last head to which we shall have occasion to advert. He immediately began to preach as a dissenting minister. He then wrote to the Bishop a disavowal of any intention to be accessory to the insults cast upon Mr. Berkin at Lidbrook, and followed his letter by the following demand in a postscript.

“MY LORD,---You have yet one opportunity of retaining my services in the Church of England, and that is to allow me the use of Ruardean church, which I have had, on Friday evenings, since Easter last. A large congregation has hitherto attended: my Lord, these are your children; have pity on them---they would unanimously petition you to allow me to preach as usual at Ruardean church: they have but *one service* in the week; they ask for more---when your children ask for bread, can you withhold it? They *may perish*, my Lord, through lack of knowledge: will you *like* to be answerable for the blood of souls? I would not, my Lord, wear a mitre with such a condition; and yet, if it be spilt, it must lie somewhere: your lordship will do well to consider, at whose door. I hope your lordship will not give the world any reason to doubt your sincere attachment to the Church of England, by repelling from it one who loves its doctrines and its wholesome discipline—who has been a faithful dispenser of the word of God therein, and will yet, if your lordship will revoke your interdiction.” (Reply, P. 42.)

Afterwards, having prepared and printed the pamphlet, in which his case is now laid before the public, he addressed the Bishop in another letter, offering to suppress the publication on condition that his Lordship would license him to the perpetual curacy of Lidbrook Chapel with a salary annexed; to which we subjoin his Lordship’s reply.

“REV. SIR,

January 31, 1823.

“I cannot alter, nor have I had any thoughts of altering, the determination, to which I came with great concern, respecting your continuing to officiate in the Forest of Dean. After the steps you have now taken, the only mode of restoration to any ministerial function in my diocese, or indeed in the established church, would be to express to Mr. Berkin your sincere remorse for your conduct towards him, and to me your hearty repentance for the manifold breaches of discipline which you have committed; and to prove the sincerity of that remorse and repentance by close, undeviating adherence, in a private capacity, for three years, to that communion which you appear to have renounced. It would be even then impossible for you to be replaced in the particular station, which you have filled so injuriously to the peace of the church. But, if fully satisfied respecting these proofs of a change of sentiment and temper, I should be willing to allow you to officiate in some other distant part of the diocese. At all events, you freely have my earnest prayers, that it may please God to shew you the error of your course, and bring you to the only right and Christian feeling upon the subject. I am, Rev. Sir, &c.

(Reply, P. 46.)

“H. GLOUCESTER.”

There are of course many other particulars, mentioned in the pamphlets before us, besides those which we have detailed. But we conceive these to be amply sufficient to put our readers in possession of the merits of the case: and indeed we have to apologize for the length, into which we have been betrayed. It is impossible however to state any trans-

action intelligibly and fairly without much detail ; and it has been our object in this abstract of facts to relate every particular impartially without interposing unnecessarily any opinion of our own, that might influence the judgment of the reader on the main points at issue, and at the same time, though perhaps with some prejudice to the strength of the case, to omit every thing which is not fully authenticated by the admission tacit or avowed, of both the attesting parties.

Now on the very face of the narrative, which has been at length finished, it cannot (we think) but strike every reader, that, if the words, order, discipline, authority, are not utterly unmeaning, as applied to the constitution and services of the Church of England, if they be terms which imply correlatively conformity, submission, respect, on the part of its members, and more especially of its ministers, the course which Mr. Bridgman followed in the Forest of Dean, is at utter variance with them all. In congregations, perfectly independent of each other, where each minister is answerable only to himself, to his people, and to God, much may be allowed to individual discretion. But in a person, acting as the representative of another, whose responsibility and duty of general control cannot be dispensed with, still more in a person, who has promised in the presence of God, and on the most solemn of occasions, reverently to obey his ordinary and other chief ministers, unto whom is committed the charge and government over him, following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions, and submitting themselves to their godly judgments, the conduct pursued by Mr. Bridgman can hardly be regarded in any other light, than as a contravention of his ordination vow, and an usurpation of rights to which he was never admitted. Several of the particulars adduced above may, if separately regarded, be of little moment, and on some of them different opinions may be formed by different individuals ; possibly also, had they been discontinued in obedience to pastoral admonitions, they might have been overlooked as errors in judgment, and more than counterbalanced by the zeal which Mr. Bridgman appears always to have manifested in the discharge of an arduous duty. But taken together, they form a tissue of acts which amount to a systematic neglect of authority, and imply a total want of the requisite preparation of mind for the relative duties of the station he had undertaken to fill.

Indeed it is to this want of a previous conception of his particular duties, as a clergyman in the Church of England, that we are inclined to attribute the errors of Mr. Bridgman. He wanted nothing of apostolic zeal for the work of his ministry ; and he has set an useful example of devotion to the labours

of his office, so long as he was permitted to follow his own way in the performance of them. But he seems never¹ to have recollected, that he was acting as the assistant to another, who had preceded him in the work, and appointed him to his station; and his application for the perpetual Curacy of a place already occupied by Mr. Berkin, and in which the whole length of his own service did not exceed twenty months, seems to argue an utter ignorance of what is due either from a clergyman to his diocesan, from an assistant to his principal, or indeed from a man to his neighbour. In truth we are disposed to think, that all the faults we have yet specified, and especially his readiness to quit the communion of the Church before he had tried the effect of one act of real submission, are capable of being traced to this single principle, that he entered the Church without having ever considered duly the conditions or the obligations of the ecclesiastical constitution, under which he undertook to serve.

There are indeed other faults exhibited in these publications, which are not capable of being so explained. He has taken the liberty of altering and omitting passages in the letters, which he has published, even in those from his Bishop, and that for the purpose of his own justification. On this subject indeed we are happy to produce his own candid though late acknowledgment.

“ I confess it becomes me to apologize for the alterations and omissions of parts of the correspondence.

“ With respect to the omissions, I, in the first place, frankly acknowledge that I am sorry that I ever wrote the postscript to my letter to the Bishop.

“ I am sorry also, that I did not give the whole of the Bishop's and Mr. Berkin's letters, and I will not attempt to justify the language in which my letter to Mr. Berkin of the 2nd of last October is couched.” (Remarks, p. 21, 22.)

But the tone and temper in which he everywhere writes concerning Mr. Berkin, once at least associated with him in the sacred work of the Christian ministry, the sneer with which he often speaks of him, as his friend and brother, the desire to usurp his office at Lidbrook, and the manner of addressing the congregation there concerning Mr. Berkin's intended appearance among them, are destructive of all co-operation, at variance with the plain principles of Christian charity, and certainly very different from the spirit which breathes through Mr. Berkin's pamphlet. This is a consideration, which deprives all Mr. Bridgman's statements on any part of the transactions of that implicit credit which we would wish to repose in them.

We are desirous to make great allowance for the situation and feelings of a man, to whom a sentence of deprivation is a

sentence of poverty : and we have much respect for any servant of God, who will devote himself to the laborious and charitable work of ministering to the spiritual necessities of the poor foresters of Dean. But even among them the value of Mr. Bridgman's services receives a large abatement from the divisions which the late unhappy occurrences have caused, and from that alienation of the affections of the people from their appointed minister, who had for many years watched for their good, which has been one of their most painful consequences. In a word we cannot but fully acquiesce in that sentence of the Lord Bishop, whose name has been so much mingled with these disputes---

"I am willing to do full justice to your motives, and to your ardent zeal : but more of real humility, judgment, and temper, are in my opinion wanting." (Reply, p. 25.)

That distinguished and excellent prelate will be seen to have exhibited through the whole of this unfortunate affair, that vigilance and wisdom, that mixture of firmness and forbearance, that tenderness to the feelings of the parties concerned, united with that paramount regard to the effective performance of the spiritual authority entrusted to him, which the public would expect from his character : and one of our leading motives in entering so fully into this case has been a desire to vindicate him from the suspicion of having visited with undue severity the indiscretions of a humble Curate, which we know to have been felt by some persons on being acquainted only with the naked outline of the case, but who will now, doubtless, from the above recital be led to see, that his Lordship's candour, kindness, pastoral watchfulness, and well-regulated attention to all the parts, and even (we might add) to the conflicting claims of his high office could not have been more conspicuously displayed.

But there is one question growing out of these occurrences which we must in conclusion bring under the notice of our readers ; the more so, because this is a question of general concern, while all that has been hitherto said relates to individuals. Mr. Hill, who has favored the world with two prefaces, containing his sentiments on this question, and who is now receiving subscriptions to build chapels for Mr. Bridgman as a dissenting minister, in the Forest of Dean, though he has declared that he

"should stand by Mr. Bridgman no further than his statement was perfectly correct," (Remarks, p. iii.) has taken occasion from these unpleasant disturbances in the forest

“ to remark, that of all the poor beings existing upon the earth, none are found so defenceless and exposed as a Curate of the Established Church. (Appeal, P. 5.)

This is strong language. But the proof of it follows.

“ While the Bishop has the absolute power to grant these licences, he has the same absolute power to withdraw them without giving any warning, or *assigning any reason* whatever, and if this summary procedure be not deemed sufficient, under any offence whether real or supposed, he can send forth his mandate of suspension, which completely annihilates his ministry through the diocese at large, and though such a suspension may appear less rigorous than a positive excommunication, yet it is equally ruinous in its operations and effects.” (Appeal, p. 5.)

The power of a Bishop over a Curate is indeed very great ; and public attention has of late been in various ways called to it. But we would ask whether according to Mr. Hill’s own shewing, it warrants him in the extravagant language, in which he has described it ? One would really suppose from the unmeasured force of his expressions, that the meanest slave in the West Indies, is not so defenceless and exposed, as a Curate in the established Church, and that by entering into its service without a benefice, he deprives himself of that protection of life and limb, and of that right to give testimony in a court of justice, which the English law extends to all the subjects of the realm.

That Mr. Hill never wished to excite this idea, we are fully persuaded. Nevertheless the use of unguarded language in public attacks is an evil that requires to be checked, is productive of many mischievous consequences, and both excites and aggravates that spirit of party, which both in church and state alienates the hearts of fellow-subjects and fellow-christians from each other.

At the same time it may be expedient to embrace the opportunity, which the present appeal affords us, for considering, what the real condition of a curate is, and whether there be any real grievances in it, from which he ought to be relieved : and for this reason we have been induced to place at the head of the present article a publication, which has no reference to the controversy before us, but which describes in very powerful and precise language, and with equity and discrimination, the relative situation of parson and curate. We mean the recent charge of the Right Reverend Bishop of London to his clergy.

That charge indeed does not relate exclusively to this subject. It takes an enlarged and an able view of the present state of society in its immediate bearings on religion, and on

the proper manner of executing the duties attached to the parochial cure.

While in this part of the charge it may be permitted us to lament, that the remarks of the amiable prelate are confined to the canonical and ecclesiastical duties of the clergy, without a reference, sufficiently direct and obvious, to the great purposes, for which they are appointed by the Lord of the universal Church, to preach to a world, dead in trespasses and sins, repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; we are tempted to extract one passage, to which some of the recent occurrences in the forest of Dean may seem to furnish a suitable occasion.

“ The allegiance you owe to the Church obliges you in every particular of your professional conduct to look to her for direction, and where she either affords no definite rule, or custom has superseded her original practice, to yield substantial obedience at least, by taking her principles for your guide. Her wisdom, indeed, might of itself command our attention, if her claim to authority were less. In her canons, which are a body of laws for the general regulation of her discipline, we find many directions of the greatest importance, which ought to be familiar to the parish-priest. Her liturgical formularies not only supply a collection of prayers, instructions, and offices, adapted to all the solemnities of religious worship, to the exigencies of every age and every condition, to the uses of every day, to all the contingencies of life, but virtually establish a system of parochial discipline, conceived on an accurate notion of the relation between the pastor and his flock, designed to connect them by a regular intercourse, and to direct the conduct of both parties in the performance of their respective duties.” (Pp. 15, 16.)

After then adverting to the duty, imposed on the clergy by the canons, of catechising young persons in the church, he observes that

“ If we would give an effectual check to the alarming diffusion of impious principles among the lower ranks, and secure their adherence to the establishment, we must act in this respect on the views of the Church, in substance, if not in form. The instruction which was formerly given by this simple method in our churches, is now more expeditiously, and, as far as regards the mere communication of knowledge, more effectually taught in the national schools. I have seen with unmixed satisfaction the growth of these excellent institutions, and I think, have already observed the commencement of those beneficial effects, which, for obvious reasons, are less distinctly perceptible at present than we justly expect them to become at a future season. But amidst their numerous excellencies, I consider as one of their chief, I may say the greatest of all their advantages, the opportunity which they give to the clergy in populous places, of becoming known to the rising generation in the character of pastors, invested by lawful authority with the charge of their spiritual interests, and having a right to their attention and obedience. And I

will not conceal my opinion, that if by any fatality (which I am far from anticipating) the parochial clergy should become so indifferent to their interests and duties, as to resign the superintendence and control of establishments of this kind, the result would be not merely injurious to the efficiency of the schools, but the instruction received in them might lead to effects the most prejudicial to the order and safety of our civil and ecclesiastical government. Under the constant and vigilant inspection of the authorized and legitimate guide, the education which this system alone can ensure to places of large population, cannot fail to be powerfully instrumental in perpetuating the knowledge of pure Christianity, and preserving the national faith from decay." (Pp. 18, 19.)

The reader will perceive in these extracts something of the weighty and dignified style of admonition, which pervades this address. It is truly a view, taken, as it were, from an eminence, of the occupations of the clergy, as a body, accompanied with a direction to each individual minister, how he may most usefully perform his part: and we certainly think, that a strict attention to its pastoral recommendation and advice would tend essentially not only to promote their vigilance and activity, but to preserve and enlarge their influence upon the great mass of the public, both high and low.

But, though we could dwell with pleasure on much of what is said afterwards in the course of an extensive though cursory retrospect of the history of society, so far as regards the relation between the respective attainments, literary and religious, of the laity and clergy, since the first establishment of our ecclesiastical hierarchy, we are unwilling to detain our readers longer from the particular subject, to which the close of this article has brought us. With this view then we produce the following quotation.

"On the general obligation to *Residence*, I will not repeat what I have said in former addresses, and have never failed to inculcate, as opportunity offered, upon individual clergymen, in private. You cannot be ignorant that, whatever exemptions are allowed by the law, or left to the consideration of the bishop, the responsibility of declining the personal discharge of your duties must rest with yourselves; and that if you would stand absolved at a higher tribunal, you must be well assured that the grounds of your proceeding are such as will abide the scrutiny of your own conscience. In determining a point of so much importance, you should be careful to understand your motives, and not be lightly discouraged by apprehensions for your health or comfort, from the performance of a bounden duty. I do not press the invidious topic of abandoning your charge to a 'hireling.' The expression involves an affront to a highly meritorious portion of the clergy, engaged in the active and faithful discharge of the most useful professional duty, and supplying a succession of ministers for the higher departments of the church. The 'hireling' is he, whether beneficed or not, who acts on personal

views of pleasure or profit, without concern for the welfare of his flock; and nothing can be less consistent with truth than the imputation of such criminal profligacy to any description of the clergy. The distinction of *beneficed* and *stipendiary* is accidental and external, affecting in no way the intrinsic dignity of the priesthood, which is neither increased nor diminished by the proportions of honour or emolument attached to different situations in the church: nor do I know of any inferiority of the curate to his rector, beyond the subordination resulting from this particular relation. This view of the case supplies infallible rules for the regulation of their mutual intercourse. The beneficed clergyman contracts an engagement with a brother, on whom he devolves a most sacred and important trust; and not, it is to be presumed, without proper regard to the requisite qualifications of attainments, temper, morals, and piety. From a fellow-labourer of such a description in the care of his vineyard, it is hardly conceivable that he should withhold the liberal treatment, the offices of courtesy, the marks of attention, which are necessary to make the situation of a curate agreeable to himself, and respectable in the eyes of his parishioners. In return, he has a right to expect equal civility, a friendly and zealous concern for his reputation and interest, a ready attention to his advice, a respectful deference to his suggestions. The curate is without excuse, if he loses sight of the subordination implied in his office, and of his obligation, both in duty and decency, to comply, in all things honest and lawful, with the directions of a principal, who cannot divest himself of the right of control over his parish, or of responsibility for the conduct of his substitute.

“ I have been led to these reflections, from the desire of rectifying the preposterous notion, which, I am told, has been sometimes entertained, that the curate is rendered independent of the rector by the bishop's *licence*, and cannot be justly displaced, except for such flagrant misconduct as would render him altogether unworthy of any professional employment. The enactment of the 36 Geo. 3, since re-enacted in the Clergy Consolidation Act, empowers the bishop of the diocese ‘ to licence any curate actually employed, without express nomination, and to revoke summarily and without process the licence of any curate, and remove him from the curacy, for any cause which shall appear to the bishop good and reasonable.’ The obvious intent of these enactments was, on the one hand, to give protection to the curate, with ample security against any injustice on the part of the incumbent; and on the other hand, to provide for the incumbent an immediate and effectual remedy against the vexatious obstinacy of a perverse or unworthy curate. In the exercise of the discretionary powers which are vested in the bishop by this law, it will always be my endeavour to keep the objects in view, which I believe to have been in the contemplation of the legislature. On no account can I shrink from the duty of protecting and sustaining the curate in the full enjoyment of his rights, while he attends with fidelity to the duties of his cure, and to the relation in which he stands to the incumbent. But I trust it will not be imagined, that the diocesan's

licence will uphold the curate, who gives just cause of dissatisfaction, by insufficiency, negligence, or indecorous behaviour in his official functions, or by personal disrespect or hostility to the incumbent, whether shewn by direct opposition, or by secret endeavours to diminish his influence in the parish. The best interests of the parishioners will suffer, when discord prevails between the ministers who have joint cure of their souls; and since regard to personal feelings must yield to considerations of public utility, it may be sometimes expedient to dissolve the connection, and thus put an end to a scandalous contest, though it may be difficult to apportion the blame between the contending parties." (Pp. 7—9.)

This being the state of the law as well as of its probable administration, we are led to offer upon it the following remarks.

On the obligation of the incumbent to reside upon his cure and discharge its duties personally we need not say, that we cordially acquiesce in the statement, here delivered by his Lordship; and indeed we are desirous to add to it one short extract from Archbishop Magee's late charge to the clergy of Dublin. "It is not" (says his grace) "by the parish minister's securing the ostensible discharge of the Sunday's duty, that he properly exercises his functions, nor even by his providing for a punctual attention to those occasional duties, which he is invited to discharge. No. The clergyman should be the true parish priest, in continual contact with his flock, one, whose voice they know, not only in constant residence amongst them, but in continual intercourse with them; their adviser, their friend, the moderator of their disputes, the composer of their differences, the careful instructor of their children, not content merely to afford spiritual aid, where it may be demanded, but vigilant to discover, where it may be applied, and prompt to bestow it, where it will be received, stimulating all and particularly the young to come to that fountain of living waters, which it is his office to dispense, and proving to his people by every possible exertion, that the first object he has at heart is their everlasting welfare. All this (it is manifest) he can effect only by living continually amongst his flock and by the continued personal discharge of the several offices of the priesthood."

Still the extent of a parish will often require the incumbent to employ a curate, as his assistant; and want of health, declining years, or interfering duties will occasionally compel him even under the best system and from the purest motives to employ one, as a substitute.

But it is evident, that the curate, in one of these cases, stands in a very different relation to the parish, from that

which he occupies in the other. In the one he is only the assistant of his principal. In the other he is his vicegerent, exercising, while he holds the office, all the spiritual rights, and discharging all the spiritual duties, which belong permanently to the incumbent, but which it is the inalienable right of the parish to see vested in some substituted minister, if the incumbent should, through his non-residence, be incapable of them. In either of these cases, indeed, the authority of the incumbent, though delegated, remains. It cannot be forfeited: and on this principle depends the truth and equity of the bishop's rule, that

“the curate is without excuse, if he loses sight of the subordination implied in his office, and of his obligation, both in duty and decency, to comply, in all things honest and lawful, with the directions of a principal, who cannot divest himself of the right of control over his parish, or of responsibility for the conduct of his substitute,” (P. 8.)

But the point on which we confess we have some doubt, relates not to the duty of the curate, but to the question, how far the right, now vested in the bishop by law,

“to revoke summarily and without process the licence of any curate, and remove him from the curacy.” (P. 8.)

is expedient and necessary. A grave case of clear necessity ought to be established, before any Briton should be subjected to so irresponsible and arbitrary a power. For it is to be recollected, that the power here granted, is not merely spiritual. It involves the sudden abolition of the curate's salary, and often his banishment from the house he occupies; which, when it is considered, that the race of curates is not a very wealthy order, that many of them nevertheless are married and have families, that all of them are required to maintain the rank and station of gentlemen, and still more especially, when it is recollected, that

“The distinction of *beneficed* and *stipendiary* is accidental and external, affecting in no way the intrinsical dignity of the priesthood.” (P. 7.)

must be allowed to be a power rather formidable, over persons so circumstanced. A master, in discharging a servant, only dismisses an individual, but does not expel with him his wife and family. An owner in ejecting an occupier, and a landlord in removing a tenant, is obliged to give ample notice, that the individual, who is dispossessed, may have time to arrange his affairs, and provide himself with a new habitation. But a bishop is able summarily, and without process, to remove instantly a curate and his whole family from their home.

The difference probably contemplated by the legislature,

between the several cases we have adduced, is this, that a master may act capriciously, and a house-owner or landlord may be prompted by motives of personal convenience, but a bishop can only be presumed to act from judicial considerations, and good and reasonable causes: and it must be acknowledged, to the honour of that venerable body, that the readiness of well-educated men to place themselves in a situation, where they are subject to so unexampled a power, is a presumption, that it is not often exercised without good and sufficient reason.

We admit, also, that considering how many evils must necessarily accrue to a parish, from the continuance of bickerings and disputes between the incumbent and his curate, considering also, that in some supposeable cases the removal of one of the parties is the only preventive of such disputes, and that in all cases the only party that is removeable is the curate, it is desirable, that there should be a summary remedy, capable of being applied without much delay to such disorders; nor, if a power of this kind be deposited any where, do we perceive where it could with so much safety or propriety be lodged, as with the bishop of the diocese.

All we contend for is, (and in this we presume the right reverend bench will agree with us) that it is not fit, that a power of this magnitude, and liable to so much abuse, should be entrusted to any set of persons beyond the necessity of the occasion; that it should be guarded by every limitation, which is likely to prevent the abuse of it, and that, when called into operation, it should be exercised with all the solemnity of a judicial act.

We do not see therefore, what disadvantage could possibly arise from extending to the dismissal of a curate, the old Roman and (we are happy to add) the modern British rule, that it is not our manner to deliver any man to punishment, till he, which is complained of, have the complainant face to face, or at least, till he have licence to answer for himself personally before the judge, concerning the complaint laid against him.

It does not appear to us to be necessary, in order to secure to parishes the whole benefit of that discretionary control, which is now vested in the bishops, that those bishops should be empowered to pass sentence at a distance, or in the absence of the party to be displaced. There are many causes which may require the removal of a curate, which yet do not imply any actual misconduct on his part, but only in some instances a misapprehension of his relative situation, or in others, a want of cordial co-operation with his superior.

But we cannot conceive any case, in which the sentence of authority would not come with more weight; and we can imagine many, in which the necessity of it might be obviated, if no revocation of a licence were to have effect, unless the sentence were passed in the presence of the party affected by it. The solemnity of summoning the offending individual before his diocesan, the influence of pastoral admonition, the opportunity afforded for explanation, would all tend to an useful purpose, and by enabling the bishop to act as a peacemaker, would tighten the bond which attaches the clerical members of a diocese to each other, while yet the power of peremptory dismissal would remain entire, though it would be exerted, where necessary, with greater effect.

In the case we have been reviewing, we are not at all persuaded, nor do we mean to surmise, that the bishop of Gloucester, would have been enabled, by any of the measures we have been suggesting, to avoid the necessity to which he was reduced, or to decide differently from the sentence, which he actually passed. But the apparent harshness of revoking a licence in the absence of an accused party, would have been avoided; and possibly the advice and tenderness of episcopal exhortation, might have moderated Mr. Bridgman's subsequent conduct, and even by its wholesome influence on his mind, have prevented him from resorting to that appeal, which has made these divisions among the ministers of peace, a matter of public notoriety.

These remarks however, apply only to the case of an assistant curate. A curate, who is licensed to a parish, where the incumbent is non-resident, stands in a very different position; nor is there any obvious reason, why he should not be surrounded by all that protection, to which his principal is entitled, with the single exception, that he is liable to be displaced by the residence of the incumbent, whenever he chooses to resume his post, for the avowed purpose of undertaking without assistance, the duties of the station. The parish sustains some inconvenience in being deprived of the personal service of the rector, and in having his duty devolved upon a deputy, whose connexion with his parishioners is necessarily precarious. But this seems no valid reason, why his situation should be rendered additionally precarious: nor for our own part do we understand, that it is in any way conducive to the peace and harmony of the church, that a clergyman, so situated, should be removeable, except on clear and sufficient proof before the bishop himself, assisted by his proper legal adviser, either of some error in doctrine, or of some viciousness of life.

We thus take leave of the case before us. We felt that we could not altogether pass it by, more especially, as it is connected with the civil condition of one of the most important and useful classes of the community. But we commit the questions, which it suggests, to wiser heads; contenting ourselves with having brought forward such considerations, as a practical view of the whole subject has impressed upon our minds.

There are various reflections, arising out of the course, which Mr. Bridgman is now pursuing, with the advantage of Mr. Hill's patronage and support, into which we purposely abstain from entering. His proceedings in the Forest of Dean, as curate to Mr. Berkin, form a distinct case by themselves; and to that case we have confined our remarks. We would wish him, notwithstanding the difficulties in his way, difficulties, as he must be aware, of his own creation, to return in a more humbled spirit to the bosom of that church, which he has deserted, but to leave no portion of his zeal behind him, to return with more respect for the sentiments of others, and less confidence in his own, with more candour and less presumption, and in the mean time, to follow with close attention, the truly pastoral advice, which he has neglected.

ART. III.---*Twenty Sermons.* By the late Rev. Henry Martyn, B. D. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; and Chaplain of the Honourable the East India Company on the Bengal Establishment. 2d Edit. London, reprinted from the Calcutta Edition. 8vo. pp. 444. Seeleys. Hatchards.

There is a class of men whose names are associated with an admiration almost universal. Conquerors who have subdued or rescued empires by the power of the sword;—legislators who have changed the political aspect and institutions of mighty nations;—philosophers who have enlarged the boundaries of science by useful or splendid discoveries, have established imperishable claims to notoriety and renown. They are regarded as the great beacons of the world; as the glory of the ages in which they lived, and of the nations to which they belonged. If the increase of power, the security of person and property, the improvement of the mind or the diffusion of wealth and comfort were alone concerned;—if

every human interest were included within the narrow span of earthly being, this tribute of respect to the illustrious characters who have appeared upon the theatre of the world, would be as just as it is general. If, on the other hand, the best interests of man extend immeasurably beyond the present state of existence;—if they be identified with an eternal duration; if this life be only the preparation for another too vast for the human eye to measure, the common standard of character and exploit is imperfect and erroneous. On this latter and more correct assumption, there are men, whose names, now unknown beyond their own little circle, will be hereafter quoted from the book of life, with distinctions by which every trophy of greatness, merely earthly, will be eclipsed. If they that be wise, are to shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever, then those devoted men who have labored for the promotion of true religion within the limits of their own land, in silence and obscurity, will obtain a full reward from him who seeth in secret, and who estimates at its worth the eternal consequence of their holy toil. They also, who, not counting their lives dear unto themselves, have left all, to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ among the dark and distant abodes of superstition and cruelty, idolatry and lust, will learn the value of their labour in the immensity of its recompence. If a time be at hand, in which all human employments will be estimated simply by their tendency to promote the glory of God and the salvation of man, those who counted all things but loss that they might be thus engaged, will reap the harvest of their self-denial, zeal, and charity, in that approving sentence, “Well done, good and faithful servants,” “Enter ye into the joy of your Lord!” According to the present moral constitution of the world, such laborers may be undervalued, their motives despised, their judgment impeached. But “when the whole of that chain is let down, which reaches from everlasting to everlasting, and connects the harmony of both worlds,” it will be seen how immeasurably more momentous was their employment, than any secular pursuit in which industry, science, and activity, could be engaged. The very individuals, who looked down upon them from an imaginary vantage-ground of intellect and wisdom, will be compelled to say, “We fools accounted their lives madness, and their end to be without honour. How are they numbered among the children of God, and their lot is among the saints !”

In the list of those whom the general opinion accused of resigning every thing most attractive or valuable to human am-

bition, in order to attempt a conversion of the heathen world, "impossible if it were endeavored, and foolish if it were possible," the name of HENRY MARTYN occupies a conspicuous station. Few individuals have entered upon the career of active life with more commanding advantages. His scientific attainments had been rewarded with the highest academical honours, to which a mathematical student at Cambridge can aspire; and his classical learning was of no common order. Yet neither the success by which his exertions and talent had been crowned, nor the view which lay before him, bright with the richest hues of worldly anticipation, could seduce him from that high and holy purpose of missionary labour, to which he was so early, and so supremely self-devoted. With this important aim before him, he undertook the sacred ministry, and within two years of his admission into orders, embarked as Chaplain in the service of the East India Company, to obey the command of that Saviour, whose he was, and whom he served,---"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature!"---and to enjoy, as the record of his life abundantly proves, the promise of his Saviour's power and presence,---"Lo! I am with you always even unto the end of the world."

Among that small but illustrious band, to whom the millions of British India are so deeply indebted, did Martyn labour, with an assemblage of moral, literary, and intellectual qualities, which have rarely been exceeded. He took his hallowed stand with Buchanan, Brown, Thomason, Corrie, and other ministers of religion in the Established Church, who amidst difficulties and discouragements, by which ordinary minds would have been overborne, did the work of evangelists, in season and out of season, holding aloft the blazing torch of revelation to guide men from the darkness of error and death, into the truth and life of the gospel. Their exertions have been crowned with results which the most sanguine hope could hardly have ventured to anticipate. Watersprings have arisen in a dry ground. The seed, sown by their hands, and cherished by the Spirit of God, to whose blessing it was committed, has already borne fruit, some thirty, some sixty, some an hundred-fold. Spots of verdure are appearing in the desert, upon which the eye of Christian love may rest with delight, and which Christian faith may contemplate, as soon to spread around, until they make the whole wilderness to blossom like Eden, the garden of God. The animating doctrines and holy demands of the gospel are now understood and valued by men, whose station and talents enable them to exercise a decided and important influence

upon the public mind, both European and Native, in India. The prejudice and mockery, with which personal religion was lately regarded, is now much diminished. The visionary terrors which haunted the minds of alarmists, lest the preaching of the gospel should endanger the possession of the East, are now less painfully felt, or at least less querulously obtruded upon our regard. It is now less pertinaciously asserted; that the Cross can only be erected upon the ruins of British power in India. That cold and calculating policy, which would consign the nations, and languages, and tongues, and people, of this vast peninsula, to the hopeless bondage of their bloody rites and obscene superstitions, lest the knowledge of eternal life should endanger the speculations of commerce, or the possession of empire, is now more cautiously and sparingly inculcated. Above all, that guilty indifference to the salvation of our fellow-men, which laid its icy touch upon so many hearts, is dissolved by an increasing spirit of Christian love, and an increasing knowledge of the rightful demands, made by those who do not possess the gospel, upon those who do. We are now less confidently assured, that every country is provided with a mode of faith and worship, the result of its own choice, and experimentally proved to be most suitable to its physical, social, or political condition. We are not now so frequently told, that all religions are equally valuable, or rather equally worthless, and that every attempt, by whatever means it be made, to substitute the holy and glorious verities of Christianity for the sensual or sanguinary codes of Eastern idolatry and superstition, is a tyranny, as unnecessary and impolitic, as it is unjustifiable. Such speculations are beginning to rank with the sentiments of those, who are said to have condemned the first project for a canal, on the ground, that, if the communication, which it was intended to promote had been in the order of providential design, the river, by which it was to be supplied, would have been made originally navigable. They, who rest their apology for missionary exertion upon the unrepealable command and faithful promise, made by the Author of their religion and their hopes, are enabled to pursue their work and labour of love with less interruption or opposition. The consequences have been such as not merely to overpay past effort, but greatly to promote the stability of Christian faith, and to invigorate the exercise of Christian zeal. The horrors of infanticide have been vastly diminished. The foul and flagrant rites of Eastern worship have been exposed to view and to abhorrence. Dagon has already trembled in his shrine; and we may hope, that he will ere long fall from his place, and be dashed in pieces be-

fore the ark of God, as it passes the threshold of his temple, in its triumphant progress over the powers of sin and darkness. Civilization has been advanced. The blessings of British law and justice have been widely extended. Translations of the Holy Scriptures have been multiplied and dispersed with a successful industry, of which the world has seen no parallel; and the day has almost arrived, when, as in another Pentecost, the nations of India may hear, every man in his own tongue wherein he was born, the wonderful works of God. An ecclesiastical establishment has been formed, of which the first fruits are already apparent; and which we hope to see yet more widely extending the benefits of knowledge, and the blessings of religion, through this vast and benighted empire.

The name of Henry Martyn is inseparably associated with these momentous results of Christian toil and charity. The endowments by which he was distinguished exhibit a beautiful proof of the harmony, which divine wisdom establishes between the agents and the character of the service, in which they are to be engaged. Talents of the highest order were united with unreserved devotedness to the great duty of preaching the gospel among the heathen. Few men have lived, who more fully adopted, as their motto, the watch-word of the great apostle,---“This one thing I do.” We knew him at the outset of his career. We remember the self-denying spirit in which, forgetting the things that were behind, and reaching forth towards those things which were before, he resolved to press along the arduous path of missionary exertion, to the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. His excellent biographer has ably described the manner in which he lived, and labored, and prayed, during the short but well-improved period, which elapsed between the time of his landing in India, and that in which he exchanged his hallowed labours upon earth, for the rest and service of a perpetual sabbath in heaven. Pages more deeply pathetic, more solemnly instructive, more highly animating, can rarely demand sympathy and imitation. The life of Henry Martyn has taken its place in our libraries with the records of Swartz and Gericke, Elliot and Brainerd, Buchanan and Brown, men, whose names are blessed in heaven.

Of such a man, and such a minister, the friends of religion were necessarily anxious to possess not merely some memorials, but some remains. They had a kind of right, arising out of their sympathy with his toil, and their prayer for his success, to know in what manner he proclaimed those blessed truths, which were his own hope and consolation. They

had a claim to possess some transcript of his mind, and to learn the mode in which he pressed upon his hearers the solemn and glorious truths of Christianity, as they arose,

“ Warm from the heart, and faithful to its fires.”

Perhaps it might reasonably have been expected, that the claim would have been more speedily allowed, and that those, who knew the man and his communication, together with all, who value true religion, would have possessed a volume of sermons from his pen, with no more delay than was absolutely necessary to a careful and judicious selection.

Such a volume however has been published, first in Calcutta, and more recently in England. The degree of acceptance with which it has been received, is the best evidence that its editors have done well and wisely in giving it to the world. They are fully justified in cherishing the hope, expressed in the preface,

“ That the writings of one, who so peculiarly devoted himself to the work of God in India, may be blessed to the diffusion of those principles, and the nurture of those affections, by which alone missionary labours can be sustained. *The love of Christ constraineth us ; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead ; and that he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them and rose again.*”

Of the manner in which the editors have performed this duty we shall take the liberty of saying a few words, before concluding our remarks upon a volume from one, who in his lifetime, like the Baptist, was a burning, and a shining light ; “ and being dead, yet speaketh.”

“ The desire to know how such a man preached” (say the editors in their preface) “ is natural and unavoidable. It will be here gratified so far as respects the style, and usual strain of his compositions. His manner in the pulpit was distinguished by a holy solemnity, always suited to the high message which he was delivering, and accompanied by an unction, which made its way to the hearts of his audience. With this was combined a fidelity, at once forcible by its justice and intrepidity, and penetrating by its affection. There was, in short, a power of holy love and disinterested earnestness in his addresses, which commended itself to every man's conscience in the sight of God.”

To the same purport his Biographer well observes, that,

“ Whether the congregation he addressed were great or small, learned and refined, or poor and ignorant, he spake as one, who had a message from God, and who was impressed with the consideration that both he and they must shortly stand before the Judge of quick and dead.” (Memoir, pp. 59, 60.)

“ To promote,” adds the same valuable record, “ the honour of his Redeemer by preaching the gospel, was the great end for which

existence seemed desirable in his eyes; to effect which, much time did he spend in preparing his sermons for the pulpit, investigating the subject before him with profound meditation, and perpetual supplication to the Father of lights. *Utilis lectio, utilis eruditio, sed magis unctio necessaria, quippe quæ docet de omnibus*, were the sentiments of his heart. When, therefore, he stood up and addressed men on the entire depravity of man;—on the justification of the soul by faith only in Jesus Christ;—on the regenerating, and progressively sanctifying influences of the spirit; when, ‘knowing the terrors of the Lord,’ he persuaded them to accept the offers of salvation;—or when he besought them, by the mercies of God, to present their bodies to him as a living sacrifice—he spake ‘with incorruptness, gravity, sincerity, with sound words that could not be condemned:’ and none who knew their souls to be guilty, helpless, accountable, immortal, could listen to his preaching unmoved. In the delivery of his discourses his natural manner was not good, from a defect in his enunciation. This, however, was more than compensated by the solemnity, affection, and earnestness of his address. It should be added also, that as practical subjects were discussed by him, with constant reference to the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, so likewise all doctrinal points were declared practically, with a view to self-application, rather than disquisition. No one, as it regarded all doctrine, could enter more completely into the spirit of those words, both for himself and others—*Malo sentire compunctionem, quam scire ejus definitionem.*”

In this opinion we most cordially acquiesce. From our recollection of the ministerial labours of the author of this volume, when he officiated at Trinity Church in Cambridge, we can say, that his discourses, even at that early period, were characterized by a deep, accurate, and practical view of his subject. His style was for the most part simple, clear, and energetic. The great truths of religion were faithfully and broadly stated. Doctrine and duty, privilege and practice went hand in hand. He “shunned not to declare to his hearers the whole counsel of God.” The coming wrath of heaven against transgressors was often brought forward: but the mercies of the gospel were his dearest theme. On them his spirit loved to dwell. In them he found the rest and happiness and hope of his own mind; and he pressed them upon his hearers, as one who described their value from the full recollections of his own experience.

If however we had been unable to add our own feeble testimony to the character of his sermons, the volume before us would have left no doubt upon our minds respecting it: and we are persuaded that among the numbers by whom it will be read (and too many readers it cannot have) few will rise from the perusal without a persuasion that the author loved and watched for his hearers with some touch of that affection

which the great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls invariably felt for his disciples. These discourses (it is true) will hardly secure to him the reputation of a learned man, a profound divine, or a very eloquent preacher. Those indeed, who lightly regard the discouragement and difficulty, amidst which he labored, the sickness by which he was interrupted, and the trials by which he was harrassed, will perhaps subtract something from their estimation of his talents in consequence of this publication. It is impossible however to withhold from these discourses the high praise of earnestness, zeal, affection, fidelity, accurate and able views of sacred truth; accompanied frequently by a fervour of expression arising from the feelings of one whose conversation was in heaven; and of whom all men were constrained to "take knowledge that he had been with Jesus." They bear the impress of a manly and vigorous mind too plainly to be mistaken. The familiar manner in which they frequently proclaim the offers of redeeming mercy, and insist upon the demands of an evangelical holiness, may appear to detract something from their dignity, and to give them the appearance of a work of easy and every-day execution. But the volume is in fact of that character, which the poet has so well described,

Ut sibi quivis

Speret idem, sudet multum, frustra que laboret,
Ausus idem.

We are informed that, "only one of the Sermons, the last, entitled 'Christian India,' was intended for publication, and was printed during the author's life-time. The first ten were preached on successive Sundays, at the old Church in Calcutta, in the latter end of 1810, just before his final departure from Bengal." Such a selection was in the main appropriate and judicious. It admits us into the latest history of the author's mind, and enables us to touch, as it were, the chord, to which his feelings vibrated, when about "to depart for ever from those shores, where he had fondly and fully purposed to spend all his days." In this picture of his thoughts upon the great truths of religion, we see him, like aged Joshua before his death, bearing a final testimony to the goodness of the God whom he served, and to the excellence of the faith which he professed. In these discourses we seem to hear his voice, "weak in human strength, lifted up in divine warnings and invitations, in a place, where something seemed to intimate, that he should never again declare God's judgment on the impenitent, nor invite the weary and heavy laden to Jesus Christ for rest."

The first sermon describes the great scriptural doctrine of

the atonement; and we propose to analyse it very briefly, as a specimen of the manner, in which the author was accustomed to consider his subject, and of the system, precision, and clearness, which are the distinguishing characteristics of the school in which he studied; and which so eminently mark the writings of the venerated individual by whom his taste in arrangement and composition was mainly formed, and whose friendship was almost the dearest earthly solace of his life.

The text is taken from Heb. ix. 22. "*Without shedding of blood is no remission.*"

After a brief description of the causes, which mislead men in their opinion concerning the *way* of obtaining pardon, the first head is occupied, in *removing error* upon this very important subject. It adverts to the three following delusions;

1. That God is merciful, and man weak: therefore God will overlook his errors.
2. That God will pardon us for the sake of our repentance;
3. That pardon of sin may be obtained by the way of good works.

These popular and destructive errors, which must be familiar to the experience and recollection of every minister in his intercourse with the sick and dying, are plainly stated, fairly combated, and satisfactorily refuted.

The second head asserts, that some one must suffer for us, and is proved from the universal prevalence of sacrifice in the Jewish and Gentile world. The arguments adduced are plain and forcible, but distinguished by no great depth of reading, or reach of original thought. The conclusion however is powerful, affectionate, and practical.

The third head merely comprises a brief remark on the probable effects of the atonement, and on the necessity of obtaining an interest in its mercies. We cannot but fear that the close of this sermon will produce a feeling of disappointment in the mind of the reader. The great subject is neither so earnestly pressed upon the conscience, nor so eloquently recommended to the gratitude of mankind as was the author's custom, and as the theme of reconciliation by the cross seemed to demand. The following extract from the first subdivision, will afford a fair, if not a favorable specimen of the argumentative character of the work. It abounds in such passages; which, if not strikingly profound, are rarely trite, feeble, or tedious, frequently animated and eloquent, always sound and scriptural. The preacher, it will be recollected, is controverting the groundless expectation of pardon from the alleged mercy of God on the one hand, and the weakness of man on the other.

“It might be added, that the goodness of God would be so far from being liable to any imputation by our destruction, that it might probably be an act of *goodness* to the rest of the creation to punish us: as a king by putting to death a number of his people, who are nuisances to the rest by their ill conduct, consults thereby the benefit of the whole community; for the rest are taught the evil and danger of transgression, and fear to offend.

“If, after all, men perish in saying that they can neither believe there is any hell, nor that God made us to be miserable, we answer, that the same argument would go to prove that there should be no suffering *in this life* neither; for this world is as much under God's government as the next: we must therefore say upon these principles, ‘we shall never find any misery in the world—God is too merciful to allow it.’ But let us look at the world! Is there no misery, no shame, no poverty, no remorse, no disease? Yes, a huge army of pains and sorrows overrun the earth, and are the consequences of men's sins, the natural, appointed, and necessary consequences. It cannot be said, that these sufferings are intended only to correct us, so as to make us more careful in future; for in all instances of *capital* punishments for crimes, this end cannot be answered: when a man is brought to the gallows, no one supposes that his execution is intended to make *him* better. And it must be observed, that these things take place upon earth according to the appointment of God: for such instances of punishments, where men are cut off for ever from the community, are confessedly necessary for the well-being of the whole, and are therefore agreeable to the will of God. Our inference therefore is, that upon whatever principle God is supposed too merciful to punish sin hereafter, upon the same principle it must be concluded, that he is too merciful to punish it here: which is contrary to fact.” (P. 4—6.)

The second discourse, from John iii. 16. is entitled,---“*The love of God in the gift of his Son.*” If it be true, that each division of a sermon should comprehend an entire and distinct proposition, the arrangement of the three first heads in this discourse must be pronounced artificial and faulty. The text is plainly divided into two grand and leading truths. I. *The Mercy of the Most High.*---God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son. II. *The purpose for which that mercy was exhibited*---that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life. Our author however, makes three separate divisions in an imperfect sentence. I. GOD.---II. GOD SO LOVED.---III. GOD SO LOVED THE WORLD. This attempt at climax (to speak in terms the most indulgent) is injudicious, and unnatural. With this exception, however, the sermon is marked by characters of no ordinary excellence: and we cannot refrain from quoting one passage of singular beauty, in which the idea rises into a *real* climax, that leaves the mind no other sentiment than that of adoring gratitude.

“ But what ! can the *fellow of Jehovah* (Zech. xiii. 7.) be given to man ? Shall He, who is God, equal with the Father, *God over all, blessed for ever*—shall the *Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, which is, and which was, and is to come* ; shall HE leave his glory, and sojourn with mortals ? Must the *Ancient of Days* put on a mortal tabernacle ? What fellowship hath light with darkness ? What agreement between dust and glory ? Will the Father consent that one of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity be thus debased ? ‘ No ! ’ he might say, ‘ if this be the only condition, let them perish ! ’

“ But God *so loved the world, that he GAVE his only-begotten Son. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. Herein is love*, as if there were love in nothing else. May we not say, that to give us a being among rational creatures—therein is love ; to have our life carried on so many years as a taper in the hands of providence—therein is love ; to give us heaven—therein is love ? No ! *herein is love*, that *God gave his SON*. He gave him, unasked for ; man would never have conceived such a request ; or if he had, he would not have dared to urge it. God foresaw how his Son would be treated ; yet he gave him notwithstanding, to shame, and to spitting, to pain and to sorrow, to a suffering life and disgraceful death ; for so *God loved the world*—*SUCH* anxiety, *SUCH* desire and concern, was there in the heart of God, for the salvation of sinners ! ” (P. 36, 37.)

“ *The Doom of the wicked,* ” from Ps. ix. 17, forms the subject of the fifth sermon. This discourse, although preached among the last efforts of the author’s ministry at Calcutta, was probably composed some years prior to that period, and delivered on ship-board, during his passage from Cork to India. The circumstances connected with this solemn denunciation of wrath against the ungodly, are too striking to be omitted, because they exhibit the conduct which a zealous and faithful minister of the gospel considered himself bound to adopt, when called upon to decide between the fear of man, and the cause of God. The alleged severity of his preaching had occasioned great offence to several of his fellow-passengers, who had expressed their determination to hear him no longer.

“ * * * coming in, said, many had become more hostile than ever : they should come up to prayers, because they believed I was sincere, but not to the sermon, as I did nothing but preach about hell ; I hope this portends good.” (Journal quoted in the memoirs, p. 130.)

These unholy dispositions were soon displayed, and this very sermon was the occasion of exhibiting them in act and practice. On Sept. 22d., Sunday, he says,

“ I was more tried by the fear of man, than I ever have been since God called me to the ministry. The threats and opposition of these men made me unwilling to set before them the truths which they hated : yet I had no species of hesitation about doing it. They had

let me know, that if I would preach a sermon like one of Blair's, they would be glad to hear it ; but they would not attend if so much of hell was preached. This morning again, Captain * * said—" Mr. Martyn must not damn us to-day, or none will come again." I was a little disturbed ; but Luke x. and, above all, our Lord's last address to his disciples, John xiv. 16. strengthened me. I took for my text, Psalm ix. 17. 'The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God.' The officers were all behind my back, in order to have an opportunity of retiring in case of dislike. B * * * attended the whole time. H * * *. as soon as he heard the text, went back and said, he would hear no more about hell ; so he employed himself in feeding the geese. * * * * said, I had shut him up in hell, and the universal cry was, ' we are all to be damned.' However, *God I trust blessed the sermon to the good of many.* Some of the cadets, and many of the soldiers were in tears." (Journal, Memoirs, pp. 131, 132.)

Upon the policy of Martyn's conduct in these trying circumstances, different opinions will probably be formed. On the one hand it will be urged, and rightly urged, that a messenger of heaven ought to obey God rather than men ; that instead of fearing those who can kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do, he should anxiously endeavor to deliver his own soul, by a candid, fearless statement of divine truth to his auditory, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear. On the other hand, it may be argued, that the same truths might be substantially declared in terms less obnoxious to remark, and with a zeal less obtrusively offensive. It may be said, that the preacher should have addressed his hearers in that spirit, in which the Saviour taught his disciples.---" I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." It might be argued, that he threw down the hope of usefulness with a violent and wilful hand, by thus previously stating that, which he knew his hearers had pledged themselves to resent. Probably however it will be found, that the most conscientious minister of religion, though zealously desirous not to say, " Peace, peace," when there is no peace, will always find within his heart some suggestions of a timid policy, persuading him by arguments the most specious, if not to commit or compromise the denunciations of Jehovah, yet to dwell upon them less prominently, and less forcibly, and less awfully, than they demand. If the solemn verities of the gospel be fairly and faithfully stated, they will necessarily offend. The preacher should aim to bring them in all their parts and proportions before the mind of his auditory, and yet to deliver his message with as much regard to the "*mollia tempora fandi,*" as consists with fidelity to the parties between whom he negotiates. Let him keep back nothing that is profitable ;

let his matter be scriptural, his manner firm, fervent, and affectionate. Let him speak the truth in love, and the event may be safely left with God. In fact, whatever a minister may gain in popularity, by timid temporizing statements of divine truth, he will assuredly lose in credit for a fearless sincerity, without which he can never hope effectually to address his hearers, and say,---“Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.” Micaiah, the son of Imlah, was summoned by Ahab to declare the success which should befall the hosts of Israel and Judah, if they went to battle at Ramoth Gilead. Affecting to speak in harmony with the false prophets who had gone before him, the Man of God said---“Go, and prosper ! for the Lord will deliver it into the hands of the king.” The very promise of success made the monarch doubt the prophet’s sincerity, because he knew that success was not to be expected in his rebellion and idolatry. Nor, much as he dreaded the message, and hated the messenger, did he think Micaiah’s answer to be the language of his heart, until he had fully declared the impending evil. A conscientious minister of religion will shrink with terror from that popularity, which is gained at the expence of his master’s honour, and which may endanger the dearest interests of those to whom he is commissioned with a proclamation of woe or mercy. He will rather speak with that decided earnestness, of which a heathen patriot furnished a splendid example, when he said, amidst rebuke and threatening, “*Strike, but hear me !*” Perhaps however, the best clue to guide us in this labyrinth of casuistry is, that which the journal of our author provides, “*God, (I trust) blessed the sermon to the good of many.*” If this result followed, the discourse could not have been preached in vain : and the inference is manifest, *he that winneth souls is wise.*

The subdivisions of the first head in the sixth sermon, appear to make a distinction without a difference. The subject is, “*The deceitfulness of the heart,*” from Jeremiah xvii. 9. Riches, Pleasure, Honour, and even the providence of God, are held forward as unintentional deceivers. But, as the mistakes or dangers into which they lead the unwearied, are manifestly derived from the delusions of the heart, their effects might have been ranked apparently with more fitness and propriety under the principal head of the sermon. Nevertheless, the whole discourse, is the production of a mind deeply versed in the wiles of this great deceiver, and earnest in the Psalmist’s prayer---“Search me, O God, and know my heart ! Try me, and know my thoughts ; and see, if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting !”

We cannot resist the pleasure of making the following extract.

"The Word of God is given to us, to serve as a rule to shew the heart's obliquities—a line to fathom its depths—a clue to guide us through its labyrinths—a fire to try its nature: yet it remains unknown!

"The Word of God puts us on our guard against the deceiver: it has given it a stigma that we may learn it: it mentions some of its wiles; holds up, as warnings, persons who have been duped; and roundly asserts, that *he that trusteth his own heart is a fool* (Prov. xxviii. 26). Other deceivers, if they found the ground thus pre-occupied, and measures taken for their deception, would despair of attempting any thing with success; but the heart sports in its own deceivings: it lays its plots at leisure, and is confident of escaping detection. *Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird* (Prov. i. 17). The silly animal sees what is doing, yet flies as soon as possible into danger. Thus it is with man. He seems bereft of reason when the heart exerts its influence: so superior is its skill and ingenuity, and so irresistible its fascinations." (P. 109, 110.)

The following passage from the Eighth Sermon, on Col. ii. 16, is expressed with much simplicity, and yet with much force.

"The beginning of all true religion is, *receiving Christ Jesus*, not merely receiving his baptism or his name, but the Lord himself. The receiving of Christ is essential: where Christ is not found, our religion is only a name.

Is it asked, "What is meant by receiving Christ?" It is to receive him as God's unspeakable GIFT, provided by the love of the Father, before the foundation of the world, and bestowed freely on us sinful men, without regard to our deserts. It is to receive him as our atoning sacrifice and justifying righteousness, cordially accepting him, *as of God made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption*, coming to him, as the foundation, laid by God, believing in him, as the appointed Saviour, and making him the ground of our hope of acceptance with God, to the exclusion of all other hopes. It is also to receive him as our LORD, whose commands *alone* are to be obeyed. This may be the chief import of the words; for they may be translated, *As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus to be your Lord, so walk ye in him*. Where the reception is real, or the faith genuine, there will accompany it humility, love, devotedness: therefore to say, that we receive Christ Jesus the Lord, is to say, that we receive him with the consciousness that we are sinners, perishing under the wrath of God. As a dying man receives the last medicine, that restores his life, or as a drowning man seizes the kind hand, that saves him, with like joy and love we receive God, the Saviour, and gratitude consecrates to him the rest of life. This is the beginning of our new course toward heaven, the stretching of our wings toward the skies: and thrice happy are ye, children of God, who have become such through Christ Jesus." (P. 148, 149.)

There is an excellent Sermon on Acts xxiv. 25, imagined

and executed in the author's best and most vigorous manner. Possibly the arrangement might have been more natural and easy, if instead of first describing in three subdivisions the subjects, on which St. Paul reasoned, and then describing under distinct heads the apostle's motives for such preaching, arising out of the Governor's character, it had been simply stated,

I. That Felix was living in the sin of adultery, and therefore Paul reasoned of Temperance.

II. That Felix was a corrupt Judge, and therefore the Apostle reasoned of righteousness.

III. That Felix knew little, if any thing, of a resurrection, therefore Paul reasoned of Judgment to come.

The following extracts are too characteristic and too excellent to be omitted.

"Righteousness, he would tell him, is a conformity to the will of God. How long has the light of revelation shone upon the world; and yet in the place of this obvious definition, others almost heathenish are continually substituted! The discharge of duty in the social and civil relations of life is considered as the object of all religious systems; and provided the end be attained, it is thought needless to raise objections about the way. This may be morality, but it is not religion. It comports very well with a system of Atheism; because, if no future state is to be expected, we must be satisfied, if we can but see happiness and good order in this: but it can never be held in consistency with the revelation which we profess to admit: in that, to love God with all our heart, is declared to be the *first*, and *great* commandment." (P. 169.)

Again—"St. Paul, while reasoning of righteousness and temperance, would sometimes lower the lofty tone, which became the herald of God, and try to win, where he had failed to intimidate. He would display the excellency of the Christian character, whether considered in its connexion with this world, or its expectations in the next; and would bid him (Felix) remark, what various and valuable qualities are united in the person of a believer;—what a constellation of glories compose his crown; how elevated his sentiments;—how noble his conduct;—how high his destiny;—how peaceful his end! He would contrast the pleasures of the world with those of religion, the world flattering, but false, and its friendship ruinous, religion faithful in its promises, though severe in its requisitions, awful in aspect, though in reality benign; the pleasure of sin unsatisfying, degrading, and at last disgusting, accompanied with guilt, and followed by remorse;—how different from the calm delights of a good conscience! how superior the satisfaction to be found in wisdom's ways! *Keep sound wisdom: it shall be life unto thy soul, and grace to thy neck. Then shalt thou walk in thy way safely, and thy foot shall not stumble: when thou liest down thou shalt not be afraid: yea, thou shalt lie down, and thy sleep shall be sweet.*" Prov. iii. 21—24. (P. 175.)

We shall need no apology beyond the passage itself for quoting the conclusion of this energetic sermon.

“ Now therefore, men and brethren, while you have life, and health, and strength ; while your sun is not gone down, nor the grave yawning for you from beneath ; before time begin his ravage, and disease sap your vitals, ascend your watch-tower, contemplate the prospect, stretch your thought inward, and determine, what the end shall be. You are in one sense the arbiters of your own destiny. God has opened the way to himself by the mediation of his son, and by the offers of his spirit. Through the Son you may be forgiven, through the Spirit sanctified. A feast is spread, to which you are invited ; a river of life, of which you may drink ; a crown of glory, which is your appointed reward. May God fix your hearts for glory, honour, and immortality, through Jesus Christ our Lord.” (P. 184.)

In the tenth sermon on Rev. xxii. 17, the author adopts the interpretation, which regards the language of the spirit and of the bride and of him, that heareth, as addressed to the Saviour, though it is an interpretation, which draws this seeming incongruity along with it, that the same invitation is addressed first to the Lord in Heaven, and then in the same verse, without any apparent change of object, to the thirsting disciples upon earth. Of the precept however, so construed, he makes this powerful and practical use :

“ Let us attend to the authoritative INJUNCTION of our Lord. *Let him that heareth say, Come.* Let him, to whom the Gospel is preached, unite with the Spirit and the Bride in their supplication, and say, *Come.*

“ But can men, in general, pray for the dissolution of the world when the fibres of their hearts are so closely wound round it ? Can they desire *a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness*, when they love the old earth so well, though there dwelleth unrighteousness ? Can they serenely wait for the judgment to be set, when their conscience even now anticipates their condemnation ; or for the Books to be opened, where there is no hope that their name is written in the Book of Life ? Can the voice of Christ be desirable to them, when they know too well that he will only open his mouth to say unto them, *Depart from me* ?

“ No : we must confess it to be impossible for men to pray for his advent, who are unprepared to receive him. Nevertheless the command is irrevocable. It must, therefore, admit of this interpretation--- “ Let him that heareth learn to desire my coming.” (Pp. 193, 194.)

The eleventh sermon, on 2d Cor. v. 17, contains a beautiful and striking epitome of that religion which the author so powerfully exemplified ; and of those principles which enabled him to adorn the doctrine of God his Saviour in all things. Perhaps it forms, upon the whole, the most favourable specimen of argument and eloquence in the volume.

We know not how to select where all is equally excellent, and where abridgment would be unjust and injurious.

The great doctrine of the gospel, "*Christ crucified*," from 1 Cor. i. 23, 24, is admirably described in the fourteenth discourse, from which we extract the following nervous passage, in proof that such preaching is the POWER of God.

"To wave all other considerations that display the power of God as it operates in the gospel, the single fact of a sinner's conversion by the doctrine of the cross, is sufficient to establish this point.

"For observe the state and condition of an obstinate sinner! He has given the reins to appetite, and has been long running the career of wickedness: he goes on, deaf to the admonitions and intreaties of friends, and the warnings of conscience, and, regardless of consequences, is scarcely restrained by the terrors of an ignominious death from perpetrating the blackest crimes; the joys of heaven have no power to attract his desires; nor can the threatenings of eternal punishment deter him from sin: he continues his course of self-indulgence, and becomes headstrong, intractable, outrageous: all human means having failed to reclaim him, he is generally given up as irrecoverably vicious. In the course of a short time the very same person may be seen walking soberly, righteously, and godly; not partially reformed, but following universal holiness. Holding communion with that God whose very name he hated, delighting in that society which once he despised, he lives the ornament of human nature, and dies with a hope full of immortality. What was it (we ask) that changed him? Did the Angel Gabriel lead him in a vision to the empyreal heaven, and overpower his corruptions by a torrent of divine glory? or was a spirit of darkness sent to conduct him to the confines of hell, that the nearer sight of the livid flame might startle his soul, and force him from his sins? No! these arguments, or others as strong had been tried in vain: legal hopes never yet made the heart yield. No! the man, whose change we are accounting for, once heard that faithful saying, *that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners*—that the Son of God himself had died for the chief of sinners;—that now, pardon for the past is offered freely, and grace for the future stored up for the penitent. This strikes his attention, and wins his heart, and a gleam of returning hope begins to steal through his breast: 'If this great salvation be for any,' he will argue, 'then why not for me? If Christ was crucified for me, then I may hope that for his sake, God will surely receive me. I will believe that *the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin*:' he ventures to apply for pardon; and, almost to his own surprise, his conscience enjoys peace within; the inward change begins by the renovating influences of the Holy Ghost; and the same person, who was before in the image of Satan, is made by his inward purity to resemble the Holy One!

"An instance, like this, is not a solitary trophy of the victories of the preached gospel. When first the sword of the Spirit was grasped by a mortal hand, three thousand fell before it; and whenever in the

world it is wielded by the servants of God, it marks its way by the conquest of all whom it strikes. Many of you can add your testimony, from the course of your own experience: you can say, it is the doctrine of Christ crucified which encouraged you at first to set out in the ways of religion—it is that wherein the power of God is daily manifested to your souls. Then, if I ask any of you for a specimen of divine power, lead me not to the heights above, or the depths beneath; bid me not admire that word which stays the proud waves of the sea, and forbids it to pass the appointed bounds; shew me not the strength of that arm, which took up the vast orbs of heaven, and hurled them along the fields of space; but let us ascend Mount Calvary together, and direct our eyes to him that is hanging on the Cross! For there alone is to be seen, according to God's own declaration, *what was the exceeding greatness of his power*;—there, God has exhibited, not a partial exertion of his power, but as it is energetically expressed here, Christ, *the power of God*. In Christ all the diversified operations of divine power are concentrated and brought to a point.” (P. 291—294.

Of the energy, pathos, and power, with which this zealous minister of the gospel could address the heart, our readers may take the following proof, extracted from the sixteenth sermon, on Acts xvi. 29—31.

“Observe the EARNESTNESS of the Jailor! See how it is marked in every gesture. *He sprang in—and came trembling—and fell down*. See also how it is heard in every word of his quick, short, rapid question—*Sirs, what must I do to be saved?* He flew as if the earthquake had caused the ground to cleave asunder behind him—so clearly did he perceive his danger.

“Must I tell you that you ought to be earnest? You, men of reason, men of sense? Carelessness in the business of salvation—what is it? It is not folly, but madness. It is not sleep: it is death.

“To describe the earnestness with which this question should be asked, is beyond the power of words: but, to compare great things with small, look at the trembling wretch, who, having lost his footing on firm ground, is falling lower and lower; the sandy earth giving way under his feet, and he catching at every tuft of grass in his way, yet just reaching the edge of the precipice, whence he will fall headlong into the roaring gulph below! Or watch the man, who, having been shipwrecked on a stormy ocean, has more than once sunk beneath the wave, but is now sinking to rise no more! Hear him cry—*what shall I do to be saved?* And do we ask for motives to be earnest in religion, where there is every thing to call forth all the energies of the soul, where the arguments, like the wheels of God's chariot, are so high that they are dreadful, where the motives to impel to action or to affect the passions, are so clear, so full, so strong, as to stretch every faculty of the soul to a painful extent, and make it ready to burst its tenement and soar away?

“The weapons which God has permitted his messengers to take from the armoury of heaven, are endued with such unknown, but awful power, that they may well tremble when they use them. They have to

do, not with the body of man, but the mind, the immortal spirit; and their instruments of action are suitable: they wield a sword *which is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit* (Heb. iv. 12). Happiness or misery, in life, in death, and the resurrection, are among the smaller motives which we can use to excite to earnestness: we may speak to you of an infinite and eternal God, who commands you to be earnest: we can point to glory everlasting as the reward, and an eternal hell as the punishment. But these topics we forbear to enlarge upon, but rather leave it to yourselves to consider what force they ought to have to rouse you and me to earnestness. (P. 337—339.)

We shall conclude our extracts from this valuable volume with one from the seventeenth sermon, on Ephes. ii. 1—3.

“*Ye were dead in trespasses and sins.* We are, in our NATURAL STATE compared to the dead—Let us contemplate that mournful residue of human nature, a DEAD BODY. Among the useful lessons to be read from it, there is one not to be forgotten—that it is a picture of the natural condition of the human soul. This body has eyes, and feet, and the organs of a body; but it neither sees, nor hears, nor acts, nor speaks: though it is furnished with the proper instruments of action and of suffering, it wants the vital principle to make those instruments perform their functions. So is the soul of man. It comes into the world endued with all those faculties which are comprehended under the names of understanding, memory, and affections. Man has an understanding that can soar to unknown heights in science, and fathom the deepest mysteries of nature—powers of reasoning, which can penetrate the most secret recesses of knowledge, and develop the greatest intricacies—comprehension of mind to embrace at once an almost endless variety of important subjects: he is possessed of a memory, which can preserve the record of past experience and former acquisitions in knowledge, to an extent, of which we know not the limits: man has a heart too—a heart that can flame with love, or rankle with hatred—that can burn with anger or smile with complacency—a heart which can be elevated with hope, or depressed with fear—exulting with joy, or agonized with sorrow. When all these passions and powers of the soul are called into exercise, by those occasions which were intended by God to excite them, it is in its right state—it lives: this will be allowed; but how does it appear that we are dead? Can any one be at a loss to know what these occasions are? What is the appropriate object of all the faculties of the soul? Can any one doubt whether the proper and peculiar employment of the understanding be not to meditate on the glories of that God whose power and goodness called us into being, and gave us a reasonable soul, whether it be not appropriately exercised, when it adores in the works of the creation the hand of the great Architect, or when it refers every event of providence to the immediate agency of that wise Governor who sits at the helm? Will any one hesitate to allow that every passion of the soul should point to God?—whether we should not love him most, who is indeed the most amiable; and fear him most,

who is the most terrible in his anger? whether we ought not to hate that most, which most he hates, and rejoice in that most, which most he approves? and whether, though we may admire, love, fear, and rejoice in certain created things, we are not in all seasons to have all our thoughts ultimately converging to God? That this is the reasonable condition of the soul, and these its appropriate employments, is perfectly obvious to any one who will reflect that God is in fact the All in All of the universe—that nothing exists without him—that nothing can give us pleasure without his agency: he pervades the universe—he surrounds it—he upholds it—he fills it! it is all his own, he does every thing in it. Is the human soul then designed to do any thing, but for God? The scripture however summarily confirms the conclusions of our reason; for it says, *The Lord hath made all things for himself*. But does the soul of man naturally thus embrace the Deity, as the only suitable object of his affections? Do we not know that God is in none of his thoughts, instead of being in all of them? He has passions indeed, and the sensibility of them is sometimes vivid: but the exercise of them is invariably confined to the things of this world, and never voluntarily and necessarily ascends to God. Set the Deity before him as an amiable, faithful, and gracious being—such an exhibition excites no emotion in his breast—no love, no joy, no confidence. Array Jehovah in his terrors before the sinner! he will shrink, but he does not relent: he fears punishment, but he does not fear God. Change the theme, and tell him of the wonders of redeeming love—here is employment for his understanding to trace the wisdom of God in the plan of redemption, and scope for the exercise of his affections in the consideration of the love of Christ, and his own interest in it—but no! nothing of this sort can gain his attention—it possesses no interest for him—*He is deaf to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely*. Strike what string you will, there is no chord in his heart that sounds in unison. What must we say of the state of that soul? that it is dead—for it performs no one function of spiritual life: all is torpid, inanimate, dead! There is a further propriety in calling the natural state of the soul by the name of death: there is in the dead body no power to return to life; neither is there in the soul any ability to attain to spiritual life, or the exercise of holy affections towards God: nay more—there is no will to this end. A paralytic person may have no power to use his limbs, but he may possess the desire—whereas a dead person has not even the desire—so the natural soul has no will to live again to God. There is in the dead body no spark of life, which care or time may fan into a flame: it will remain a corpse: nothing but the power of God can raise it from the dead. In like manner there is in the natural man no latent principle of spiritual life: without a Divine Intercessor he must ever remain as he is: no good education, or good resolutions, as they are called, will ever make him a good man, except there be a superadded principle from above—a change wrought in him by an Eternal Agent—life put into him by the Spirit of God. He is however not so dead, but that there is an ability to commit sin; and therefore he is said to be *dead in trespasses and sins*: it is a life full of dead acts—a sort of dying life—a living death—a life which is all death.” (P. 351—355.

The whole discourse from which we have made this long extract, so masterly in argument, though occasionally defective in style, is finely contrasted with the following sermon on "*The State of Grace*," Ephes. ii. 4---7., and both unitedly form a strong and striking description of the character of man as he is in sin, and as he ought to become through the converting influence of the Holy Ghost.

Of such materials is this valuable volume composed. That it should gain an extensive reception on account of the writer was to be expected. The character of Henry Martyn, the interesting scene of his later duties, the spirit in which he lived and laboured, suffered and died, had endeared his memory to such numbers in the Christian world, that an indifference to any work from his pen could not be anticipated. These sermons, however, are now purchased and read from higher motives than any of merely personal or ministerial respect and affection. They exhibit statements of pure and undefiled religion. They come home to every man's business and bosom. They state the truth, as it is in Jesus, with affectionate fidelity. They deserve, therefore, the reputation which they have already received, and that which they may still look forward to attain.

In speaking of such a volume, from feelings of affectionate respect towards its sainted author, we would not willingly use any other language than that of unqualified approbation. It is therefore with reluctance, that we are compelled to make a few remarks upon the manner in which the Editors have performed their duty to the author, and to the public. We shall offer them in the spirit of sincere respect and cordial kindness: and we trust they will be received not as the cavils of opposers, but as "the reproof of friends."

We are convinced that they published this volume, because they wished him still to address the world, although he was removed from its warfare to the rest and triumph of heaven. We cannot, however, prevent the intrusion of a feeling, that the office, which they have undertaken, has hardly been fulfilled with that care and discrimination, which such a task requires; a task, always of delicate, usually of very difficult performance.

The first duty to which the Editors were pledged was obviously that of a *careful selection*. The interests of religion and truth were to be served: but in an instance, like the present, they ought to have been served in harmony with the most tender and affectionate regard to the memory of him, whose writings were considered as a valuable legacy to mankind, and to whose bequest the Editors had become voluntary executors. We cannot avoid regretting that in the

anxiety to present the world with this volume of sermons, some instances of hasty and injudicious choice are marked and evident.

Every individual, familiar with the demands and duties of incessant ministerial engagement, must be aware that it is impossible, on every occasion, to prepare sermons for the pulpit strictly and entirely original. The preacher must occasionally depend upon the assistance of others; and the extent of that assistance will in such cases be regulated in a considerable degree by the pressure of those engagements which interfere with his opportunities of study and composition.

“Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim.”

But the case is widely different, when sermons are committed to the press. Love of truth, respect for the property of another, or the fear of detection and shame, would prevent an author from publishing what he did not know, or at least what he did not believe to be original. Editors, therefore, who are bound to consider and to fulfil the probable views of their departed friend, are imperiously called upon to act towards his papers by the same rule. Now it so happens, doubtless unintentionally, but certainly through a defective examination, that the fourth sermon in this volume is mainly borrowed from one by President Edwards upon the same text and subject. (Edwards's Works, vol. vii. pp. 455---464. 8vo. Leeds.) The divisions are almost entirely the same: and the very words of this great divine occupy no small part of the whole discourse. It never could have been the purpose of the author that such a transcription should meet the public eye: and amidst the interesting variety of sermons which the Editors must surely have found among his papers, it might well have been omitted.

The anecdote connected with the 5th Discourse, to which we have already alluded, invests it with an interest more powerful than can be possessed by any other in the volume. The subject, as will be recollected, is “The Doom of the Wicked.” Now the two heads of this sermon, together with the three subdivisions of the first branch, and the two of the second, are precisely those adopted by the Rev. C. Simeon (Helps to Composition, Skel. 357). Part of the practical application (p. 95) is taken from the second inference of the same discourse. A resemblance, less striking indeed, but probably too close to be accidental, may be traced between the eighth sermon on Coloss. ii. 6, and one on the same subject by Mr. Simeon (Helps to Composition, Skel. 96). These are instances of hasty selection which might have been avoided; and which the very reverence felt by the editors for the

name and memory of Henry Martyn should have prevented. The present instance is not singular. We are acquainted with a volume of posthumous sermons, published in some degree under similar circumstances with that before us, which contains a discourse taken, almost *totidem verbis*, from the works of an eminent author.

Our next cause of regret arises from the faulty manner in which sentences, that ought to be essentially distinct and independent, are permitted to blend and mingle together, often to the great confusion of the author's meaning; when a very trifling degree of attention to the punctuation would have obviated the evil.

The posthumous works of the late truly venerable Dean Milner have suffered materially by an injudicious and hasty publication. We possessed an intercourse with that great and good man, sufficiently long and intimate, to be certain, *a priori*, that any sermons which might have been found among his papers, unless particularly marked by himself for publication, would stand in need of a careful, judicious revision, which it is much to be regretted they did not obtain. The inaccuracies of the present volume are of a character less prominent: they are such, however, as might easily have been amended, and such as we trust to see amended in a future edition.

With these few abatements the work before us is worthy of the great cause which it was intended to promote, and of the mind by which it was produced. The writer is now immeasurably beyond the reach of human censure or applause. But a volume, bearing his name, as its author, seems to come to us, as from his grave; and, connected as it is with many tender recollections, it has cast a kind of moral spell around us, and made us not only slow to break through the circle of the enchantment, but glad to linger within its delightful limit. We have felt also, that some more than ordinary regard was due to the legacy of one,

“By whom and by whose means part of the Liturgy of the Church of England, the Parables, and the whole of the New Testament were translated into Hindoostanee—a language spoken from Delhi to Cape Comorin, and intelligible to many millions of immortal souls; by whom, and by whose means also, the Psalms of David, and the New Testament were rendered into Persian, the vernacular language of two hundred thousand who bear the Christian name, and known over one fourth of the habitable globe; by whom, lastly, the imposture of the Prophet of Mecca was daringly exposed, and the truths of Christianity openly vindicated in the very heart and centre of a Mahometan empire.” (Memoirs, pp. 506, 507.)

ART. IV.---ARCHDEACON BROWNE, AND MR. WILKINS.

1. *On the Corruption of Human Nature. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Ely ; at a Visitation held in the Parish Church of St. Michael's, Cambridge, on Tuesday, May 7th, 1822. With an Appendix.* By the Reverend J. H. Browne, A. M. Archdeacon of Ely, Rector of Cotgrave, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Published at the request of the Clergy. Nottingham, 1822. (For Rivingtons.) pp. 122.
2. *Body and Soul.* Second Edition. London. Longman, 1823. pp. 416.
3. *Five Letters, addressed to the Reverend G. Wilkins, Vicar of St. Mary's, Nottingham, containing Strictures on some parts of the First Volume of a Work, entitled "Body and Soul."* By the Reverend J. H. Browne, A. M. &c. Second Edition. Hatchard. 1823. pp. 81.
4. *Body and Soul.* Volume Second. London. Longman. 1823. pp. 380.
5. *A Sixth Letter to the Reverend G. Wilkins, in reply to a Chapter in the Second Volume of "Body and Soul," entitled "Evangelism."* By the Reverend J. H. Browne, A.M. &c. London. Hatchard. 1823. pp. 94.

AMONG the characteristic traits by which the old puritanic writers were distinguished, quaintness of title was not the least remarkable. The designations of their works were either sarcastic, allegorical, pedantic, or enigmatical, as best suited the turn of the author; while not a few bore names, which far from setting forth the family to which they belonged, only served to awaken curiosity, and puzzle conjecture. We consider it as no credit to the taste of modern writers to revive this sort of mystical introduction. There is something still left in the old English feelings, that leads our countrymen to respect a man who appears what he is, and to regard frank and open avowal of character and profession, as part of the common law of intercourse.

An ordinary reader, lighting upon a work whose title-page was simply inscribed "*Body and Soul*," might fancy that some modern Leibnitz, Berkeley or Hartley, was about to prefer a modest claim to his attention. He might flatter himself that the delicate subject of life and organization was about to receive some new light; that the cogitative atoms of Democritus, the intellectual vapour of Heraclitus, the pre-existent germs of

Spallanzani, or the airy speculations of some physiological magician from the age of Lucretius to that of Maupertius and Lawrence, were on the point of dispersion before some rational and intelligible theory. He opens the book, and finds it a kind of serio-comico-theological romance---a something, that (we believe) people call "a religious novel."

Now we have strong misgiving as to the quantum of good producible by this species of literary exertion. At least, whatever may be its merits in other hands, the publication, which we have now in view, is calculated to be injurious in no trifling degree, from the popular and colloquial manner, in which it handles topics of very grave concern, but too often upon false principles, and, while it brings forward in dramatic style angelic misses, sentimental divines, and eccentric sectaries, will hardly fail, as we fear, to interest some juvenile or uninformed minds, who may be deceived into the persuasion, that they are quaffing a wholesome, because palatable beverage, at the very time that they are quite unconscious of any deleterious mixture. It has indeed gone rapidly to a second edition, and the author has been induced to add another volume; for which reason we shall bestow a little more attention on the work, than under other circumstances its relative magnitude or intrinsic merits would appear to demand.

The author is assumed by his antagonist without contradiction, though the title-page is anonymous, to be the Rev. Mr. Wilkins, Vicar of St. Mary's, Nottingham, a gentleman already signalized by a controversy with the minister of St. James's chapel, in that town. He dedicates his lucubrations in the present volumes to the three christian graces, "Faith, Hope, and Charity." How far he has rightly estimated the character of the first of these venerated names, may perhaps appear hereafter. How far he has caught the spirit implied in the last of them, some judgment may be formed from the following statements, with which the Preface commences:

"It is the fashion of the age in which we live to mistake the outward show of seriousness and gloominess of deportment for the effect of true religion, and to determine on the merits and demerits of all 'who call themselves Christians,' by their professions and appearance, without sufficient regard to principles and doctrine. Hence it is, that one part of the evangelical world excludes from the pale of genuine religion all who have a cheerfulness of manner, and a liveliness of spirit, because they say, these are signs of a carnal and unconverted mind. In like manner they are anathematized as strangers to the heritage of God, who conform with those innocent amusements and customs of society, which give a zest to the more serious 'things which belong to their peace.'"

We cannot avoid introducing our remarks on this preface by observing, that of all the apologies we ever heard advanced for the amusements and customs of society the most extraordinary is, that they give a zest to the things which belong to our everlasting peace. But we willingly forego any further comment of our own, for the sake of introducing the archdeacon of Ely; who after expressing his conviction that by the evangelical world are meant in this passage such pastors, as preach "the total corruption of human nature, justification by faith alone, and sanctification by the Holy Spirit," inquires:

"Where, amongst the supporters of these doctrines, have you found the individuals, who lay down any such criterion of a carnal and unconverted state, as that which you allege? I must declare, for my own part, that I have never come in contact with the person who held such an absurd and irrational opinion; and I may add further, that I have never heard of any such person. It is true, that many of those, who are so unfortunate as to have become the objects of your taunting misrepresentations, may possibly differ from you in their notions of 'cheerfulness of manner' and 'liveliness of spirit.' What you denominate the former, they may perhaps regard as frivolity of disposition; what you denominate the latter, they may regard as levity of demeanour. It has often been observed, that vice will sometimes put on the semblance of virtue. The spendthrift will style his extravagance generosity; and the miser will disguise his covetousness under the specious name of frugality. In the same manner, the unrestrained effusions of merriment and joviality, which flow from a copious supply of animal spirits, may sometimes be mistaken for the unsophisticated cheerfulness resulting from pure religion. In fact, the joy of the Christian, and the mirth and gaiety, which are to be found in the giddy circles of dissipation, are as dissimilar in their nature, as they are in their origin, and will be in their end. The former arises from peace of conscience, a well-grounded hope of reconciliation with God, the diligent discharge of every social and relative duty, and the prospect of future glory through the alone merits of the Saviour: the latter are but too often the transient ebullitions of a heart, which has contrived for a time to forget its anguish, and (to adopt a similitude made use of by the inspired preacher) resemble the crackling of thorns under a pot, which emit a temporary coruscation of light, and afterwards expire in darkness. As there is a sorrow of the world which worketh death, and a godly sorrow which worketh repentance to salvation, not to be repented of: so, also, there is a worldly joy of which it may be said, *Even in laughter the heart is sorrowful; and the end of that mirth is heaviness*; and on the other hand there is a peace of God which passeth all understanding, and a joy and peace in believing." Five Letters, pp. 10, 11, 12.

These pious and sensible remarks are strengthened by a quotation from Herbert's "Country Parson" in the text, and by extracts, in the notes, from the writings of Fenelon and Bishop Horne. It was right to meet the insinuations and

misconceptions of Mr. Wilkins by such a grave reply ; and we, in common with other friends to true religion, are indebted to Mr. Browne for the fidelity of his answer, as well as for the honest indignation discoverable in the close of his first Letter.

“ Before you had the temerity to hazard such a proposition as that contained in the second sentence of the preface to your work, you ought, upon every fair and equitable principle, to have made yourself better acquainted with the opinions of those individuals whose tenets you were about to investigate, and whose conduct you purposed to make the subject of your ridicule and invective.” (P. 15.)

The hero of “ Body and Soul ” is a Dr. Freeman, the rector of a large parish in a manufacturing town, who is described as brought into a variety of scenes, and meeting with divers persons in succession, whose theological error or correctness his conversation respectively confutes or establishes. His first recorded interview is with Mr. Lorraine, a philosophical painter, and his amiable daughter. The young lady is much distressed at her father’s free-thinking principles, but, finding him too much for her in argument, is delighted to see the doctor enter the room in the very nick of time ; to whom after some other conversation she thus addresses herself :

“ I sincerely wish you could prevail upon my father to blend religious knowledge with his philosophy. That one, who constantly practises so many virtues as he does from principles of an innate benevolence, should be without a knowledge of Christianity, is to me an endless source of *discomfiture*.” (V. i. p. 19.)

We can easily imagine, that this young lady regarded her reverend ally, as a sort of prodigy ; and we therefore think the learned Doctor might without offence have hinted to his fair parishioner, that if she would study Johnson’s dictionary, she might learn that *Discomfiture* generally signifies Defeat, and that the word she probably required to express her idea was *Discomfort*, meaning uneasiness. But it has happened, that the characters in this work, among those blunders,

quas aut incuria fudit,

Aut humana parum cavit natura,

have used the word in the same sense ; so that the Doctor might be so much accustomed to hear people talk in this way, that the verbal delinquency escaped his observation. Let this however pass. The Doctor, having very properly told the artist that it was his duty to read his Bible, observes :

“ As to what some affirm, that a faith in a Saviour is alone sufficient for salvation, if by faith be meant only a bare belief in the Redeemer, it constitutes in my opinion a small part of the Christian’s duty ; and with respect to what others declare, that the Spirit of God involuntarily draws men to seek knowledge of him, depend upon it, Mr. Lor-

rairie, unless you yourself are desirous of knowing divine truth, you will never acquire it." (P. 22.)

Here again we must quote the Archdeacon.

"In these passages it is plainly intimated, that the same individuals who consider cheerfulness of temper as a proof of an unconverted state, fall into the additional absurdity of holding a doctrine which represents man as a mere passive machine, acted upon by some extrinsic physical necessity, propelling him to the search after divine truth without the concurrence of his own will, and against his own consent. In reply to the latter insinuation, I have no hesitation in affirming, that it is as completely destitute of all foundation as the former. Surely it would be more satisfactory to your readers, as well as more creditable to yourself, if you would endeavor to collect something in the shape of probable testimony, in order to substantiate allegations of this nature. What must your readers think of your candour, if, upon mere surmise, and without any examination, you impute to others the most irrational, extravagant, and unscriptural notions? What must they think of your sense of justice and propriety, if, knowing that the charges which you prefer are wholly unsupported by evidence, you are still determined to fasten such imputations upon those who would disclaim them in the most decisive and unqualified manner? Examine the writings of Cecil, of Venn, of Robinson, of Scott, and of many eminent living authors, whose doctrinal views are more or less in unison with theirs, and see if you can find in them any thing which will impart even some degree of verisimilitude to your assertions! If you should find such search unavailing, I should hope that you would henceforth study a little more accuracy in your statements of the opinions of others, and that you would not substitute gratuitous and unfounded assumptions in the room of clear and irrefragable proofs." (Five Letters, p. 18, 19.)

In the crude and unwarrantable charge on which Mr. Browne animadverts, we have an instance of the facilities afforded by such publications as "*Body and Soul*" to pernicious misrepresentation. If theologians of the class of Mr. Wilkins would meet those of an opposite description with fair argument, appealing to existing documents, and discussing serious things in a serious way, there might be some chance of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. But if truths of high import, and subjects of the very last importance, are to be sneered away by the sarcastic trifling of such dialogues as those before us, it is a duty incumbent on the guardians of literature to warn readers not to take all for granted, which they may happen to light upon in such minor productions.

But to proceed. In the third chapter we are introduced to "the Merchant's family." Mr. Trustwell has two sons, Alexander and Vincent. The former bids fair to make an honest tradesman; the latter is intended for holy orders. But alas! the father informs Dr. Freeman, that "he has taken

what he considers to be an *unhappy twist* in his opinions." Poor Vin is accordingly introduced to our notice as laboring under great depression of spirits; and Alec tells tales of his brother, how he will not frequent College parties, as he used to do, &c.

"Now it is singular," says Mr. Trustwell, "that Vincent, during all this time, has associated as little with his brother, as if they had been unconnected; and the society which he formed has been altogether different. He has been admitted to his degree with ease to himself, but without the attainment, or even the wish of obtaining any academical honour; his time has been passed almost exclusively in religious reading, with the Bible, and with commentators whom I know *you* do not consider orthodox. He has allowed himself to think upon no other subject; he has joined in no other conversation; he has been running after what he calls 'serious men and gospel-preachers;' he has patronized Evangelical Societies and Works, and seems to have compassed sea and land to make proselytes of the Jews. (This is a twist indeed!) After the college lectures of the day were over, he was to be found, not seeking instruction for himself in the public schools of the University, but teaching the young idea how to shoot in those established by serious societies. His evenings were passed in the assemblies of those who denominate themselves 'Elect;' at which it was usual not only to furnish the guests with tea, but to serve each at the same time with a Bible, that all in their turn might give vent to that wild and fanciful spirit of apostolical exposition, with which they considered themselves inspired. Alexander says that the members of this grave body were great dealers in mystery; that each of them had a separate but clear interpretation of the Song of Solomon; could unravel the arcana of the Apocalypse, compute the number of the Beast, and calculate to a decimal the time of the Millenium. They possessed, moreover, the means and power of explaining the articles of the Church, upon the exclusive principles of Calvin. It is in this manner, and in such a Sanhedrim, that Vincent has past his time; and he is returned in the condition of one who seems unfitted for the world. He is become thoughtful and absent, grave and demure, with a countenance that bespeaks a bewildered fancy and an unhealthy body. He occasionally assumes a playfulness, but it is too studied and unnatural to be mistaken for any thing but what it is. Now, under these circumstances, what is best for me to do? If I keep him at home, he will pursue no employment; and if I send him to a Curacy, he will *only* be making others as unhappy as himself, or rather as he has made me." (pp. 45—47.)

This is intended as a caricature resemblance of those interesting Ascanii, the hopes of the commonwealth, the more devout of the under-graduates at our two universities; but it is clumsily drawn, and outrageously colored. At a period, in which more correct views on religious subjects, a deeper sense of the necessity of such conversation as becomes the

gospel of Christ, and an enlarged zeal for the promotion of such institutions as may glorify God and benefit mankind, are apparent among our countrymen, it would be a circumstance deeply indeed to be deplored, if our universities partook not in the general improvement. Happily the fact is otherwise. We rejoice in the persuasion, that no inconsiderable number of junior gownsmen are reckoned among those characters, of whom the beloved disciple speaks as "having overcome the wicked one:" that in the ardour and inexperience of early life, and at a season when inducements to sensual gratifications are many and powerful, they know how to appreciate "the things which accompany salvation." As to their reading no book, but the Bible, and conversing on no subject, but religion, in their social parties, few readers will credit the assertion. As little is it probable that these pious students and clerical aspirants, whose object is edification, should dwell on such parts of the sacred volume, as were preferred by the friends of Vincent; while an ordinary share of modesty would be sufficient to dictate to them the propriety of leaving the abstruse subjects of election and reprobation to the discussion of senior collegians. In reply to the insinuation that these ingenuous characters use no effort to distinguish themselves in graduation, it is sufficient to advert to the fact, that a large proportion of the meeds of victory have been borne off by the more religious; and, standing on equal grounds, the serious and sober youth is at least as likely to make a first-class man or senior wrangler as the profane and the dissipated. while (it is presumed,) most parents or guardians, who desire the bodily health or mental improvement of their children or wards, will, unlike Mr. Trustwell, not regard it as a very calamitous occurrence, if they quit scenes of intoxication for those of more moderate enjoyment. Such parents and guardians will also reflect with pleasure on the change which has actually taken place in the universities themselves, with regard to the most momentous of all topics; they will learn with satisfaction, that at Oxford in particular no eminence of attainment will secure academical honours for the candidate who cannot pass safely through the primary ordeal of an examination in divinity; while the subjects allotted for competition in the other university are usually connected with religion or ecclesiastical history.

The Doctor stays to dine with his friend, and a description is given of the dinner-party. Mr. Trustwell has an elderly sister, recently married to a Mr. *Griper*; and as we are to understand the new couple to be two fanatics, who seem to think very much like Vincent on theological points, the talents of the author are exerted in painting this lady and gentleman, dressed

in such ridiculous fashion, that we will venture to say, a man may travel from John o' Groat's to the Land's End, before he would find their antitypes. Their behaviour at dinner likewise is so described as to heighten the unfavourable idea intended to be conveyed of them. On this part of our subject we need only remark, that as Mr. Wilkins is certainly no Beveridge, so he will never make a Fielding. We wish we were not forced to add our regret, that another writer, superior in so many respects to Fielding as a Novelist, should have condescended to minister to the same depraved taste for caricature, in the Portrait of Major Bridgenorth, in the tale of "Peveril of the Peak..". As a fifth-monarchy man indeed, eccentricity and fanaticism might have been expected to predominate in his character; but what is commendable in that character is so blended with its opposites, and so little distinction is made between Christian seriousness and constitutional melancholy, between pious habit and sectarian peculiarity, that it is to be feared, most readers will be led to identify that abstraction from frivolous or dissipated society, which is the imperative duty of the enlightened and conscientious, with gloomy enthusiasm or apathetic organization. The tendency of Mr. Wilkins's work is to represent persons who favor that scheme of religion, which has been called "vital Christianity," as sour, austere, miserable creatures; to foster the prejudice which has descended to us from the times of the civil troubles, and which seems to be among the last that we shall shake off; to teach the youthful part of our population, that public amusements, convivial parties, and worldly pleasures, are indispensable to give a zest to existence, nay, even to the serious things, which belong to our peace; that devotion of heart and life is unnecessary strictness or impracticable endeavour; and that not to sail down the stream of fashion, with our painted bark and glittering pennant, is to surrender our rightful privilege of enjoyment, to make a voluntary abscission of allowable delights, and to cause the religion we profess to wear an unworthy and forbidding aspect.

After dinner the party at Mr. Trustwell's engage in a religious conversation, from which we gather that Mr. Griper is a Methodist, with a "map-like visage," and "eyes resembling two fresh-opened oysters." The Doctor having opened his battery upon the Wesleyan,—“Do you mean to say,”—asked Mr. Trustwell, “that those of Mr. Griper's persuasion lay claim to direct inspiration?”

“No,” replied Griper with emphasis, “we do not pretend altogether to the possession of such inspiration as that which illuminated the Prophets and Apostles of old; but we contend for that which we

actually enjoy, a light shining within our minds, directing us by what means to lay hold on truth and to enforce it."

"And pray let me ask," said Alexander, "how you are enabled to distinguish the perceptible operations of the Holy Spirit, and the palpable workings of Satan? because he can transform himself into an angel of light; and they who are led by him are as much convinced that they are inspired by God as you yourselves are."

"Yes, Mr. Griper," continued the Doctor, "however you may soften it, the teachers and others of your persuasion lay claim to direct inspiration. Does not the champion of your faith repeatedly make these pretensions—'I had much of the presence of God'—'The kingdom of God is within me'—'The Eternal I AM hath sent me'—'God has given me a double portion of his Holy Spirit.'?—Nay, is he not still more presumptuous and arrogant in saying,—'I talked with God as a man talketh with his friend'?—Indeed, I will undertake to shew, that the Apostles themselves never had those inflated ideas of self-righteousness to which such Christians lay claim. It taught them mildness in their actions and private life, and gave them invincible boldness in speaking forth the words of holiness. It inspired them with an abhorrence for vice; it checked their pretensions to arrogant righteousness and self-justification, and tempered all their words and actions; but (continued the Doctor, looking at the same time earnestly at Vincent) it did not puff them up in their notions of exclusive holiness in which to make their boast; it did not inflate them with religious consequence: on the contrary, St. Paul, that star of the Apostles, notwithstanding the immediate presence of the Holy Ghost indisputably dwelling in him, and animating all his labours, entertained very different opinions, when he said, 'Lest after having *prayed for* others, myself should be a cast-away.'" (Vol. i. P. 64—66.)

But we have neither time nor inclination to proceed. It is lamentable to witness the confused and ignorant manner in which, such divines as the author of this work, handle the delicate topic of inspiration and supernatural influence, or, as Horsley well termed it, "the mysterious commerce of the Spirit of God with the soul of man." We are not concerned to defend every unguarded or strong expression used by Whitefield or Wesley. Much less will we undertake to patronize every incoherence or mis-statement, into which some of their followers, of less intellectual power or religious experience, may at any time have been betrayed; but we do say, that there is no subject on which those, whose office it is to teach others, ought to be more careful in uttering their sentiments; lest, in denouncing extravagant pretensions, and exclaiming against enthusiastic fancies, they check those godly motions of the Spirit in the "little ones" of Christ's flock, which may be the first risings of true religion in their souls. Nothing is more common with theologians of a certain class, than after having, with Dr. Freeman, protested, they do not

intend to disparage the wholesome doctrines of the illumination of the judgment, the rectification of the will, and the sanctification of the affections, to neutralize all that is correct in their instructions, by extreme apprehensions, lest their hearers should imagine they were encouraging them in fanatical or mystical conceits. Surely, such damping lessons are not perpetually needed. It does not follow, that if a patient is advised to avoid the vapour-bath, he should be always plunging into cold water. We apprehend it would be found, on diligent inspection of our congregations, that after all the hue and cry against methodism and madness, there were twenty who did not rise to the temperate point, for one who rose above it. Our people require a little communication of caloric from the preacher, as well as live embers in the stove. "Never let it be supposed," said Bishop Horne to his Norwich clergy, "that Christians can serve God without the grace of God, because some have been so weak as to surfeit the wise with the presumption and folly of their spiritual pretensions. The life of devotion is still the gift of God; and it must be insisted upon with our church that there is not in man one good thought, one holy desire, but from the continual inspiration of the Divine Spirit, in all things directing and ruling our hearts. Without this doctrine we may be scholars, and critics, and men of taste; we may be monitors and moralists of civil society; but we are no longer to be considered as Christian Divines, neither will our labours be attended with any saving effect."

The fourth chapter, entitled "The Sick Penitent," seems introduced for the sake of a sneer at Religious Tract Societies. Now, though among the many millions of papers distributed by such associations, there may be found here and there an expression which both Mr. Wilkins and ourselves should condemn, we nevertheless consider them as most useful engines in carrying on the grand war against sin and Satan. A judicious clergyman, by circulating these minor documents in his parish, may very greatly aid the effect produced by the lesser publications of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, against which we suppose our author would not venture an objection. We have known not a few pierced by these small shot, who have escaped the heavy artillery.

The Archdeacon notices this portion of the work in his third letter in a very proper manner.

"You represent yourself (under the fictitious name of Dr. Freeman) as solicited to attend in your ministerial capacity upon the sick bed of a poor man, whose life seemed to be drawing to a close from the effects

of a lingering consumption. After having described the forlorn habitation in which he lay, you state that upon a table near his bed were placed a 'Bible, a Prayer-book, and a few misnamed Religious Tracts, with the assistance of which some persons had been trying to enlighten his understanding, to open his eyes to faith and grace, and to convert his sinful soul.' Although their attempts to produce these effects proved abortive, yet it seems 'that they had confused his ideas and unhinged his tranquillity.'

"Now, let me ask, grounding my inquiries upon your own representation of the case, and upon the poor man's own admissions, what was there so deserving of censure in these attempts? Did not his mind stand most urgently in need of spiritual illumination? Was it not absolutely requisite to open his eyes to the necessity of justifying faith and sanctifying grace? Did not his sinful soul stand in need of conversion? It is true, he might not have been 'a notorious sinner.' He might not have been profligate or profane, dishonest or licentious. He might not have been guilty of those vices which blast the character, undermine the constitution, or subject the unhappy criminal to the penal inflictions of human laws. But still, according to your own statement, he had been 'a stranger to God;' and from his own confession he had yet to learn 'how to pray and to be truly good.' Nay more: though he had been regular in his attendance at church at least once a day, yet he candidly acknowledged that 'it was rather as a matter of course, than from any love of God, as a proper motive of serving him.' In other words, he had been living without God in the world; had spent upwards of fifty years in the habitual neglect of the first and great commandment; and though he had not renounced all the forms of religion, he had never experienced its power upon his soul. In short, he had been a Christian only in name and outward profession, not in truth and reality. What an awful state! A rational, immortal, accountable creature, standing upon the threshold of eternity, without ever having sought in earnest for the pardon of his sins, or the renewal of his nature! Surely if there be *no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved, but only the name of our Lord Jesus Christ*, and if the Scriptures expressly declare, that *without holiness no man shall see the Lord*, there was no time to be lost in urging such an one to repent and be converted that his sins might be blotted out, and to apply with humble, fervent, and importunate prayer to the forgotten Saviour, and the neglected Sanctifier." (Five letters, pp. 28—30.)

In answer to the declaration, that nothing, but an officious zeal, resulting from a "perverted intellect and inflated spirituality," could prompt any one to try "to convert his sinful soul," Mr. Browne then proceeds to shew, that the ideas of conversion, entertained by Mr. Wilkins, are very different from those of Dr. Paley and Bishop Taylor. He notices also the total omission by Dr. Freeman of the doctrines of Atonement and Mediation, and of the office of the Holy Spirit; and ob-

serves that notwithstanding this superficial and defective conduct on the part of the pastor, the poor man in the course of the week gives the Doctor "the satisfaction to find, that he was progressively advancing in the great work of his own salvation." The Holy Sacrament is therefore administered soon after to the sick parishioner, who departs without leaving a doubt on the mind of the Doctor of his entrance into eternal happiness. This affair is then related to Alexander Trustwell, who is no doubt a great favorite with our divine, for having escaped the Methodism of his brother Vincent, and who is so much pleased with the account, that he celebrates it in some poetic lines, which serve to fill up two or three pages, and were, we dare say, much approved by Dr. Freeman, though they might have been very well spared to the public.

It appears, from some plain allusions to the preceding comment of the Archdeacon on Dr. Freeman's visit to the Sick Penitent, contained in the chapter on "Evangelism" in the second volume of "Body and Soul," that Mr. Wilkins is indignant at the language of that gentleman, in making the complaint referred to in the above paragraph; and his censure is insinuated to have been wholly undeserved, in the following dialogue between the Rector and Mr. Wiseman. The former asks, with intent to vindicate himself and his Curate, Mr. Deacon :

"In what respect do you consider our duty of visiting the sick and dying improperly discharged?"

"If I may judge from the instances I have met with," replied Mr. Wiseman, "it seems but too evident to me, that neither of you insist upon those topics which ought to be urged with all the powers with which you are possessed; that at these seasons you ought to enforce the corruption of human nature, and consequently the necessity of justifying faith, and sanctifying grace, and all the unspeakable benefits arising from the great doctrine of the atonement."

"Sir," replied the Doctor, "to conceive it *possible* for any one, who has declared his belief in the two last articles which you have mentioned, the doctrines of sanctifying grace and the atonement, not to insist upon them upon such occasions as these, is a charge so heavy, that I should be tempted to regard it with indignation, did I not feel assured that it is impossible for any generous or charitable mind to entertain it. I am well aware that the visitation of the sick is one of the most arduous and difficult duties imposed upon our profession; I am aware that not all men are fit for it; it is one, which in a parish like ours, is so diversified, that no one can conceive the variety of cases that occur in it, and the diversity of remedies to be applied to them. At one time we have to combat with hardened impenitence; at another, to temper and regulate the wild visions of inflated enthusiasm; at another, to awaken the self-righteous from

their deceitful supineness; not unfrequently to vindicate the justice and mercy of God from the charge of partial grace and personal favour; and sometimes to dissipate the gloomy terrors of moody nervousness, or the dark forebodings of unholy infidelity. These, with many other cases of corrupt nature, are continually calling for our intervention; for the exercise of the best powers of our mind. To suppose therefore, that it is *possible* to discharge it in a manner strictly consonant with the tenour of the service for the visitation of the sick, without the strong enforcement of the sanctification of the Holy Spirit, and the doctrine of the atonement, must spring not from any real grounds of objection, but from the desire to expose us to contempt. And how can you conceive it *imaginable*, that any of our body can converse with any person on the nature and duty of the Sacrament, without distinctly and fully dwelling upon the atoning sacrifice, of which it is so lively a remembrance?—and among the benefits to be derived from its worthy reception, it is next to *impossible*, that the sanctification of the Spirit can be omitted." (V. 2. pp. 212—214.)

This attempt to evade the justice of the archdeacon's animadversion, is exposed by him in his sixth letter with considerable address.

"How then do you attempt to account for this most extraordinary omission?—Not by denying the fact;—that was impossible;—but by assuming that you *must* have conversed with the 'Sick Penitent' upon these momentous doctrines, because you *ought* to have done so, though you have neglected to record any part of your conversation in which mention of them was made. Such an assumption, however, may be at once overturned by the old maxim in logic---*de non apparentibus, et de non existentibus, eadem est ratio*."

"To illustrate the irrelevancy of such a plea, we will imagine that a medical practitioner is anxious to give the public an opportunity of forming some judgment of his professional skill, and of contrasting his scientific method of treating diseases with the erroneous system adopted by the upstart empiric. For this purpose he frames a supposititious case, and publishes it to the world. As his object is to set off his own proficiency in the therapeutic art to the best advantage, he naturally selects a case, with the symptoms of which he is the most conversant. Having described the various morbid affections under which his patient labored, he proceeds to give a circumstantial account of the method which he pursued, with the view of effecting a cure. Suppose, further, that another member of the same profession, having perused this account with some degree of attention, should have been forcibly struck with the omission of some most potent and efficacious remedies, and should have been led, in consequence, to state his objections to the mode of treatment which had been adopted; would it be thought a satisfactory reply to these objections, if the former individual should say,—'I fully admit the tried and acknowledged virtue of the medicines to which you allude; but can you be so illiberal as to suppose that I am ignorant of their efficacy, or that I have neglected to administer them, because I have

forborne to mention them in this particular case?—Would such a plea be deemed sufficient to clear the professional skill of this person from all doubt and suspicion?"

"If, indeed, after having described the previous life of the Sick Penitent, and the particular state of his mind, when you were solicited to attend him, you had proceeded to inform your readers, in general terms, that you conversed with him upon those topics which were adapted to his situation, it must have been presumed that you did not neglect to set before him the Saviour, in his threefold offices as Prophet, Priest, and King; and to enforce the necessity of the regenerating influences of the Holy Spirit. To have supposed, under such circumstances, that you could have omitted so essential a branch of your duty as a minister of the Gospel, would have been a most unfair and unwarrantable supposition. But as you have thought proper to record some parts of your conversation (it must be taken for granted that you would introduce such parts as you deemed most striking and important), and amongst these a formal address, founded upon your deliberate view of the individual's state and character---that you should have omitted to insert in them, and more especially in the latter, any reference to the distinct agency of the second and third Persons of the glorious Godhead in the work of Man's Redemption, was an omission, for which you will in vain endeavour to assign a valid or satisfactory excuse." (Sixth Letter, pp. 22---24.)

That such attention has been paid to this subject, trite as it may appear, will be satisfactory to the reflecting part of our readers. The Visitation of the Sick is a most important branch of a minister's duty. It is often found a favourable season for solemnly addressing many of his parishioners, to whom he could not gain easy access, when they were in health and engaged in the business of their calling, and who may prove more impressible on the couch of disease, and in the chamber of solitude, than when engrossed by the cares, or entangled in the pleasures of the world. On such occasions, it may be, he has but little time allowed him to lay before his afflicted brethren the great concerns of eternity, and to unfold to their view the plan of salvation; but it is of the highest consequence, that he should make the most of that time. Much will depend on a judicious introduction of the verities of the gospel of Christ. *Dimidium facti, qui bene cæpit, habet.* Let him endeavour to point out to them their personal transgressions in thought, word, and deed. Let him tell them of One who pitied them in their low estate, and was bruised for their iniquities. Let him speak of a Saviour's grace, and of his readiness to forgive, as well as of his power to renew, keeping as closely as he can to the language of Scripture. Perhaps the hearts of the sick may be touched, and their affections moved, and the seed sown in moist places may germinate rapidly. But if, instead of faithful and plain dealing,

through false tenderness, or low views of the Gospel, he buoy them up with vain conceit of their own comparative goodness, because their lives may for the most part have been passed in a decent and respectable manner, he will betray his Master's cause, and endanger the souls of his parishioners. Of all such pastors it will be said, "They have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace, when there is no peace." Jer. vi. 14.

We now proceed to some observations on the "Clerical Conference," a scene in which there is some curious conversation. The doctor is engaged in a "well-contested game of chess" with his new curate, Mr. Deacon, when they are interrupted by a visit from a "clergyman of the immediate neighbourhood, attended by two other divines, and two respectable laymen." This clergyman is Mr. Wiseman, before mentioned, who thus begins the conference:

"I ought to apologize for intruding upon you at this unseasonable hour, but I trust you will excuse it, when I state the nature of our business to be urgent. Give me leave, Sir, to introduce to you these gentlemen, the Rev. Mr. Peachem and Mr. Africanus, who, as members of a committee of the Missionary Society, now call upon you to request the favour of your lending your pulpit for one Sunday, to preach a charity-sermon for the benefit of that institution."

We beg our readers to observe that the author does not say *Church* Missionary Society, though we presume this is the institution intended; and that there is a low insinuation meant to be conveyed in the name given to the clerical advocate, as though he were related to a certain character in the "Beggar's Opera." With respect to the appellation bestowed on the lay-coadjutor, we are not disposed to animadvert on its appropriation, as being significant of more bloodless victories than were achieved by Scipio.

—"Permit me also to introduce the Rev. Mr. Isaacs and Mr. Levi, who attend upon this occasion to request the further indulgence, that your pulpit may be given up upon the evening of the same day, for a similar sermon for the benefit of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews. We are of opinion, that in a parish of such wide extent, both appeals to the parishioners would meet with considerable success, and that the institutions in question would have reason to thank you for the permission we now wait upon you to solicit."

"Gentlemen," replied the doctor, with his usual temper and firmness, "this is a request which I am sorry, from the very nature of it, I must decidedly refuse. In the first place, I never have sanctioned, nor shall I find myself inclined to encourage a system which I think derogatory to our profession, and of infinite detriment to our parishioners: I mean that of suffering a succession of strange preach-

ers to take possession of our pulpits, for the purpose of extracting from the congregation money to be applied to foreign objects; or for the still less worthy purpose of raising attention by the stratagem of novelty, and by administering excitement to itching ears. No, gentlemen; appointed as I am to this responsible charge, I will make use of the best faculties which God has given me to discharge the several duties of it; or, if unable to perform them myself, it has been my aim and *my good fortune* to select an able man as my permanent representative; and thus constituted we still stand our ground. If our parishioners, caught by the errors of modern innovation, desire change of ministers, that they may find food for idle and ill-placed criticism, or for the gratification of their curiosity, they may seek it elsewhere; the obligations upon us are plain, and those binding upon others with whom we are spiritually connected, are not less evident. In the next place, if our congregations can be excited only at the instance of strangers to yield up their charity, which they would refuse at the intercession of their regularly authorized ministers, this is a weakness of which I would fain spare them the confession, and conceal it from the world. There are circumstances, I admit, which make it necessary for persons in my situation to solicit the aid of my neighbours and friends; when, for instance, I am called upon, year by year, to plead the same cause for the same institutions; when it may be easily conceived, that having expended my best reasoning, and made the most powerful appeals of which I am master, I have nothing further to urge, and nothing more forcible to advance; in such a case, the assistance of my friends is very desirable, as it becomes of greater advantage to my flock than to myself; but this does not apply to the admission of strangers, those itinerary preachers, I had almost said, those importunate public beggars, whose system I so strongly deprecate."

Mr. Wiseman having rejoined, that the society would be happy to find that the doctor and his curate had become their personal advocates, and that these gentlemen only requested to occupy the rostrum of instruction on the presumption that they might be in possession of some facts of which the local ministers were ignorant, the doctor replies :

"I am sorry again to say, that neither can we comply with this, and that the denial is grounded upon the strongest reasons. To speak plainly, gentlemen, I consider the Missionary Society to be chiefly supported by that part of our clergy with whose sentiments I essentially differ; but what is more to the point, I have not that opinion of the necessity and benefits of the institution to make it a subject upon which I could conscientiously expatiate: I would infinitely rather send the amount of any expected contribution out of my own pocket to the ancient and venerable society for promoting Christian knowledge on their missionary account, than endeavour to obtain the same means from my parishioners, to be applied in a manner which neither they nor I approve. And the request as it respects the institution for the conversion of the Jews, is to me less admissible; for I make no hesitation

in declaring myself, on the subject of its utility and the prospect of its ultimate benefit, perfectly sceptical. I have never yet found, and I have conversed with many, any Jew thus said to be christianized, whom I could bring my mind to look upon as a real convert at heart. Incited by prospects of relief and of temporal advantage, many have declared themselves apostatized; but none or very few in truth have changed their minds or sentiments, and those few have adopted such notions of Christianity as are to me unsatisfactory. No: when this great alteration is about to take place, it must be attended by means far exalted above the ordinary wit and contrivance of man. On these several grounds, gentlemen, without the bias of any narrow prejudices, and without wishing to give the least offence, by what is only intended for candour, you must excuse my compliance with your desires on this occasion." (V. i. pp. 149—154.)

If unhappily we had not too many instances before us of what blind prejudice, deadly malevolence, contumelious arrogance, and self-complacent ignorance, are capable of writing or asserting, surprise might well be excited by such language as this, after the repeated answers to objections made against these merciful and important institutions. We will not here enter into a defence of those "itinerary preachers," and "importunate public beggars," whose services and talents are often devoted to those associations at great personal inconvenience and fatigue; but whose earnest desires for the conversion of 650 millions of Pagans, 160 millions of Mahometans, and 9 millions of Jews, will not suffer them to stay at home, even "to play a game at chess with their curates." These calumniated or despised advocates are the very men, who cannot be content to go with Dr. Freeman, to the theatre, the concert, the ball, and other "innocuous relaxations," while they think of so vast a portion of the human race, in the nineteenth century from the birth of an almighty and all-gracious Saviour, yet veiled in Hebrew prejudice, blinded by Moslem imposture, or benighted in Heathen abomination. They cannot hear without emotion and application the plain, imbending, comprehensive injunction—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature!"—and, while it is repugnant to their feelings and contrary to their habit to draw invidious distinctions, as Dr. Freeman has done, between the exertions of the society for promoting Christian knowledge, and those of the Church Missionary Society, they point with gratitude and delight to a converted Hindoo, or an enlightened Negro, adoring the gospel by a morality of conduct, which ethical lecture or legal restraint would have failed of themselves to produce.

Neither can they regard without interest the efforts which are making for the conversion of the Jews. Whatever dif-

ference of opinion may exist as to the meaning of certain prophecies regarding Israel in the latter days, they cannot but hail the sympathy, with which these outcasts of the world begin to be regarded by their fellow-men, as honorable to the feelings of the age, and possibly leading to most important results. The prejudice, with which the descendants of Abraham after the flesh used to be contemplated, had indeed lost much of its strength before the close of the last century. In romances and plays benevolent Jews used to figure; and though the novelist or dramatist might not be inspired with the most friendly sentiments towards the christian faith, such exhibitions tended to the public impression that every member of a synagogue was not of necessity a bloody Shylock or a cunning Isaac. But as yet no man cared for their souls. Churchmen prayed for their conversion, but did not originate measures to produce the blessed event. It was still said, "This is Zion, whom no man seeketh after." At length, when Christians combine to remove stumbling-blocks out of their way, and invite them to enter into the fold; these unkind remarks are the reward of those, who prefer such charitable exertion to the cold insensibility that would wrap itself up in its own selfishness, waiting with vague expectation for miraculous interposition.

But it seems that the clergymen who support these institutions are considered by the doctor as belonging to a calvinistic or evangelical party, with whom that gentleman cannot agree on the great doctrines of the corruption of human nature, and justification by faith alone.

On occasion of meeting the clergy of his archdeaconry in May 1822, Mr. Browne considered it of importance to address them on the subject of human corruption; a fundamental article, one, that lies at the very threshold, and without a due apprehension of which, a man shall vainly expect to arrive at the knowledge of the mysteries of the sanctuary. There cannot be the smallest doubt, that to the neglect of this doctrine is to be referred the easy currency which a flimsy system of divinity obtained in the last century. Many of our parochial instructors, if they did not go the length of giving a flat denial to the statement of the Ninth Article, implied its extravagance or obsolescence by the manner in which they continually represented the fall of our first parents, as having occasioned a partial obliquity from rectitude in their descendants, rather than a total departure from original righteousness. The members of our church became so accustomed to Semi-pelagian interpretation, that the most startling texts on the subject of human depravity failed to

alarm them; for they knew that the preacher would either deal in harmless and unawakening generalities, or would explain such passages, as exhibiting in strong terms the deplorable condition of the Gentiles or the sad declension of the Jews, while with respect to Christians it was understood, that, whatever might be meant by the imputation of Adam's sin, it being washed away in baptism, our friends and neighbours were left with that natural preference for virtue, that instances of vicious conduct, if not notorious and gross, and subjecting the delinquent to legal penalty, were proofs indeed of our frailty and imperfection, but by no means to be regarded as evidences of any essential unholiness of nature. What was the consequence? A custom of flattery and compliment became general; men told their acquaintance, and were told in return, that they were "very good;" they mistook occasional amiableness of temper, benevolence of disposition, generosity of impulse, restraint of education, and respect for the general decencies of society, for meritorious sentiments; while those who aimed at correcting such notions, and desired to recur to our original standards, were considered as weak or singular characters, who were for reviving "old wives' tales." In this state of theological ignorance, happily, some master-spirits came boldly forward, and, shewing, that the Fathers of our Church understood the subjects, on which they have left us their ponderous tomes, and that the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies are depositories of their collective wisdom, proved, that a cordial reception of this most humiliating doctrine, is symptomatization either of mental imbecillity, nor of inveterate prejudice.

It is no matter of surprise, if truths like these, however taught in scripture, and inculcated by our Church, should still prove unpalatable, and subject to unmerited imputation and uncharitable surmises. The Archdeacon commences his charge with noticing that some persons are unwilling to admit the deep, entire, and universal corruption of human nature, lest such an admission should entangle them in the difficulties of the Calvinistic scheme. He has accordingly summoned a host of witnesses in the notes and appendix to his charge, whose united evidence is sufficient to shew that the doctrine has been maintained by divines, who certainly are not attached to the particular scheme of the reformer of Geneva.

"A careful, and I am willing to hope that I may be allowed to add, an impartial examination of the testimony of Holy Scripture, associated with the corroborative evidence supplied by history and experience, has fastened upon my mind the conviction that those statements are most consonant with the truth, which represent man, in his natural condition, as a being totally and universally depraved. But, be-

fore I proceed to explain by what process of reasoning I have been conducted to this conclusion, I must endeavour, with as much brevity as I can, to obviate a misconception, which may possibly arise. In maintaining the total depravity of human nature it is not to be understood that all mankind are as corrupt as they can be—for self-interest, regard to character, the dread of human laws, and various other considerations impose many and effective restraints. It is not asserted that they are all equally wicked—for these restraints exercise a more powerful controul over some individuals than over others. It is not alleged that every individual brings with him into the world the elements of every vice which can deform and debase the human character—for some vices are essentially destructive of each other, and cannot co-exist in the same person. On the other hand it is not to be denied, that even among untutored savages you may often witness the attractive influence of the social affections; and amidst the refinements of civilized life you may observe with delight many amiable and ennobling qualities, such as extensive benevolence, inflexible integrity, unshaken fortitude, and exalted patriotism. The former, in the absence of higher motives, may be supposed to arise from instinctive feelings implanted in the breast of man for the wisest and most beneficent purposes; the latter frequently result from a combination of causes wholly unconnected with any reference to the will of God. Justice, generosity, and reciprocal kindness, contribute so much to the comfort and welfare of society, that they will commonly be held in estimation, and may even be practised to a considerable extent from motives of pure selfishness: “for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again.” By asserting therefore, that man is totally depraved, I do not mean to insinuate, that he is destitute of every thing, that is excellent and praiseworthy, in his social capacity; but I would be understood to intimate my belief that he is by nature devoid of all spiritual desires, and holy dispositions; that his heart is alienated from God; and that, till he be renewed by divine grace, and till a new bias be communicated to his will and affections, his most splendid actions, however admirable they may appear with regard to their outward form and substance, since they do not emanate from a right motive, are utterly valueless in the sight of God, and may be said to partake of “the nature of sin.” (Charge, pp. 10, 11.)

After this cautionary introduction, he proceeds to bring proof from scripture, selecting the indirect and collateral evidence, in preference to that which is distinct and explicit, as well as more familiar. He then observes :

“This train of argument might be amplified, and pursued to a much greater length; I am apprehensive, however, lest I may already have justified the imputation of prolixity. I will therefore proceed to the consideration of other evidences of man’s total corruption by nature; evidences founded not upon hypothetical reasoning, but upon experience. The great fundamental doctrines of Christianity are for the most part objects entirely of faith. They do not come within the range of human experience, or submit themselves to the test of human ob-

ervation. The only exceptions to this remark may be found in the doctrine of original sin (meaning thereby man's actual depravity) and that of sanctification by the Spirit of God, but more especially in the former. The truth of the latter is indeed attested by the internal consciousness of every sincere Christian; and it is frequently evinced by those wonderful transformations of character, which cannot be referred to the agency of human motives; and which, therefore, can be accounted for only by attributing them to the efficacious influence of Divine Grace. But the most cogent and irresistible evidence of the former is obtruded upon us from every quarter---from what we inwardly feel and perceive---from what we see and hear---from the testimony of history---and from the accumulated proofs, which each succeeding age supplies, of the wickedness and depravity of the human race." (P. 32, 33.)

This is a good arrangement, and we especially approve of the prominence given to the experimental evidence. The *argumentum ad hominem* is one of the most powerful principles in logic: and to this, after the most ingenious and profound reasonings in divinity, we often find it necessary to make our grand appeal. An honest Pelagian cannot evade its force. The ancient heathen felt it. "The seeds of every sin are in every man,"—said Seneca; who thus displayed an acquaintance with human nature, which, though requiring some explanation, (for, as the archdeacon justly observes, some vices are essentially destructive of each other,) might put three-fourths of Christendom to the blush.

Dr. Freeman, for instance, would have no doubt of the libellous tendency of this sentiment. A considerable part of the chapter headed "Evangelism," in his second volume, is occupied by a discussion on human depravity, between Vincent Trustwell and Mr. Wiseman on one side, and Dr. Freeman and Mr. Deacon on the other. A conversation on this and other important doctrines of the gospel was naturally enough brought on by an application to the Doctor on behalf of Vincent for his signature to a testimonial for orders. Mr. Browne considers this colloquy as a covert attack on his charge, and himself, therefore, as bound in honour to vindicate it, though he regards the arguments used as so inconclusive, that he should have thought them wholly undeserving of notice, if two texts had not been adduced, one of which was misunderstood, and the other misapplied. These are Rom. ii. 14, 15; and Luke viii. 15.

We recognize in the "Sixth Letter" of the Archdeacon the same correct theology and protestant sentiment which distinguished the "Five Letters," and the "Charge." In this, as in his former publications, he has modestly chosen to bring forward the opinions of other divines, rather than erect his own

into a standard; and, which is not a little amusing, he sub-pœnas Arminius himself to support what Dr. Freeman calls Calvinistic sentiment.

We wish such divines as Dr. Freeman would take the trouble of reading the excellent History of the Pelagian Controversy, by that able scholar, Gerard Vossius. He shews with great clearness the extent of the imputation of the sin of Adam, and the total departure of his descendants from original righteousness, in consequence of the Fall, with their liability to eternal separation from God. Indeed it appears to us that an admission of the doctrine of eternity of punishment, implies the infinite departure of the creature from the Creator. The following extract from this venerable authority we are unwilling to injure by any translation.

“ Ex his colligi potest, cùm Apostolus dicit mortem esse stipendium peccati, aut cùm Deus comminatur Adamo, moriturum, quacunque die comederit de arbore scientiæ boni et mali, intelligi debere quacunque mortem, quæ pro triplici vita triplex homini obtingit. Est enim vita animalis, cujus principium est natura. Est vita spiritualis, cujus principium gratia. Est vita beatifica, cujus principium lumen gloriæ. Vitæ animali contraria est mors corporalis, estque recessio animæ à corpore. Vitæ spirituali opponitur mors spiritualis, estque separatio animæ à gratiâ Dei. Vitæ beatificæ respondet mors æterna, quæ, ut gratiæ, ita gloriæ perpetua est jactura. Ex his mors corporalis prima dicitur explicationis serie, sed spiritualis prima est temporis ordine, æterna est prima malignitatis magnitudine. Prima est mala, quia adjunctum habet doloris sensum, et ejus rei privationem, quam omnia maximè suâ expectunt naturâ. Interim mors ea certò instauratur. Mors altera est pejor, quia privat summo hujus vitæ bono, quæ sunt spiritualium donorum ornamenta, et sensus favoris divini. Sed tamen reparari potest; et in electis semper reparatur. Tertia est pessima, partim quia est irreparabilis gratiæ et gloriæ jactura; partim quia non solùm exuit bonis, sed etiam (saltem in iis, qui ob actualia delicta pœnas luent) gravissimorum afficit cruciatuum pœnis, partim quia nunquam est sola, sed semper duas, et quadam ratione etiam omnes mortes comprehendit. Nam ante novissimum diem, animæ in gehennâ et a gratiâ et a gloriâ sunt separatæ; post vero illum, animæ quidem corporibus erunt unitæ, sed ad contumeliam: quæ mors est veriùs quàm vita.” Ger. Joh. Vossii hist. de contro. quæ Pelagius ejusque reliquiæ moverunt. L. 2. P. 1. Thesis 1.

The Archdeacon next notices the erroneous views of Dr. Freeman on Justification by faith alone, and his adoption of the Popish notion of a first and second justification. He also subjoins to his remarks on this subject a brief discussion of the merits of a work entitled the “Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man,” to which the Doctor twice appeals in his chapter on Evangelism, in preference to the Homilies, the authority of which is fully ratified by the thirty-fifth

article. Mr. Browne has exerted considerable ingenuity in demonstrating that the "Necessary Erudition" cannot be considered, as containing Cranmer's mature and unfettered judgment upon the great doctrines of Christianity; and we think every unbiassed mind, acquainted with the chronology of events at the period of the English Reformation, must come to the same conclusion, even if it had not been explicitly stated by the historian Collier (vol. ii. P. 190) that Cranmer was overruled by a majority of the bishops, who set forth the 'necessary erudition.'

In a chapter towards the end of the first volume, called, "The Fatalist," there is so much reprehensible matter, that we hope the Vicar of St. Mary's, upon due reflection, will see cause to regret that he ever had an hand in its publication. It introduces us to an eccentric naval officer, uniting in his composition the fatalism of a Zeno, with the absurdities of a Commodore Trunnion. Our readers are aware, that the professional oddities and superstitions of sea-captains and honest tars, have been so often displayed in novels and dramas, that the subject has long been stale and tedious. But in a work of this kind, they are certainly out of place, and, when handled in such a manner, become perfectly disgusting. This gentleman is represented as violently in love with an elderly female, to whom he addresses some amatory lines, of which we are not surprised to learn that the lady disapproved. He then hopes her good sense and delicacy will not be so much offended by the following effusion, which is represented as having met a more favourable reception from the calvinistic fair one. We quote the latter half of it only to shew, what sentiments the author can attribute to his opponents.

With vice in every shape infected,
From thy sight I ought to flee;
But I feel myself elected,
To partake of bliss with thee.

Canst thou wish to stop the torrent,
Or the trade wind in its course?
Canst thou meet the storm abhorrent,
Or unshrinking stem its force?

Then seek not, lady, to reject me,
Nor my fondness to reprove:
To thy sweet embrace elect me,
Let me revel in thy love!"

(Vol. i. pp. 347, 348.)

Besides this unbecoming ribaldry in the sea-officer, we have

unwarrantable appeals to the God of Heaven, by the doctor and his curate, (v. 1. p. 385), and there are also several specimens of incorrect composition. Thus in one place, Dr. Freeman asks---

"Was it more unreasonable for a teacher of religion among the Israelites in the days of Joshua, to speak according to the popular belief of the sun's standing, than it is in these times with philosophers, who now-a-days talk of the rising and setting of the sun with as much familiarity, as if they really thought the changes of day to night were effected by the revolution of the earth round its axis, and not the sun round the earth?" (V. 2. p. 112.)

The archdeacon also notices a paragraph in the chapter entitled "The Athanasian Creed," which is re-printed in the second edition, though corrected among the errata:

"Thus I have shewn you, how these three are necessarily and essentially God, not by confounding the substance, but by unity of person." (V. i. p. 322.)

This ought to have been---

"Neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance."

The same infelicity of expression (it appears) attaches to the writer's physics as to his divinity. The concluding sentence of the above quotation ought to have been,

"As if they really thought the changes of day to night were effected by the revolution of the sun round the earth, and not by that of the earth on its axis."

The work of Mr. Wilkins terminates with an account of the "Rector's Death." In a discourse with his Curate he informs him that he has left him his house, furniture, and personal property, the Doctor being a widower, and childless, and that he has obtained the consent of the patron to his succession in the benefice. He then says,---

"I need hardly add, as my last injunction to you, to maintain with all the ability with which God has blessed you, with all your zeal and devotion, that 'form of sound words' which it becomes a son of our national Church to support by word and deed. I die as I have lived, in the conviction that the doctrines and principles of our Establishment are those which are the most scriptural and true. I have endeavoured by every exertion, and by the fullest exercise of my intellects, to implant this belief in those committed to my care, and while I have studied to do the same myself, I have enforced the manifestation of it in those with whom I have been connected, by every act of faith and practice." (V. 2. pp. 366, 367.)

As the Doctor is gone, *Requiescat in Pace!*---But, as Mr. Deacon has succeeded to his station and general principles, we cannot altogether bid adieu to a person in whose character and sentiments we have felt some interest, without

recommending to his serious attention a charge, recently delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Limerick, in which, as it appears to us, he may find more appropriate and profitable advice on many points, connected with his holy function, than he has hitherto been in the habit of receiving. The learned and conscientious prelate, who has lately been advanced to that see, and who is already well known to the public, both by an instructive and admirable volume of sermons, and by an ingenious and original work on sacred literature, took occasion from his primary visitation, to address his clergy in the following terms, which we venture to select from a charge, every part of which is full of sound practical advice, and worthy of being attentively weighed by all, who minister in our apostolical church, because they apply directly to the point, against which Mr. Wilkins appears to have especially pointed the shaft of his satire. The bishop had quoted a canon of the Irish church, which is much to the same purport with the seventy-fifth in ours; and he adds,—“To speak my sentiments plainly, (for in all my intercourse with you, I shall be plain and simple,) I do not see how a clergyman, consistently with the sacredness and separation of his character and office, consistently with the edification of the flock committed to his charge, or consistently with the vows which he has made at his ordination, can pursue the sports of the mountain or the field; can resort to the race-ground or the theatre; can be found at the card-table, or in the ball-room. In avowing these sentiments, I avow the sentiments, which, from the earliest ages of the Church, have been maintained alike by the old Catholic bishops and fathers, and by the most distinguished and illustrious churchmen of modern times. In these sentiments I have lived; in these sentiments I hope to die; and, at the close of life, it will be to me a crown of rejoicing, if, through my humble instrumentality, any of you, my reverend brethren, shall be induced to become like-minded; and to consider, even in their most unguarded hours, what gravity and recollectedness, are, at all times, and in all places, demanded of our sacred order.” (Pp. 52, 53.)

In closing this article we have only further to remark, that ever since the promulgation of the gospel, ever since the giving of the law, ever since the fall of our first parents, there has been a disposition in man to make religion consist of a *body* without a *soul*. Under every dispensation, and in every age, he has been prone to rest in ceremonials and in ordinances; because he seems in this way to purchase a right to eternal life at a cheaper rate,

than in cutting off the right hand, plucking out the right eye, and learning the perpetual lesson of self-denial. The Church of England has been styled, "the fairest and discreetest of the daughters of the Reformation." Let her be firm to her own principles. Let her not sophisticate, and seek to explain away the doctrines of her Cranmers, her Latimers, her Riddleys, and her Hoopers. Let not her preachers declaim against religious experience, and gracious influence, under pretence of crying down fanaticism and enthusiasm. Let us not discourage the exertions of the friends of Revelation, but unite our efforts to discountenance vice and promote universal holiness. Then the attacks of Infidelity, and the ravings of Scepticism, will prove as harmless as the flickering of the sand against the base of the pyramid.

ART. V.—CONVERSION OF WEST INDIAN SLAVES.

A Letter on the Means and Importance of converting the Slaves in the West Indies to Christianity. By the Right Hon. Sir G. Rose, M. P. 8vo. pp. 87. London, Murray, 1823.

HAD the title page of this Letter expressed that its subject was "the Importance and Means," instead of "the Means and Importance, of converting the Slaves," we should have indulged a stronger hope of receiving much valuable instruction from the perusal of its contents; for a conviction of the importance of this, or any other duty, should no doubt precede a discussion of the means for effecting it, and will naturally excite attention to them in proportion to the strength of the conviction that has been left upon the mind. But overlooking this ὁστέρον πρότερον, or logical inaccuracy, and admitting that it was not necessary to enlarge on the importance of a duty which most people, at least on this side of the Atlantic, are willing to allow, we are ready to yield to the Right Hon. and distinguished author the meed of our unqualified approbation, if not for the matter and order, or for the composition of his letter, yet for his object and good intentions, and for the benevolent and Christian spirit that it breathes throughout. The letter is highly expressive of that liberal and benevolent spirit which Christianity alone can exhibit or inspire, and which we rejoice to see, is daily spreading farther and wider along with the Divine Records, and may be adduced as a

strong proof, among many others, that they have not been distributed in vain. It evinces the earnest solicitude which many planters, from motives of Christian duty and of personal interest, are now beginning to shew for the religious instruction of their slaves, as well as the readiness of the slaves to receive instruction; and it is calculated to draw the attention of others to a topic which has hitherto been too much neglected, and was much overlooked, even on a late memorable occasion. Beyond this, we do not feel disposed to think it well calculated to promote any very good purpose, or greatly to forward the interesting objects stated in the title page.

The highly respectable author's motive for writing his letter, is to be found, he tells us,

"in the slender notice taken in the recent debate in the House of Commons, of the state of religion among the slaves in the West Indies, and in what he has lately discovered of the imperfect knowledge which exists respecting it." (P. 28.)

We should scarcely have expected that on such an occasion this subject would have been so strangely overlooked. Sir G. Rose however thus endeavours to apologize for both the contending parties:—

"The respectable movers of that question were among the last of men to be insensible to the infinite importance of religion upon the weal of mankind; an importance the more vital, the greater the depravation and degradation are found to be. Their slight notice of this subject arose unquestionably from their entertaining a persuasion of the extent and depth of the moral and civil evils existing in the West Indies, so strong as not to allow them to believe, that any healthy plant can have grown up in an atmosphere they deem so baneful, or can be reared in it to mature size and vigour. On the other hand, their antagonists did not oppose to the dark picture drawn of the existing state of slavery, even an outline of the actual progress of the gospel, as an earnest, and as the means of the mitigation of its evils; nor in refutation of gratuitous assertions which have been made, and particularly in the petition of a learned body, that 'religious instruction is nearly altogether precluded.' " (P. 1, 2.)

That the instances in which religious instruction is precluded are daily becoming less frequent, and that the gospel is making actual progress among the Negroes, are truths which are here clearly shewn, and they cannot but afford matter of sincere congratulation. But the means of extending Christianity among them must meet with further investigation, and receive ampler illustration than we find exhibited in these pages, before such a machine can be put in motion as will prepare their minds for the desired emancipation in any reasonable time, to which the friends of that beneficial

measure will consent to defer it. We agree with our distinguished and respectable author in regard to the necessity of mental preparation, and of such a preparation as Christianity alone can supply, previously to the general emancipation of our slaves. If any of his or our readers see no necessity for it, we should require no other means of bringing them over to our opinion, than to transport them across the Atlantic for a few hours, on a Sunday afternoon, and there to place them in a situation where they could behold the scene of riot and confusion and every evil word and work, exhibited at the breaking up of a Sunday market, or by a gang of Negroes returning from that *weekly congregation*. "If such be the effects of a weekly seventh-day liberty," (our advocates for immediate emancipation would say,) "what may we suppose would follow from the same persons having the same liberty for *seven* days a week? If we must thus shut our eyes and close our ears against this ebullition of temporary and ephemeral liberty, were such beings left *wholly* at liberty and at large, could we hope to be safe by closing our *doors* and shutting our *gates* against them? Or, by raising them to the rank of free men and independent fellow subjects, could we venture to live with them as fellow inhabitants of the same islands?"

Thus should we be soon able to enlist (we imagine) all our opponents, among the converts to our opinion for the *immediate* instruction of the slaves, with a view to their *future* emancipation. But, while we discover in this pamphlet no means of instruction suggested, at all commensurate to the extent of the ignorance to be removed, we do not altogether approve of seeking religious instruction through the instrumentality of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, which is here loudly eulogized, and to which we are chiefly directed for assistance, as possessing superior means of diffusing the light of the gospel. We congratulate ourselves in having lived to see the day when the Right Hon. Sir G. Rose, M. P. and other such distinguished men as he, have the candour and the courage to avow their approbation of Wesleians and Wesleyan Missionaries, at the risk of being dubbed methodists, if not *Knights-errant* of methodism, enthusiasm, fanaticism, and the like. That the strong prejudice against the Wesleyan Missionaries which accompanied them to the West Indies, which has ever excluded them from foreign islands, and has long obstructed their labours in our own, is gradually subsiding; and that the respectability of their characters and the value of their exertions are becoming daily more notorious, we sincerely rejoice; we desire to lay, and to find, no obstruc-

tion in their way; nay, we most heartily wish both them and their zealous and amiable coadjutors, the Moravians, abundant success. But we suspect that their superior means of missionary usefulness, as well as their numbers in the West Indies, are here greatly exaggerated. Nor can we see the necessity of applying to them for religious instruction, while our own church has established and supports a society for the express purpose of converting and instructing the Negroes in our West Indian colonies. Sir G. Rose appears to be aware of the existence of this society, and of "the sterling worth of the spiritual merchandise of our church;" but we do not observe that either he or his friend and correspondent (James Laing, Esq.) has ever applied to it for that religious aid which we are fully convinced it would have most readily and most gladly afforded; he does not include its converts in his calculation of the instructed Negroes; nor do we find his name in the list of subscribers. He calculates the annual expence to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, of instructing Negroes by their Missionaries, on an average at £200 (sterling, we presume, not currency) for 1000 Negroes, or 4s. per head. Now, were the planters to make an equivalent allowance by voluntary subscription, or be required to do so by legislative enactment, to the Slave Conversion Society, even that sum would enable it to afford the desired instruction, in that more regular way, which (it is here admitted) many of the planters, as well as our author himself, would prefer. Why that society, which is of nearly thirty years standing, and has not yet a dozen laborers in the field, should have been hitherto so inefficient, and so little known to the public, that even the late Dr. Buchanan, when enumerating the several Missionary societies in 1813, appears not to have been aware of its existence, we are not competent to say. We have however great pleasure in observing, that under the auspices of its present amiable and excellent president, the Lord Bishop of London, whose unwearied exertions in its behalf, amidst the multiplicity of his other labours, fully evince that he takes a very lively interest in its success, it is now pursuing its important object, with renewed activity and unwearied diligence; and we humbly trust that before long it will be found to act a more distinguished part among our Missionary institutions. Yet, considering the number of slaves in our West India colonies, here calculated at 730,000, and that only about 100,000 of these are yet instructed, or in a course of instruction, no exertions that it can possibly put forth, aided by the most zealous support of all the other societies now laboring

in the same field, or to be hereafter sent into it from Europe, will be able to occupy it in its full extent, or to afford that degree of previous cultivation which is necessary to the tree of *rational* liberty's being there planted, without admitting into their plans and systems one new element, namely that of native assistance. In every plan of instruction for our native subjects in the West Indies, the case of the free colored people, we humbly think, should be included; and these, together with the slaves and free Negroes, may be considered as amounting to 1,000,000 souls. But, while the free colored people thus greatly swell the total number to be instructed, they ought not to be viewed as adding to the labour and the difficulty of instruction, for they may become themselves, when duly instructed, valuable and efficient auxiliaries in that labour: auxiliaries indeed, so essentially necessary, that we are strongly inclined to the opinion, that without them the work can never be undertaken on a scale sufficiently extensive, or accomplished to any reasonable extent for upwards of a century to come.

Our conviction of the valuable aid to be derived in this way is not the result of idle speculation; nor was it formed on the opinions or the experience of others, but on the most unquestionable evidence, before we were aware that any Society had introduced it into their system, or been led, by having made trial of it, to form the same opinion of its success. The Church Missionary Society, however, it appears, avail themselves of it, more or less, in their different missions, and particularly in that at Sierra Leone, from which quarter the latest accounts are decidedly in favour of it. And the opinion of the Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society respecting it may be collected from the following extract, which Sir G. Rose has given in his Appendix from their Report for last year.

“From among the class of people of colour, auxiliaries, of great importance in the religious instruction of the ignorant, are also rising up, who, both from superior education, and their better circumstances in life, will be rendered very influential. Upon this class, and especially upon the female branch of it, in a few of the islands, where the mission has been longest established, the progressive influence of religion is exerting the happiest effect, in raising their character, rescuing them from those disgraceful connexions which it was so long a matter of course for them to form, and promoting the honourable estate of marriage: and thus, whilst they are deriving the benefit of Christianity themselves, they will become the agents of a larger dispensation of it to others, both by their example and exertions.” (P. 79.)

The free colored boys are chiefly brought up to trades, but in most of the Islands, we believe, all the usual trades,

which are comparatively few, are much overstocked, particularly as many slaves also are tradesmen, so that a certain proportion of the free colored people are either wholly idle or not fully employed. Nor is it unusual to find some of these natural children in a state of starvation, in consequence of the death of their parents, or the shameful neglect of their *unnatural* fathers. It would therefore be an unspeakable benefit to them, and greatly promote their general usefulness, were they to be employed as Catechists and lay-teachers, an office for which they are, or may become, well qualified. So far are they from being wanting in mental endowments or mental energy, as some have believed and alleged, that we much question whether they would be found to come short of their white brethren, in any branches of education, or in any of the arts of life, were equal opportunities given them of mental improvement. We have had occasion to remark the emulation and the rapid progress of the children, and we have seen specimens of the genius of the men of this class, that would not have discredited European artists.

From the Reports of the local Clergymen in 1817, of which our excellent Author has favoured us with copious extracts in his Appendix, it appears that one of the greatest difficulties in the way of their attempts for the instruction of the Negroes, is the want of mutual understanding between them, arising from the limited comprehension, and the unbounded ignorance, of the latter. The Missionaries of other communions, we doubt not, have the same difficulty to struggle with, more or less; and, we are perfectly aware, through other sources of information, of its existence. But the free colored people are very capable of making themselves understood by the slave population. They are familiar with their language and modes of expression. They have a fellow-feeling with them, and are often connected with them, in a greater or less degree. They take in general a lively interest in their welfare and concerns; and their health is much less endangered, than that of Europeans, by the close attendance that is necessary to be given to a crowded school of blacks, in a warm climate. Whatever weight may be allowed to these considerations, (and much is doubtless added to this last, by the late painful accounts from Africa and the East) it should operate powerfully, on the score of humanity as well as of expediency, in behalf of the plan, here suggested, of employing native, or free colored teachers.

But in order to bring such a plan, were it to be adopted, into full and extended operation, it would be necessary to establish a School or Institution for the express purpose of

educating for teachers in our West India Colonies, free colored children, to be carefully selected and sent home for that purpose, and to receive a course of instruction here for four years, more or less. One or more such preparatory Schools might indeed be established in the West Indies. But perhaps an European education, and one conducted under the eye of the Slave Conversion Society, would be not only more complete, but also give the future teachers more consequence in the opinion of their sable pupils; while they would further learn here the proper distinction between Sunday and other days; and better opportunity would be thus given for ascertaining the characters and qualifications of the boys, and thereby for excluding from the important office they were meant to fill, some ignorant, dull, or otherwise unpromising candidates, who might be found to do more harm than good.

Those considered regularly qualified would of course be stationed in their native Island, or among the several Islands, in proportion to their need of teachers, or as the Society should direct, and be placed invariably under the management and control of the Parish Clergy, the Missionary Curates, or other white Superintendants, whose duty it would of course be, to report to the Society at home, respecting their conduct, their labours, and success.

The distinguished and excellent author of the Letter now under review, proposes to leave any such machinery, that may be directed exclusively to the object of promoting the conversion of the slaves, independent of the parochial clergy. We cannot readily subscribe to that proposal; nor do we suppose that those clergy themselves will think well of it. And in proof of this, as well as of their opinion of the aid to be derived from lay catechists, when properly stationed, we here quote from the Appendix before us an extract of a letter from the Rev. H. Jenkins, dated Montego Bay, St. James's, Jamaica, 4th June, 1817:

“When my pastoral duties call me into the country, I embrace every such opportunity to speak to the slaves on the subject of our moral and religious obligations, as far as a short visit will permit. All this, however, will not have the desired effect on people of a very slow apprehension, unless the master, or some other person in his absence, take the trouble of instructing them from time to time; or a certain number of catechists be appointed for the distant parts of the parish under the direction of the rector. Our united endeavours, with the blessing of God, would, I am persuaded, be productive of much good to the slaves.” (P. 51.)

Whether in prosecution of the scheme we have thus ventured to suggest, of calling in the aid of native teachers, free

colored girls likewise of a suitable age should be sent home and here educated, under the watchful eye and direction of the Society, with a view to the future instruction of their own sex, both free colored, and slaves, may be matter of future consideration; or rather we think it is a proposition too plain and evident to be called in question.

Its utility, and, we may add, its humanity and Christianity, are very apparent in the extract we have already quoted from the last published Report of the Wesleyan Society. Nothing more, therefore, need be added in behalf of such an arrangement, than merely the consideration, that it would have a powerful tendency to rescue this class of females from that state of degradation and profligacy, to which they have been very generally brought up, and from their unhallowed connexions with those men who should have been their guardians, protectors, instructors and examples. That they are as susceptible of moral and religious impressions as any of their sex, we firmly believe. Some of them we have beheld exhibiting the power, and living under the influence, of religion; and we are convinced, that in many of them would be found, were they rightly educated, the most zealous and efficient auxiliaries, in the great work of conversion and instruction.

An institution properly conducted, and on such a scale as to admit of sending out annually to the West Indies from six to eight hundred teachers and catechists, or even two hundred of each sex, would soon have, it may well be supposed, a most beneficial effect on that mixed population of *Christians* and *Heathens*. And yet, it would take upwards of a dozen years, before one on the larger scale could be fully commensurate to the wants of the colored and slave population. The scale and the expence of the preparatory school at home would then admit of being gradually reduced, as the annual waste of teachers may be calculated to be much less than would take place, if they were Europeans, and many of those whom they had instructed would lend their aid also, in civilizing and teaching their uncivilized and uninstructed brethren and neighbours. The expence to the public would, no doubt, be considerable at first. Yet it would not surely be felt as a heavy burthen, if divided between the government at home, the West India planters, and the public at large.

If the Wesleyans can alone raise upwards of £30,000 a year for the support of their missions, surely the half of that sum, which would nearly, if not wholly, cover the expence, could readily be afforded and advanced, in the manner re-

commended as above, for so benevolent, so valuable, and, we may add, so patriotic a purpose.

The hearty concurrence of the colonial clergy in such an institution, may be anticipated as a matter of course, or will doubtless follow the expression of their excellent diocesan's wishes on the subject, when duly made known to them; and particularly as its grand object would be to relieve them from a burthen which should weigh heavy on their consciences, as it certainly rests naturally on their shoulders; though, as appears from the extracts of their letters, to be found in our author's appendix, too many of them are apt to consider the slave population as no part of their charge. And could there be found among them, when roused to due activity in this good work, but two in Jamaica, and one in each of the smaller islands, even that number would greatly facilitate the labours and promote the objects of the Society, prove an unspeakable blessing to the colonies, and add to the Church those, who are otherwise likely to become the disciples of separatists, or to live and die without even the name of Christians, or with merely the name, without any knowledge of Christian principles, or any regard to Christian duties.

But after all, before such plans can be laid, and such schemes adopted as shall effectually tend to accomplish the important object in view, to the full extent of the evils to be removed, or of the wishes of its best friends and supporters, more full and correct information is necessary, we humbly think, than the public at home are yet possessed of, or than can readily be obtained from residents in the islands, whether clergy-men or laymen.

And the best mode of coming at the desired information, and of ascertaining the real altitude, the profundity, and the wide, (we might say boundless,) extent of the evils in question, might perhaps be, to send out one or more delegates or commissioners, on a voyage of observation, with ample inquisitorial powers, powers so clearly and correctly defined, and so strongly confirmed by his Majesty's Colonial Secretary, as effectually to avoid the risk of any misunderstanding, or want of co-operation, between them and the Governors of the several islands, or the resident clergy. The grand object of those employed on such a mission, would of course be, to collect and communicate a brief, correct, and authentic account or statement of every important particular *de re morali et ecclesiastica*, throughout the several British islands; to be signed, with a view to its authenticity, by the Governor or chief civil magistrate, and the senior clergyman of the island.

In this way there might be poured upon the Slave Conver-

sion Society, and the British public at large, such a mass of knowledge on West Indian ignorance, and such a flood of light on West Indian darkness, as would excite astonishment, greatly facilitate its labours, and engage in its behalf the public countenance and support. And we cannot help thinking that the present season, when the public feeling in behalf of the poor slaves is beginning to be roused, appears to be peculiarly favorable for such a voyage of discovery, and such an institution as we have now ventured to suggest. In proof of the necessity of further and more correct information, we need only appeal to the "petition of a learned body," and to three tracts which within these few months have been published on the subject of slave emancipation and instruction; all of them by learned individuals, who had seriously investigated the subjects in dispute, and had as good means of information as this country can afford, and one at least, the venerable and venerated Mr. Wilberforce, has for many years directed much of his attention, and with the happiest success, to West Indian affairs. Yet those of his readers, who have visited the West Indies, cannot help observing, that even he writes in the dark, or is not aware of the extent of the evils he deprecates and is desirous to remedy. To confine ourselves to one instance, the profanation of the Lord's day; it cannot surely be known to Mr. Wilberforce, that while some planters reduce their slaves to the dire necessity of starving, either body or soul; other planters, whose gang of Negroes is not equal to the labour of the estate, bribe their neighbour's slaves to work for them on Sundays, allowing half a bottle of *rum*, more or less, to each, as part of their pay.

It almost becomes a question whether the religious instruction of the slaves operates more powerfully against this vile practice, or this said practice against their instruction; for wherever it prevails, those planters who encourage it, will generally be found among the enemies of religious instruction; and we have known some of them to set their faces, and to use their influence, against pastors and teachers, whose lessons taught the slaves to reject with scorn, even *such* a bribe, and to "remember the Sabbath day, and keep it holy."

How far the practice prevails throughout the British Islands, we are not prepared to say. Planters in general will not be apt to communicate such information. *Res sua agitur*. It is their own craft that is in danger. Nor will the clergy or the missionaries often see it prudent to do this, from the fear of bringing down upon themselves the indignation of the offended planters, and thereby seeing their pious labours obstructed on such "groundless charges" as those which we are here

told (Appendix, p.57) by a respectable planter in St. Vincent's, were brought by his attorney or manager, against the Wesleyans---

"first, that they prevented the slaves from applying their time to the cultivation of their grounds in aid of their subsistence, and led them to superstitious preaching and psalm-singing, which they could not possibly understand, and which tended to all mischief; 2dly, That the parsons (as they were called) took money from the negroes, and graduated them each according to their ability to pay." (P. 57.)

On these charges, which the owner found, when on the spot, to be perfectly groundless, the preachers had been dismissed, and "the negroes precluded their Society."

We have seen a string of similar charges, sent in to the local government of a foreign colony, and by them transmitted without inquiry and without ceremony, to the king, their master, against two clergymen, and three dissenters, but not missionaries, whose real and incurable faults appear to have been, that they were zealous in recommending to all under their charge a more due observation of the Lord's day, in instructing the ignorant of all classes and colours, in refusing to baptize adults without previous instruction, in encouraging marriages among the slaves, whom, to prevent, if possible, all groundless calumny, they always married gratis, and with the written consent of their owners, &c. &c. The methodist preachers in St. Vincent's found ample justice at the hands of the owner of the estate from which they had been discarded; who inquired into their case, acquitted, and restored them. Not so fortunate, it would appear, were the two clergymen in question. The planters, few in number and low in character, but powerful in influence with an irreligious and an arbitrary government, gained their point, and succeeded to their wishes. No royal rescript set on foot an investigation on the truth of the alleged charges; nor was any such investigation granted, when called for and required by the parties calumniated and aggrieved. One of the two clergymen was discarded, though he had the *universal* suffrage of his people in his favour, and is second to none of his brethren in the West Indies, at this day, for respectability of character, enlightened zeal, or professional usefulness. The other resigned in disgust at the treatment both had met with, and in view of the difficulties that lay before him. This happened in 1820, and the consequence has been, that one of their charges, (we understand) one of the most numerous, most flourishing, and most respectable congregations in the West Indies, still remained without a pastor, when the last accounts left the island about two months ago, and (we fear) is to this day in the same situation.

We trust however, that the hope will soon be realized, which (Sir G. Rose tells us) now

“exists, that a very material augmentation of the means of diffusing the gospel by the church, may shortly be effected by the appointment of a bishop or bishops for the West Indies ; for it is wholly impossible, under the very peculiar circumstances of our ecclesiastical establishment in those settlements, that difficulties can be overcome, evils corrected or prevented, and in general, that means can be adapted to their ends, otherwise than by a resident head, in whom, for various reasons, the patronage of it should reside. (P. 15.)

“It appears also to be in contemplation, to give to the West Indian Church, new and extended means of preaching the gospel to the slaves. His Majesty’s government, which, I am persuaded, is seriously occupied in devising the best means of carrying these wise and benevolent intentions into effect, will do itself a credit, and render a service to the nation, by the accomplishment of them, not easily to be estimated.” (P. 16.)

While this hope of new arrangements does not wholly remove, in our opinion, the necessity of a previous investigation into the present state of West Indian affairs, ecclesiastical and moral, (for the result of such an investigation, if duly planned and properly conducted, may greatly assist in adapting the new transatlantic establishment to existing wants and circumstances,) it certainly precludes the necessity, if not the propriety, of seeking for religious instruction, without the pale of the established Church. We cannot agree with Sir G. Rose, in the opinion which he seems to entertain, that the very constitution of our Church, and her long standing as an establishment, have extinguished every spark of her missionary zeal ; nor can we, with him, view her clergy, as a body of invalids, doing garrison duty, and unfit for actual service.

“No class of Christians can enter into the missionary field with any chance of success, unless it has imbibed a large portion of that ardent spirit of solicitude for the propagation of the gospel ; of that zeal for heavenly things ; and of disregard of human things, which is popularly termed religious enthusiasm.” (P. 13, 14.)

Here we are agreed. But why cannot this spirit be engendered or kept alive in old establishments, “without some alteration in their principles, or in their modes of action ?” That it cannot, we conceive to be a prejudice hastily assumed, and one, that might lead, if extended and pursued, to consequences, through which Sir G. Rose, we are sure, would not choose to follow it.

“It is perfectly evident from the correspondence of the West Indian parochial clergy already mentioned, that, as a body, they are not pervaded by that spirit.” (Ibid.)

Here also we are agreed; and we cannot readily acquit them of a great want of professional zeal in one particular, in regard to which, we are persuaded, it would have been attended with the happiest effects; that of recommending lawful marriage among the slaves, who are not incurably hostile to it, nor unfaithful, in general, to its engagements.

“The total number of marriages, legally celebrated between slaves by the established clergy, from the year 1808, to the latest dates, as stated in the returns made in 1821 and 1822, and printed by order of the House of Commons in the present session of Parliament, amounts to 3603. Of these, 3596 were celebrated in Jamaica,” (which contains about 341,812 slaves,) “two parishes of which island made no returns. Thus it appears, that after all that has been justly said of that colony, it may be called a temple of Hymen, when compared with our other West Indian settlements. In the other fourteen settlements, whence returns are made, seven marriages only are specified as having been legally solemnized between slaves.” (P. 31.)

But, while in this and some other particulars we cannot praise the West Indian clergy, as a body, we feel disposed to pay them, with Sir G. Rose, the full tribute of respect, that is due to them; and we know, that there are very praise-worthy characters among them. We are happy to observe the prominent distinction, and the marked attention, he has given to the excellent letter of the Rev. W. Chadderton, now rector of Tortola, than whom none of his brethren has done or suffered more in the cause of religion, or exerted himself more for the religious instruction, and the best interests, of all classes, and all colours, under his charge. His character and his merits, which are well known in the West Indies, are not unknown in the proper quarters at home. We may therefore expect to learn, in due time, that they have been duly appreciated and rewarded, in the proposed arrangements for a West Indian ecclesiastical establishment.

For the length of this article we plead, as our apology, the vast importance of its subject, and the high respectability of the author, rather than the intrinsic merit of his letter; which however, though it does not wholly meet our expectations, we have no scruple in recommending to general perusal, after venturing further to notice a few inaccuracies, which the distinguished author will perhaps see cause to correct in another edition.

Thus the language, used in the following passages, concerning the state of the unconverted negroes, does not appear to us to be quite in harmony:

“The unconverted 630,000 souls are plunged in the most stupid ignorance; in various species of gross idolatry; and in brutal and

scandalous vices, of which even Western Africa never afforded to her sons the means, nor suggested to them the idea; and which they had never known, had they not been the bondsmen of Christians." (P. 6.)

"If we compare them," (the liberated negroes in Sierra Leone), "with the West Indies, we must remember, that the Creole slaves there, are, as is perfectly well known, far more docile, and humanized, than those who are born Africans. They are from their birth in habits of obedience, and live in the sight of civilization." (P. 23.)

And again shortly afterwards the author, forgetting this his own account of them, reverts to his former opinion, and describes them, as having lost

"all the restraint and coercion of their respective native manners and laws," and fallen "into perfect licentiousness."

The members of the Wesleyan Congregations in the West Indies, he reckons at "about 80,000," whereas in Adam's *Religious World Displayed*, just published, the members of their Societies in that quarter last year, as furnished to the author of that work by one of the secretaries, was only "about 24,699," to which if we add an equal number of hearers, not being members of the society, the whole will still not amount to 50,000. And we all know, that that numerous and respectable body are not generally considered to be guilty of exhibiting to the public reduced statements of their numbers. To the same work, which contains, we believe, just and correct views of the doctrines, as well as authentic statements of the present numbers, of the various religious communions, we beg leave to refer Sir G. Rose, for juster views of the doctrines of the Moravians, whose members are neither Calvinists nor Lutherans, but, for the most part, Arminians.

We sincerely wish success to the object on which Sir G. Rose here wishes to fix the public attention; and, whatever plan or plans may be eventually adopted for its accomplishment, we humbly trust, and are willing to believe, that not only the comfort and good of the slaves will be consulted, but likewise the interests of the Planters, with whom we sympathize, in their present circumstances, towards whom we bear a hearty good will, and many of whom, we know, have, with our excellent author, their own interest and advantage less at heart, than the comfort and best interests of their slaves and dependants. And now, reserving to ourselves the privilege of putting our own construction on some few of the expressions which occur in it, we conclude by seconding the statement with which he concludes his letter:—

"That a great and most encouraging beginning has been made in the conversion of the Slaves in the West Indies, to Christianity; that we can at once pursue it on a very wide and enlarged scale, if the ne-

cessary pecuniary means are furnished :—that there is a prospect of new arrangements in our local Church establishment being effected, with a view to promote it;—that from the progress already made in a few years, there can be no doubt, that, such an impulse being given as may now be afforded, the machinery for promoting the diffusion of the Christian religion will act with accelerated force, as conversion naturally multiplies to itself the means of self-extension;—that the heathenism of the Slaves, such as we have seen it to be in its nature and accompaniments, whilst it reflects great dishonour on our nation, and is a foul reproach to our own Christianity, opposes, so long as it exists, an insuperable obstacle to all real amendment of their condition;—that we, humanly speaking, have in our own hands the power to put an end to that heathenism, and, consequently, to remove that obstacle, and to remedy this crying and perilous evil;—that we have to determine, whether we shall avail ourselves of the means which we possess so to do, or whether, enthralled by listlessness or prejudice, we shall adjourn the decision to a morrow, which may never dawn upon us.”

ART. VI.—PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

The Missionary Register, containing the principal Transactions of the various Institutions for propagating the Gospel; with the Proceedings at large of the Church Missionary Society.
10 vols. London. Seeley & Son.

WE have been often struck with the contradictory estimate which men of equal piety and sagacity form of the present age. If we associate with some, we shall be tempted to believe that infidelity and disloyalty are rapidly tainting the whole mass of our population, and that the youngest of us are not unlikely to outlive our laws and religion; and if we mix with others of a more sanguine and active turn of mind we are encouraged to indulge in the most fascinating prospects of futurity, and to anticipate for our posterity if not for ourselves, a golden age of universal peace and benevolence. Both in fact are right, and both are mistaken. We have read somewhere of two travellers who looked from opposite directions at a statue of a man, one of whose cheeks was painted black and the other white; each was positive that both were of the colour which he saw, and so it is with every one who takes only one view of an object. Now in these days of restless activity when no man is like his forefathers content to live to himself, but all are exerting themselves to propagate their prin-

ciples, be they good or bad, when the press is open to all, and there are facilities of communicating opinions never known before, it is easy to perceive that the sanguine and the gloomy may each find abundant materials for confirming himself in his prepossessions.

Let us imagine a foreigner landed in London, in the month of May, with introductory letters to our first mercantile houses, and to some of the chief directors of fashion. Now will he not describe us, according to the use he makes of them as a nation immersed in business, or devoted to pleasure and dissipation. Should he unhappily fall into the hands of radicals and low infidels, he will conclude that we are on the eve of a revolution, and that all men of sense and spirit have discarded the sublime truths of Christianity, and the ennobling precepts of the gospel, as trammels, devised by priests to arrest man on his progress to perfection. But let his good genius place him under the guidance of such of our nobles, prelates, and gentry as seem to live for no other end than the promotion of the temporal and eternal welfare of their fellow-creatures; let a Wilberforce for instance, be his guide, and he will find the day too short for the exertions of philanthropy. In our senate, in our prisons, in our schools, in Freemasons' Hall, in the committee-rooms of our numerous societies, he will find the friends of mankind indefatigable in the prosecution of their plans for the general good. The abolition of slavery, the improvement of prison discipline, the amelioration of criminal jurisprudence, the grand work of national education, the universal distribution of the word of God, the conversion of the Jews, the communicating the gospel to heathens and Mohammedans will in succession be brought before him, and while he listens to the eloquence of these advocates for the best rights of man, and partakes of their flow of soul, he will feel himself on enchanted ground, and wish that no spell should ever break so delightful a dream, and bring him back to the dull, and heartless, and selfish realities of ordinary life.

Many such travellers as we have imagined, have seen and felt all this, and some of them on their return have been encouraged to imitate what they have seen. We heartily wish that so many of our own countrymen were not in this respect strangers at home, for we cannot but think so favorably of some who systematically absent themselves from such meetings that if they would but attend them, all their refined objections would vanish, and they would zealously co-operate in these various schemes of benevolence as soon as they were better acquainted with their regulations and proceedings.

The large and respectable class of persons that stand aloof from all these societies, will hardly take the pains to examine their annual reports, which it must be confessed, are for the general reader too voluminous. Now one evil of this is, that while their newspaper and review, themselves perhaps, at best of doubtful moral character, and the company they keep, are continually informing them of the profligacy and impiety of the world, they hear nothing of the endeavours (and many of them encouraging ones) of those who are labouring to improve it, they grow querulous, out of humour with mankind, and discontented, it may be, with the ways of Providence. They attempt nothing themselves, but criticise and object to what others are doing, and, as far as they have influence, are the authors of incalculable mischief by throwing a ridicule upon generous undertakings, and if they hear a rumour of any good achieved, justify to themselves their own indolence by questioning the accuracy of the statement or the motives of the agents.

The general ignorance indeed that prevails on the subject, except among persons engaged in the cause, is surprising. Enlightened men, who would be ashamed of not knowing what is going on in parliament or in the literary world, are as unacquainted with the extraordinary efforts now making for evangelizing the world, as with the politics of China or Japan. How few yet know, how Christianity is repairing at Sierra Leone, in the best sense, the wrongs of injured Africa; or that our missionaries have prevailed upon the inhabitants of many of the South Sea Islands nationally to renounce their idols, and abolish their abominable practices. We would invite the real philanthropist to contemplate these Oases in the moral desert, and accompany us in the rapid survey which we propose to take of our missionary institutions. The survey we trust will not prove merely amusing, but that it will encourage our readers to take part themselves in this great work, which is now as it were brought home to their doors. And to confess our real sentiments, we cannot understand how any that allow Christianity to be a blessing or even use the Lord's prayer can justify to themselves the doing nothing to spread it, when they find the very labourer and mechanic laying aside out of their scanty wages a penny a week for this purpose.

Certainly a remarkable change has taken place in the public mind upon the subject within a very few years. To express a wish for the conversion of the heathen (we presume) was always deemed proper by respectable persons, and some might think of them with pity and good will, when they followed the minister at church in praying, that God "would be pleased to

make his ways known unto them, his saving health unto all nations." But earnest and frequent prayer to the Almighty to fulfil his own prediction of the universal prevalence of Christianity, would (we fear) have been thought not many years ago to border at least upon enthusiasm, and an attempt to associate believers into a missionary society would have been scouted, as visionary and chimerical. In August, 1796, twenty-nine Missionaries with the wives and children of several, embarked for the lately discovered Isles of the Pacific in the first Missionary ship that ever sailed from the shores of Britain.

"Freely they quit the clime that gave them birth,
Home, kindred, friendship, all they lov'd on Earth.
What things were gain before, accounting loss,
And glorying in the shame, they bear the cross,
Not as the Spaniard on his flag unfurl'd
A bloody omen through a pagan world,
Amidst the wilderness to lift the sign
Of wrath, appeas'd by sacrifice divine."

Such a speculation (we may be sure) had to encounter ridicule, and was perhaps adopted rather, as an experiment, that ought to be made, than from any sanguine hopes of success. Even good men, unless endowed with peculiar strength of mind, would shrink from supporting it: and yet we cannot conceive a more noble or more Christian enterprise. Surely we may well apply to this memorable voyage the lines of the Poet we have already cited in his description of the first Moravian Mission to Greenland.

"—— To his ear, which gathers in one sound
The voices of adoring worlds around,
Comes there a breath of more delightful praise
Than the faint notes his poor disciples raise,
Ere on the treach'rous main they sink to rest,
Secure, as leaning on their Master's breast?"

For years however it pleased divine Providence to try their faith by disappointing their hopes. One ship, sent out with a reinforcement of Missionaries was taken by a privateer; no impression was made upon the natives; they were thwarted by such of their countrymen as came in contact with them; some even of their own body apostatized; and at last, the Otahietans being engaged in civil war, most of them retired to New South Wales. In the moment of despondency, when every human expedient seemed exhausted, they obtained an unexpected and complete triumph. For particulars we must refer to the publications of the London Missionary Society. Suffice it to observe that a moral miracle, such as hitherto we had only read of in the early history of the Church, has been

wrought, and the boldest figures of prophecy have been fully realized ; for the islands, which our navigators described as scenes of shameless sensuality, now read a lesson to the nation that has converted them, by their strict observance of the Lord's day and their diligent study of the Scriptures and obedience to its precepts. The Author of the Task, addressing Omai, the Otaheitean, whom Captain Cook brought back with him, exclaims

“ We found no bait
To tempt us in thy country. Doing good,
Disinterested good, is not our trade.
We travel far ('tis true), but not for nought,
And must be brib'd to compass Earth again
By other hopes, and richer fruits than yours.”

We can hardly refrain from wishing, that the Christian poet, who indeed lived long enough to see, that there were Britons, who could visit those very shores with higher views than those of scientific discovery, or of adding to our treasures of natural history, could have written a recantation of his satire : for who would have felt more deeply or sung more powerfully

“ such scenes, surpassing fable, and yet true,”

on perceiving, that the “ favoured isles,” which he pitied, as placed remote “ from all that science traces, art invents, or inspiration teaches,” were last discovered, to be first converted ? Cowper has sweetly touched the harp of prophecy. But what he anticipated has been in part realized, and we recommend the subject to Montgomery, or some other Bard of kindred spirit.

The experiment (we see) has succeeded ; on a small scale it is granted : but may we not fairly add, that success has been more than in proportion to the labour and money bestowed upon it ? Nor is Otaheite a solitary case. The villages of liberated negroes in that colony of philanthropy, Sierra Leone, exhibit a no less pleasing picture of a civilized, industrious, and Christian community ; and, although in our vast Indian empire we cannot yet fix upon any such tangible evidence, we are confident that a gradual progress is there making, prejudices are yielding, a spirit of enquiry has been excited, and our posterity will in due season reap an abundant harvest from the seed which is now sowing in that seemingly barren soil.

It is an old and a just remark that Christianity is the friend and ally of knowledge. We are indebted for almost all we knew of China till within these few years to the Jesuits, who have also contributed some of our most authentic details of savage life. Our modern Missionaries are also continually

adding to our stores of geographical and philological information, and philosophers and men of letters are beginning to turn to our Missionary Registers and the Reports of our great religious Institutions, as their predecessors used to do to the "*Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*." The Asiatic Society, recently established at Paris for the promotion of Oriental literature, presents us with a remarkable acknowledgment of this, in the introductory speech of its President, Baron de Sacy, who is considered as the first Orientalist of the age, and has still higher claims to our respect as a pious Christian and a friend to the universal diffusion of the Bible. Having paid a just tribute of gratitude to the Missions, and observed, that up to the foundation of the Calcutta Asiatic Society, religion was the chief, if not the sole means, by which Europe slowly acquired correct notions of the distant regions of the East, he thus proceeds:—

"Deux causes me paraissent avoir principalement fait naître pour l'étude de l'Orient cette époque nouvelle, dont nous recueillons déjà les fruits. Je veux dire l'établissement de la puissance Anglaise dans l'Inde, et la formation des Sociétés Bibliques. On pourrait sans doute à la vue d'un succès si prodigieux se livrer à des réflexions d'un ordre supérieur aux considérations littéraires: on pourrait concevoir l'espoir, qu'il y a là une semence, qui ne peut rester sans fruits pour le bien du genre. Mais, pour me renfermer dans ce qui appartient à mon sujet, il me suffit de faire observer, que si la connaissance des langues est un instrument indispensable pour arriver à celle des peuples, l'étude de l'Asie ne peut que recevoir un accroissement rapide et sans bornes de cette traduction d'un seul et même livre dans tous les idiomes des nations, qui l'habitent."

We think, if it were merely as a matter of curiosity, that one set of men should know what another set is doing, that an article on missions ought to find a place in a publication not exclusively religious, and that it might be rendered interesting, and, we would hope, beneficial to our readers. We have accordingly set at the head of this article the Missionary Register, a monthly publication, which is, in fact, a chronicle of every endeavour that is making for evangelizing the world. The January number of each year presents a view of all protestant missionary stations; and those who will peruse it may collect from it a much more satisfactory statement of the great work now carrying on than we can pretend to give. But it is to be feared that its circulation is limited to persons already interested in the subject; we, therefore, proceed with our sketch of protestant missions.

Roman catholic writers have reproached protestants for doing nothing for the diffusion of Christianity. Now, with-

out recriminating or urging that some, at least, of their missions have rather had in view the proselyting of members from other Christian churches than the extension of the faith, or calling in question the apostolical zeal and devotedness of some of their missionaries, we will, in a degree, plead guilty to the charge, and confess that we have never, till of late, been awakened to a due sense of our duty in this particular. Some circumstances, however, of an extenuating nature we may be permitted to bring forward. At the Reformation, Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, and their associates, had too much to undergo and to accomplish in the Herculean task of restoring pure Christianity at home, to think of propagating it abroad; and, when the struggle between contending parties had subsided, and protestantism was left in quiet possession of the countries which it had subdued, an orthodox creed seems to have been more the object in view, than Christian feeling, and that indifference and lukewarmness began to show themselves, which, on the Continent, led by slow degrees and a gradual surrender of vital doctrines, to a learned and scarcely disguised infidelity, or what was not much better, a self-styled rational Christianity. But those who blame the supineness of past generations are apt to overlook their very limited opportunities: Sweden, for instance, could only act upon Lapland, and there some feeble attempts were made by the heroic Gustavus Vasa. The Swiss and Germans were out of the question; the New World and the Indies were under the dominion of Roman catholics, and Holland and England were the only protestant states that maintained any intercourse with heathens.

Holland cannot be said to have been insensible to the obligation, although some of its measures were not as judicious as could be wished. In Ceylon a proclamation was issued, ordaining, that no native should be admitted to any appointment under government, unless he signed the Helvetic confession of faith, which (we are informed) was readily done both by pagans and the Portuguese converts. The qualification for baptism was, that the catechumens should learn by heart the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and certain prayers, and that in Dutch, a language which they did not understand: It is no wonder, therefore, that the Dutch converts vied with those of the Roman catholics, both in number and character. Having once brought them, however, within the pale of the church, they adopted judicious measures for their instruction. They divided their territory into parishes, a division which, we trust, will soon be partially introduced

into our own eastern empire. In each a protestant school was erected, and over every ten schools there was a catechist, whose office it was to visit them once a month, to inquire into the conduct of the teachers, and to examine the progress of the scholars. But, still further to ensure a Christian education, a great number of these schools was placed under the superintendence of the Dutch minister of the district, who was required to visit each once a year. A seminary of a higher description was likewise established for the instruction of native youths of promising talents, in the Dutch language, in order that by obtaining, through that medium, more extensive knowledge, they might be better qualified to labour among their countrymen as schoolmasters and preachers. The Dutch also printed the New Testament both in the Tamul and Cingalese tongues; and such was the result of these efforts, that (although, on the surrender of the island to the British arms, till the government of the present Earl of Guildford, the salaries of the native schoolmasters and catechists were suspended, and the churches were suffered to fall into ruins, in consequence of which, thousands relapsed into heathenism,) still the returns of the population for 1801 exhibit as many as 342,000 native protestants. Similar measures were pursued by them in their other settlements at Formosa, Amboyna, and Java, and the Dutch were in all honorably distinguished by their care to supply the natives with the Holy Scriptures in their own language. The Gospels they printed at Amsterdam, in Malay, the language of the Indian Archipelago, as early as 1629, and afterwards the whole New Testament, at Batavia, under the patronage of the governor general. Thus not only did the Dutch pursue systematically the business of conversion, but were unconsciously preparing materials for the widely spread population that speaks that language, which have been turned to use in our own day, on a grander scale, by that powerful engine of civilization and improvement, the British and Foreign Bible Society.

As to our own country, at the Reformation, we had neither trade, nor colonies; and we may be permitted to regret, that the venerable compilers of our liturgy had no prophetic vision of the future glories of England, of the mighty empire it was designed by Providence to build up in both hemispheres. If they could have foreseen a period, when above a hundred millions of pagans would become British subjects, and that our sailors and merchants would find an entrance into every part, the great duty of extending the Redeemer's kingdom could not have failed to have been made more pro-

minent in our liturgy. Indeed the promoters of missions in the Church of England painfully feel the want of some appropriate service, at the period of their anniversaries; and it is to be wished, that a selection of psalms and lessons, which bear peculiarly upon this subject, with suitable prayers, could be drawn up by the proper authorities: for though private and social prayer are offered up upon these occasions, we want the benefit and example of a national recognition of the duty.

But, to return from this digression, the colonial power of England has grown up within the memory of man. New South Wales, from which, civilization will one day spread over the Pacific, has been settled in our own time; Southern and Western Africa are still more recent acquisitions; and at the accession of his late Majesty, the East India Company had only Bombay and Madras, and a precarious controul over Bengal. Our American plantations were of earlier growth. The title of Virginia conferred by the celebrated Raleigh in honour of his virgin mistress, marks the era of their discovery. But they were not settled till the reign of her successor. It was religion that introduced the language and manners of England into the new world. The men who had exchanged their homes for the transatlantic wilderness, that they might worship God according to their consciences, were not likely to look with indifference upon the spiritual darkness which surrounded them. They, who had sacrificed every thing for religion, would endeavor to communicate religion to the natives; and, when the difficulties of forming a new settlement in an uncultivated region without the patronage of the mother country are considered, we cannot accuse the founders of the colony of New England of tardiness and want of zeal. Plymouth, the first Anglo-American town, was founded 1621; and in 1646 the general court of Massachusetts passed an act, encouraging the propagation of the gospel among the Indians. A full account of the proceedings of Eliot and his fellow-laborers, may be found in Cotton Mather's ecclesiastical history of New England, entitled *Magnalia Christi Americana*. Increase Mather, his father, in a letter to Leusden, dated 1687, writes—"It is above forty years, since that truly godly man, Mr. John Eliot, pastor at the church of Roxburg, about a mile from Boston, being warmed with a holy zeal for converting the Americans, set himself to learn the Indian tongue, that he might open to them the mysteries of the gospel, upon account of which he has been called the apostle of the American Indians." With the assistance of a young native, who understood English, he applied himself to this

study, and notwithstanding the enormous length of the words, and the want of affinity with European languages, within two years he had reduced it to a grammatical form and could speak it intelligibly. In 1661, he printed his New Testament, which he dedicated to Charles the second; and about three years after it was followed by the Old Testament. This was the first Bible ever printed in America, and though the impression consisted of two thousand copies it was sooner exhausted than might have been expected; for it came to a second edition in 1685. A little Indian library quickly followed, as primers, Catechisms, Shepard's Sincere Convert, and Baxter's Call to the Unconverted. He also published an Indian grammar, at the close of which are these remarkable words,—“Prayers and pains through faith in Christ will do any thing.” His reception among the Indians was so encouraging, that the government on his application gave the Indians some land, on which to build a town, where they might enjoy the privilege of religious instruction, and cultivate the arts of life. Mather in the letter above cited, tells us, that there were six churches of baptized Indians, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens, twenty-four native preachers, and three or four English ministers, who preach in the Indian tongue. Many of the children here learned the catechism by heart, either that of Mr. Perkins, or of the Westminster Assembly, and could answer every question of it. It is satisfactory to know that these conversions were not nominal ones. “We could have baptized many troops of Indians” (says Mr. Mather), “if we would have used no other measures with them than the Roman Catholics did upon theirs, at Maryland, where they baptized a great crew of them in some new shirts bestowed to encourage them thereto. But the Indians in a week or two, not knowing how to wash their shirts, when grown foul, came, and made a motion, that they should give them new shirts, or they would renounce their baptism.” We are informed, that they abandoned polygamy, made severe laws against fornication, drunkenness, and sabbath-breaking, and established a church-order among them, as in the churches of New England, which were remarkably rigorous in the admission of members, and required very decided proofs of faith.

Our limits will not permit our entering into details, which may be found in Dr. Brown's “History of the propagation of Christianity among the heathen since the Reformation, London, 1814,” a book which we strongly recommend to those, who are interested in the subject, and from which we shall again have occasion to borrow. We cannot resist the temptation

of transcribing a few sentences from his account of the Missionary labours of the Mayhew family.

Mr. Mayhew, having obtained a grant of Martha's vineyard and the neighbouring islands, "placed his son, a young man of considerable learning and piety, with a few other English people, in Martha's vineyard in 1642. Being invited by his fellow-settlers to become their pastor, young Mr. Mayhew was not satisfied that his labours should be confined to so small a handful of his countrymen, but learned the Indian language, with a view of christianizing the natives, of whom it is said that there were several thousands on these islands." (V. i. p. 27.) After pursuing his labours till 1657, he embarked for England with the view of promoting the missionary cause. But it is supposed, that the vessel foundered at sea, and that all on board perished; for it was heard of no more. So much was he beloved by the Indians, that for many years after, they seldom named him without tears. But "they were not left to wander as sheep without a shepherd. His venerable father, the patentee, as he saw no probability of their obtaining a regular minister, was induced to take the oversight of their spiritual as well as of their temporal concerns. Though about seventy years of age, he began to perfect himself in their language, of which he had already some knowledge, and, though a governor, was not ashamed to become a preacher among them, sometimes travelling on foot near twenty miles through the woods to visit them. The Indians indeed were so edified by him, that a few years afterwards they requested him to accept of the pastoral office among them. But, apprehending, that this would not correspond so well with the chief place which he held in the civil government, he advised them to choose such of the Indian preachers as he thought were most judicious, while he still continued to labor, as an evangelist." (V. i. p. 53—55.) In 1680 "the venerable Mayhew died, in the ninety-third year of his age, and the twenty-third of his ministry." Previously, however, to his death, one of his grand-children was settled, as the pastor both of the English and the Indians. He was followed by his own son, Experience Mayhew; who published in 1727 a small volume, entitled *Indian Converts*, which affords a pleasing proof of the influence of religion upon the hearts of these barbarous people. He labored among them for no less a period than sixty years; and "even at the close of the eighteenth century the missionary on Martha's vineyard was a Mayhew, descended from a line of ancestors, who for upwards of a century and a half had been distinguished for their labors for the conver-

tion of the heathen, an honour, which perhaps no other family has enjoyed since the first promulgation of the gospel." (P. 58.)

We have dwelt the longer upon these first attempts, because the grander undertakings of our own days have thrown them into the shade, and partly because thence originated the first English Missionary Society. In 1649 a corporation was erected by act of parliament, by the name of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and a collection was appointed to be made for the purpose throughout the parishes of England and Wales; considerable sums were raised, notwithstanding it met with keen opposition, and land was purchased with the money to the value of between five and six hundred a year. On the restoration, the corporation being dead in law, Col. Bedingfield, who had sold them an estate, repossessed himself of it, and refused to repay the money he had received in 1661. However, it was revived by a new charter; the Court of Chancery confirmed their right to the estate; and the celebrated Mr. Boyle was appointed governor by the king. He presided over it for thirty years, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Ashhurst. Among those who, supported and recommended it we find the names of Owen, Calamy, and other eminent non-conformists. As a curiosity, we give the sum total of the income for the year 1661, which after making every allowance for the reduced value of money, and the increase of national wealth, puts in an advantageous light the liberality of our own age. £1152 12s. 0d. was the sum received; and this (we apprehend) was the only institution of the kind then in existence. The money, strictly raised within the last year, for missionary purposes, exclusive of the assistance, derived from Bible Societies and the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, considerably exceeded £100,000. This Society was limited in its operations to New England; but the American colonies extended 1200 miles in length, under ten governments, and no provision had been made in any for the maintenance of the clergy. The archbishops and bishops represented to King William the spiritual wants of the plantations; and to their application we owe the present Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. It appears from the charter of incorporation drawn up in 1701, that the main object was the benefit of the English settlers. The Indians, however, were by no means overlooked. But their numbers gradually diminished; the colonists grudged whatever was laid out upon them; and the Society might rather be considered as, supplying the office, imperfectly, of course, of an endowment of the episcopal church in America, than as a missionary institution. The

revolution banished it from the United States, and contracted its field to Nova Scotia and the Canadas; and it had sunk into obscurity till the growing prosperity of the Church Missionary Society, and the jealousy entertained of it by some churchmen, brought the Society again into notice, and obtained for it a respectable portion of public patronage.

We have observed, that Germany could not be expected from its inland situation to take an active part in converting the heathen: and yet, in reality, it has done more than any Protestant country; for if others have found money, this has furnished the men. Not to speak of the missions of the United Brethren in every quarter of the globe, Germany has supplied all along the East India mission, under the direction of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and we believe we may venture to assert, that, prior to the formation of the Church Missionary Society, there was not one English clergyman, nor even a minister episcopally ordained, engaged in preaching to the heathen. It is the Orphan House of Halle, dear on so many accounts to the friends of religion, that sent forth Ziegenbalg, and Grundler, and Swartz, and a long succession of other pious and self-denying missionaries. In naming them, we cannot withhold our tribute of admiration from the founder of the institution in which they were educated, to whom, even the philosophic Frederic, on surveying that monument of Christian charity and faith, in raising which it may be said with the strictest propriety, that his deep poverty abounded unto the riches of his liberality, allowed the title of a great man. He deserves to be better known, than (we believe) he is, both on this account, and as the grand instrument of reviving piety in Protestant Germany, in the early part of the seventeenth century. It was in 1705, that the first Protestant effort was made for the conversion of India, by the then king of Denmark, at the suggestion of one of his chaplains. Tranquebar, the chief Danish settlement in the Peninsula, near a hundred and fifty miles to the south of Madras, was the place selected for a mission, and Ziegenbalg and Plutscho, two young men who were educating for the church at Halle, were the ministers sent out. The difficulties they had to encounter, were formidable. The facilities we now possess for acquiring the language, did not exist. The attempt also was new, and scarcely more acceptable to the Danish settlers, than to the Hindoos themselves.

“Having neither grammar, nor dictionary, and trying in vain a variety of means, they placed themselves under the tuition of a native schoolmaster, who agreed to transfer his school to their house, and to instruct his pupils in their pre-

sence. By mixing with the children, they soon learnt to write the letters with their fingers in the sand," (Brown, v. i. p. 178.) a method, which has of late been rendered so familiar to us, by Dr. Bell, the benevolent inventor of the Madras system of education. "But, as the schoolmaster did not understand Portuguese, he could give them no explanation of the words which they traced in the sand. Having heard however of a Malabarian, who had been in the service of the Danish company, and is said to have understood several of the languages of Europe, they took him into their employ, and enjoyed the advantage of his instructions for upwards of two years; but on this account he was grievously persecuted by his pagan countrymen, and was at length carried captive to Tanjore, where he was put in irons, and thrown into prison, the king being a violent enemy of Christianity. Besides these helps they procured many of the books of the natives and the rudiments of a grammar, together with other works written by Roman Catholic missionaries; and after three years study, Ziegenbalg is said to have spoken the language as fluently as if he had been born in the country;" (p. 178—180) thus exhibiting, we may add, the same instructive example of the power of perseverance in the east, which Eliot had shewn in the new world; for the German missionary composed a Tamulian grammar and dictionary, and translated the whole of the New Testament, and the Old, as far as Ruth, which was afterwards completed by Schultze.

They had also difficulties of a more distressing nature to encounter. "Besides meeting with many powerful obstacles from the prejudices of the natives, the frightful consequences of the loss of caste, and the scandalous lives of Christians, they experienced the most determined opposition from the Europeans, who, instead of proving their friends, behaved as their enemies and persecutors. Their hostility was not only keen, but of long continuance. Edict followed edict at Copenhagen in their favour. But still, their enemies, not excepting even the Governor of the city, found means to evade the orders of the King, and to harrass them for years in their labours." (P. 181, 182.)

Notwithstanding, in less than a year after their arrival, they had baptized five of the natives, the first fruits of their labour, and soon after erected a church, in which they instituted public worship in Tamul and Portuguese, according to the liturgy of the Danish church, which they had translated for the purpose into these languages. In the prosecution of this work, and of their schools, they were more than once exposed to the same pecuniary difficulties, that

Franke had encountered at Halle, but, like him, were always in their extremity providentially relieved.

It would be foreign to our design to carry on an account of this mission, the early history of which may be read in Dr. Brown's book, as taken from Niecamp's "*Historia Missionis Evangelicæ in India Orientali*, and its latter annals in the annual reports of its adopted parent, the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. Its connexion with that society originated in Ziegenbalg's visit to Europe in 1714, to remove, if possible, the impediments, that were thrown in the way of the mission, and to extend their operations. After paying his respects to his Danish majesty, and travelling in Germany, he came over into England, and was received with the greatest kindness by all ranks. He was honored with an audience by George the First; and the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London promised to afford the mission the utmost assistance in their power. Their letter, on their return to Tranquebar to the king, and his reply, may be seen in Millar's history of the propagation of Christianity. That of Archbishop Wake is well known, and deservedly admired, for the humility and evangelical spirit which it breathes. Franke was among the first corresponding members of the society, and we find him on the list of benefactors, as remitting money, collected in Germany. It was probably through him, that the connection with the Tranquebar missionaries commenced. It began as early as 1710; and they acknowledge that they were indebted to it for their printing press. Schultze, some years after, settled at Madras, under the immediate patronage of the society. The mission has been since extended to Cuddalore, Trichinapoly, and Tanjore. But during the Revolutionary war two sources of its income, the donation from the Orphan House of Halle, and that from the College of Missions at Copenhagen, were dried up; and now (we apprehend) the stipend from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is the only aid it derives from Europe. Its chief support, at least in Dr. Buchanan's time, was from its own funds. The venerated Swartz, who had acquired considerable property through the kindness of the English Government, and of the native princes, said, when he was dying, "Let the cause of Christ be my heir!" and his colleague, Gericke, followed his example. Nevertheless, the late Bishop of Calcutta found this mission in difficulties, and consequently availed himself in its favour of the vote of credit granted to him by the Society. The missionaries, who used to be nine, are reported as seven, in the *Missionary Register* for July last; and as that number is by

no means adequate, some native catechists have been ordained.

The next mission in order of time also originated in the Danish dominions ; and it is memorable, not so much on its own account, as for being the first link in the chain of causes, that has led to the formation of Moravian settlements among the heathen.

As early as 1708, Hans Egede, soon after he was settled in the ministry at Vogen in Norway, recollected, that he had read of some colonies of his countrymen, who had emigrated to Greenland several centuries before ; and thinking it was the duty of every Norwegian to search out his forlorn countrymen, and to restore them from paganism, into which (he apprehended) they must have fallen, he addressed a memorial to the College of Missions, at Copenhagen, which he soon followed up by an application in person, and, after repeated disappointments, sailed in 1721 with his wife and children, and a number of other persons as settlers. Having remained in Greenland fifteen years amidst innumerable privations, with little or no success, he preached his farewell sermon from a text, which sufficiently shews, how much he was disheartened.—“I said, I have labored in vain, I have spent my strength for nought and in vain. Yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.” The Mission, however, did not expire on his departure. It was carried on by those fellow-laborers who had joined him there ; and his personal exertions in Denmark, where he acted as its superintendant, seem to have been more advantageous to it than his presence. In 1731, Count Zinzendorf, who had been for some years connected with the united brethren, and whose sympathy for the heathen had been awakened in earlier years, attending the coronation of Christian the VIth. saw two of the Greenlanders who had been baptized by Egede. About the same time, some of his servants were informed by a negro, called Antony, that he had a sister in the island of St. Thomas, who often besought the great God to send her some person to shew her the way of salvation. These and other occurrences made a deep impression. Several declared their willingness to go among the poor heathen, and shortly after missions were undertaken to both countries.

When the Moravians sent forth their first Missionaries, they consisted of about six hundred exiles, who had found an asylum on the estate of Count Zinzendorf. The exertions of this small and despised church in the Missionary cause, while it proves their own zeal, was a reproach to other Christian communities, who with ample means had done nothing deserving

of notice. In less than ten years, the united brethren had missions in Greenland, in the West Indies, among the North American Indians, in Surinam, Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, and Tartary; and their stations may be traced on the map by the names they have given them, borrowed from their original seats in Bohemia, or from places mentioned in scripture, or lastly, from appellations significant of the faith, which they alike aspired to plant under the torrid zone or in the frozen north, as Grace Hill, Gnadenthal, and Lichtenau. However, these Christian colonies, unsupported by the great and wealthy, were scarcely known to other churches, and certainly awakened no emulation. In England, as the generation, that grew up during the civil war, died away, religion, partly through the influence of a profligate court and foreign travel, and still more perhaps through the disgust, excited by the hypocrisy of many, who professed godliness without any just pretension to that much abused term, had gradually sunk into a lifeless formality, till any thing beyond a decent conformity with its ceremonies, seem hardly to have been deemed compatible with good sense, or breeding. In that age of apathy, when too often

“Paul gave the text, but Epictetus preached.”

and the essential doctrines of Christianity seemed, by a secret compact between laity and clergy, to have been banished from the pulpit, that they might not break their repose, who would have presumed to appeal to Christian charity in behalf of millions of heathens, perishing for lack of knowledge? If a voice had been raised, except in some peculiarly favored church or meeting (for zeal seems to have taken her flight from both nearly about the same time), in what congregation would it have found a heart to respond? Such a call would have been unheeded by the nation, and perhaps out-argued by the learned, who would have descanted on the sufficiency of the light of nature, and left the heathen without the responsibility of a revealed law, to the mercy of their Creator. As the shades of evening seemed rapidly to advance, two ministers, Whitefield and Wesley appeared in the church of England, designed (it should seem) by Providence, to break the spiritual gloom that was gathering around. To the piety which with all their errors, they were the undoubted instruments of kindling in the hearts of thousands, and still more perhaps to the unforeseen consequences of the opposition and emulation which they roused, may be traced the revival of religion, which distinguishes our own times. Into this the Missionary spirit may be ultimately resolved. But, the sea-

son for such institutions had not then arrived: for, though both Whitefield and Wesley, in the first fervour of their zeal embarked for Georgia, to preach to the Indians, they had not the patience to apply to the language; nor perhaps were they so well qualified for such an office, as for that, which they afterwards occupied, of missionaries at home. The Wesleyan Missionary Society was formed at a later period. But their establishment of preachers among the negroes in the West Indies, seems to be the only attempt of the kind, in which England has been engaged during the long interval that has elapsed, since the Tranquebar mission was taken under the patronage of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

The religious part of the public had been gradually training up for these works of Christian love; and the effect of this revival, as far as it concerned missions, first shewed itself among the dissenters. In 1784, the late John Sutcliff, Baptist minister at Olney, proposed that an hour should be set apart, on the first Monday of every month, for extraordinary prayer, for the revival and extension of the kingdom of Christ. The Almighty was indeed at that very time preparing for this work a young minister in that community. William Carey, under the pressure of poverty, had contrived to master not only Latin and Greek, but Hebrew, and made considerable proficiency in other studies. For many years he had contemplated, with deep commiseration, the state of the Pagan world, and could seldom meet with his intimate friends, without referring to the importance and practicability of missions. In the spring of 1792, he preached a memorable sermon on this text:—"Lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes!"—summing up what he conceived to be the spirit of the passage, in two exhortations—"Expect great things! Attempt great things!" The result was the Baptist Missionary Society. At its commencement, at Kettering, the whole sum contributed amounted to thirteen pounds, two shillings, and sixpence, a sum as inadequate as that, which originated Franke's orphan-house. But, like his gift, it was soon blest with an abundant increase. It happened, that about this time, Mr. John Thomas, who had twice visited India, as a surgeon, and from the intreaties of pious friends, and his own feeling for the misery and spiritual blindness of the Hindoos, had determined to devote himself to their conversion, returned to England with the view of promoting this object. The Society invited him to return under their patronage; and Mr. Carey was associated with him. At first, the loss of the investment, upon which he relied for immediate support, and a variety of painful circumstances, together with the moral

degradation of the natives and the irreligion of the Europeans, often preyed upon his spirits. "When I left England," he wrote, "my hopes of the conversion of the heathen were very strong. But amidst so many obstacles they would utterly languish and die, were they not upheld by God." After a residence of some years, during part of which he and his colleague had their attention in part drawn aside by the secular concerns, in which they were engaged for their support, the mission was strengthened by some new laborers, among whom were Marshman and Ward, who since, like Carey, have been so eminent for their extraordinary literary attainments. The new missionaries proceeded direct, without landing, up the river to Serampore, a Danish settlement, thirteen miles above Calcutta; where Mr. Carey, after some consultation, purchased a house for the mission. It was a step, taken with great reluctance, which yet contributed more than any thing else to its prosperity.

If the reader should be disposed to think that we dwell too long upon these particulars, we would remind him, that the brethren of Serampore have labored not for one denomination of Christians, but for all; and that the fruits of their labours will survive, and their memory be cherished as long as the many languages are read which contain the evidence of their diligence and erudition. Their hearts had long been set upon the translation of the Scriptures. "I would give a million pounds, if I had them," (said Mr. Thomas with his usual ardour) "to see a Bengalee Bible:" and he lived, till Mr. Carey's New Testament in that language had passed the press. In the spirit of his own sermon, Carey attempted great things. He formed the magnificent idea of a new Polyglot Bible, more comprehensive in its nature, and far more arduous in execution, than those of the west. At Alcalá or in Paris scholars had only to transcribe and examine versions already made. At Serampore every thing was to be done, even the preparatory work of vocabularies and grammars. An undertaking, so beset with difficulties and requiring such immense labour, would have deterred ordinary minds. But their purpose was not to be shaken; and there were circumstances, that facilitated the task to them, and pointed them out for it. They possessed a critical knowledge of the original text; they had a valuable biblical library; and Carey's appointment to the professorship of Sanscrit and other languages in the Marquis Wellesley's college, gave him access to all the learned natives of the various provinces of India whom that institution had attracted to Calcutta. In 1806 proposals were issued from Serampore for printing the Scriptures

in fifteen languages; and we learn from the last accounts that not only has the pledge been redeemed, but that considerable progress has been made in printing them in sixteen more. Profound learning and extraordinary disinterestedness are the characteristics of this mission. "I pray, that God may preserve me from embezzling that property, with which he has entrusted me, and which is properly his own,"—writes Dr. Carey in one of his early letters. It was one article in the "Form of Agreement" which they drew up for the regulation of their conduct, when they first associated into one family, that whatever profit each individual might realize should merge into the common stock. "Let us for ever shut out the idea of laying up a single cowry for ourselves or our children! If we give up the resolution, which was formed on the subject of private trade, when we first united at Serampore, the mission is from that hour a lost cause. A worldly spirit, quarrels, and every evil work will succeed, the moment it is admitted, that each brother may do something on his own account." In most cases such a resolution would have been more honorable than trying. But in this a determination, formed in poverty, has been exposed to the temptation of wealth: for Dr. Carey's salary as professor, and the profits of a boarding school, and of an active press, in a word, above £3000 a year, is the amount of the sacrifice.

We have next to record the entrance of the gospel into a region still more remote. In Polynesia, as modern geographers aptly call the many groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean, our religion has renewed her ancient triumphs: and we pause a moment, to represent the change, that has been brought about, in the words of one of a deputation that was sent to examine into the fact, and whose testimony is confirmed by the report of competent witnesses entirely unconnected with the mission. "What you have read is all true. All the stations, that we have seen, are in the most flourishing circumstances. All the congregations are large. The profession of Christianity is universal: scarcely is the individual known, who does not attend three times every Lord's day at public worship. The behaviour of the Otaheitean congregations is not excelled by any in England. All is solemn: all apparently is devotional. You would be charmed with an Otaheitean Sabbath. No doubt much of this is nothing but profession. But, that there is a great deal of vital piety, I doubt not. Civilization is making rapid progress. Crimes of all kinds are almost unknown. Encourage missionary exertions and missionary prayers! If any are relaxing in these respects, or are unbelievers in the importance of missionary exertions,

send them hither! I should not have thought the sufferings and inconvenience of going ten times round the world too much to be endured, for the sake of seeing what God has wrought in these idolatrous countries. We hope to see all the islands, which have embraced Christianity, before we return. Thirteen are known, where the people have abandoned their idols and received the truth. Other islands are petitioning for missionaries. Indeed, if missionaries could be found, there is every reason to hope that all the islands in this vast ocean would immediately embrace the truth."

The honour of effecting this great work, great, abstractedly considered, and greater far in its probable consequences, was reserved for the London Missionary Society, which was formed by Christians of various denominations in 1795. We have seen already what a signal blessing has rested upon their first design. They have since sent their Missionaries into Southern Africa, nine hundred miles beyond the Cape, and dispatched Dr. Morrison to Canton, where he has accomplished the translation of the whole Bible into Chinese, an achievement, which in the preceding age would have been deemed impracticable. Surely any one of these measures might be deemed a reasonable ground for boasting, if boasting were not necessarily excluded from operations of this description, and if they could leave room for any other feeling than gratitude to the supreme disposer of events.

Nor has the influence of this Society been confined to its own stations. Eliot, the Mayhews, Brainerd, the Danes, the United Brethren, the Baptists, had all, as we have seen, engaged in missionary undertakings, and some with considerable success. Individuals were interested and delighted: but the great body of professing Christians scarcely ever heard of them or their labours. It was not till the mission to the South Seas was undertaken, that the Christian world was awakened from its slumbers: then a general concern was excited for the heathen, and a new impulse was given to Christian philanthropy.

"The London Missionary Society," writes Mr. J. Scott, in the interesting life of his venerable father, "had attracted great public notice, and excited much discussion. Among other places, this was the case in a private society of clergymen, meeting once a fortnight: and the ground, which my father, whose mind had always been peculiarly alive to such subjects, took, was this, that it was their bounden duty to attempt somewhat more than they had done, either by joining this society, or, which was much to be preferred, if practicable, by forming a new one among members of the Establish-

ment. From these discussions sprung, in 1800, the Church Missionary Society." His services are thus gratefully acknowledged in the twenty-first Report, a few weeks after his death: "The late Rev. Thomas Scott, with his once active coadjutors and brethren, Mr. Venn and Mr. Goode, and with the late Mr. Terrington, may be truly said with others, who are still spared to labor, to have laid in faith and prayer the foundation of that edifice, which is now rising to view with augmented strength and usefulness every year." For the two years, that he continued in London after its formation, he acted as Secretary, and afterwards became the tutor of their Missionaries. A small proportion of those, who have been edified by his valuable commentary, are (we conceive) aware of this claim on the gratitude of the heathen; and the volume we have above cited bears another testimony to his usefulness in this department, still less known, the share, which he had, unconsciously, in sending Dr. Carey to India. "If there be any thing of the work of God in my soul," writes the latter to a friend, "I owe much of it to his preaching, when I first set out in the ways of the Lord."

This Society commenced with a mission to the Susoos, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, a choice they were probably led to make by the return of Mr. Brunton, who had been employed in that country for some years by the Edinburgh Missionary Society, and who then, at their request, drew up a grammar, and composed tracts and catechisms in that language.

In that immense continent, still so imperfectly explored, the Slave-trade had raised up an almost impenetrable barrier against the entrance of civilization and religion, which even Christian zeal had been unable to overleap. But happily this obstacle is gradually giving way; and the nation, that had been most guilty of this disgraceful traffic, is making some atonement by its expensive and disinterested efforts to suppress it. The colony of Sierra Leone was planted with the hope of facilitating the improvement of the Negroes, and is rapidly rising into importance. Its population has increased in two years from 12,000 to 15,000 inhabitants, by the introduction of liberated slaves, who have been captured by his Majesty's cruisers, and distributed among the different settlements, now amounting to fourteen.

Captain Tauney, of the Merchants' service, who visited the settlement of Regent's town in 1817, and again in 1821, bears the following strong testimony:—"Regent's Town, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, was then (1817) but thinly inhabited. I received the Sacrament from his hands,

with about twelve Communicants, the first seals to his Ministry. Very few attended Divine Service. In contrasting its then condition with the present, I must confess a just description cannot be given without the appearance of exaggeration. The change is so visible, that there is no sceptic, however hardened, but must confess it is the hand of the Lord that hath done it: the lives of the recaptured Negroes are so opposed to their own, that they are astonished and confounded. Regent's Town now wears the aspect of a well-peopled village in our happy land—its inhabitants civilized, industrious, honest, and neatly clothed. The ground allotted to each family is cultivated, each lot being distinctly marked out. I have frequently ascended an eminence near the town, to behold the pleasing scene on the Sabbath-day—hundreds pressing on to the House of God, at the sound of the bell, hungering after the bread of life. Nothing but sickness prevents their attendance now.”

Had the Church Missionary Society only produced this effect in a single spot, we think it would have fully made out a claim for the support of at least every member of the Establishment. But it has also stationed Missionaries in India, New Zealand, and lately, in the dreary region of North America, where the fur-trade has tempted British adventurers to establish a few factories. The settlement of the European traders and farmers on the Red River, in what may be considered as the dominions of the Hudson's Bay and North-west trading companies, is the head-quarter of this new Mission, from which the Missionaries will travel, at the season when the dogs can draw the sledges over the snow, and visit the different trading posts; they will thus become known to the Indians, and will induce them to send their children to the settlement for education, who will be brought up religiously, be made acquainted with agriculture and useful arts, and be sent home to teach their own tribes.

Mr. Brunton, whose services to the Sierra Leone mission we have just recorded, is perhaps the only missionary, that has not sooner or later, fallen a victim to the climate of Western Africa. His health however compelled him to leave it; and, when he was completely recovered, the Edinburgh Society, which had been formed the year after that of London, appointed him to found a mission in a distant part of the world. Accompanied by Mr. Paterson, he explored the steppes between the Black Sea, and the Caspian, and procured, through the influence of a Russian nobleman at the Imperial Court, a large grant of land, with immunity from taxes and military services, and more extensive privileges than were enjoyed by

any other foreign settlers. Karass, the spot they selected, is a Mahometan village at the foot of Caucasus, on the Russian frontier, and near to the fort of Georghiesk, which has more than once afforded them an asylum from the Tartars. Here in 1813, Brunton died; and unhappily, his conduct in his later years, was not such as to recommend the gospel. But he did not altogether labor in vain, we mean for futurity; for he completed a Tartar Testament, which is intelligible to all the tribes, that wander between the Wolga and the Euxine. Sultan Katagerry, whom many of our readers may remember in this country, was one of his converts. Upon the whole, no abiding impression seems yet to have been made upon the Tartars. But two of the missionaries, Paterson, and Pinkerton, names, familiar to all who take an interest in the circulation of the scriptures, have in another way rendered essential service to the cause of religion; for much of the energy which pervades the Bible Societies of the north, has been infused into them by these zealous advocates of that noble institution.

A new era in missionary annals, appears to have commenced in 1813, with the renewal of the East India Company's charter. It has been observed, that, coming to India in search of trade, we found an empire, and that too in spite of acts of parliament, and remonstrances from the directors, who always discouraged conquest. Now, to suppose that this mighty empire, containing at least twice the population of the mother country, has been transferred to a mercantile company in a remote island in the Western Ocean, merely for the sake of transmitting at a cheaper rate a few bales of silk and cotton, or chests of indigo, is an idea unworthy of a philosopher, much more of a Christian. Formerly indeed, when Governor Holwell set the example of investigating the religion and literature of the Hindoos, the Anglo-Indians grew so enamoured of the mild and gentle virtues, which they saw or rather imagined in them, that they seemed more disposed to make the sacrifice of their own creed, than desirous of superseding the idolatry of the natives, whose favorite maxims they almost adopted, fancying that the Supreme Being was pleased with the variety of modes of worship, and that Heaven was a palace, to which each nation had its own entrance. The suggestion of any attempt to convert the natives was of course irritating to persons under this delusion; and even others who were free from it, but saw little around them to foster whatever religious impressions they might have had in early life, were far more alive to the political danger, as they conceived, of such endeavours, than to a sense of duty. Some Missi-

onaries were dismissed; others were not suffered to land; and pamphlets were written at home, denying the expediency of converting the Hindoos even in a moral point of view, and maintaining that they had nothing to gain by a change of religion. But happily the duty of introducing moral and religious improvement among the native inhabitants of British India is now distinctly recognised in the bill, which renews the charter; and a clause in it allows Missionaries to proceed thither, and enjoy the protection of Government as long as they conduct themselves in a prudent and peaceable manner.

The friends of Missions followed up their triumph: each society hastened to send laborers into the vast field which had been thrown open to them; and the contributions to each augmented in proportion to the demand. The appointment also of an ecclesiastical establishment, though on a smaller scale than was projected by Dr. Buchanan, has greatly advanced the cause. The Prelate, who was selected to preside over this see of immense extent, was an active member of the society for promoting Christian Knowledge; and the mission, which it had cherished so long in what now became his diocese, could not fail to derive advantage from the personal inspection and patronage of a zealous and able friend.

Another event, which seemed at first to threaten injurious consequences, occurred a very few years ago: but it was overruled to beneficial results, which at that period the most sanguine promoters of missions would not have ventured to foretel. The Church Missionary Society, in extending itself by means of auxiliaries over the kingdom, encountered at Bath a similar opposition to that, to which the Bible Society had been exposed before, only of a more violent character. In both, the effects have been the same. The attack gave rise to vindications, and defences, and discussion; made better known the merits and claims of the Society; and, what was more important than the promotion of any particular institution, the duty and practicability of missionary efforts was brought more fully than ever before the public. The funds of the new society have been each year since progressive; while the society for propagating the gospel, which had been praised at its expence and by some (we may conclude without any breach of charity) more out of dislike to the one than regard for the other, as they had never afforded it a contribution, obtained additional patronage, and has been from that time rising in public estimation. At length a royal letter was ordered to be read in all places of worship in the established church, recommending it to the charitably-dis-

posed : and thus the subject of missions was brought into every parish in the kingdom, not to be derided, as the scheme of enthusiastic visionaries, but under the sanction of the highest authority in the state. The sum raised was considerable ; and the Bishop of Calcutta was applied to as the most proper person to decide upon its appropriation. He immediately planned a mission-college ; an eligible site was purchased in the neighbourhood of the metropolis of British India ; the first stone was laid with due solemnity in the presence of the Governor-General ; and the building is probably by this time ready for the reception of the principal and professors.

Thus the design of converting the Hindoos, which was first opposed as dangerous, then scouted as ridiculous and hopeless, next tolerated, and afterwards allowed to be desirable, is at length publicly avowed, and by the erection of Bishop's College made a part of our Church-polity. So convinced were the Committees of our religious Societies of the utility of such an institution, that they seemed to vie with one another in the liberality of their grants upon the occasion ; and other Societies, unconnected with our Church, are forming similar colleges for their own Missionaries. Indeed, the advantages of a temporary home, where they may study the language, and accustom themselves to the manners of a country in which every thing is strange to them, before they enter upon active service, speak for themselves. It had been suggested above a century before, by the first Missionaries that visited India : but, like many other schemes for which the age was not ripe, it died away. The execution of it was reserved for the first Bishop of Calcutta ; but he too has been suddenly removed by death before it could be rendered effective. May it flourish, both as an incipient University, and still more as a College for propagating pure and vital Christianity throughout the East, under the auspices of his successor, who has accepted his high office in the very spirit of a Missionary !

The Wesleyan Society compleats, we believe, the list of these Institutions at home. But, though Britain takes the lead, as might be expected from her pre-eminence in wealth and power, in these new and bloodless Crusades, she has happily not a monopoly of Christian zeal and activity. Much might be said of the exertions of America in this grand cause ; and it would be a delightful contrast to the unamiable picture which some of our contemporaries are so fond of delineating, of the United States, to exhibit two nations, which, though divided by politics, are united by language and by religion, aiding each other in communicating to the heathen

the same reformed faith, inherited from common ancestors, and conveying across the seas the same identical Bible. The European continent too seems to have caught the same spirit. Bible Societies have been, as it were, the pioneers, that have removed obstructions, and prepared the road for these and other philanthropical undertakings. Basle has come forward in the cause, and even Paris has now its Missionary Society, which, treading in the steps of our own, has sent out an agent to Palestine, to explore the actual moral state of the country.

The idea of these journeys of moral discovery, which originated with Buchanan, and of which he has given us so valuable a specimen himself, has been taken up by the Church Missionary Society. The researches of Mr. Jowett on the interesting shores of the Mediterranean, and the Syrian college and station at Aleppie, ought alone to endear it to every Christian scholar, and ensure it a welcome in our seats of learning. To restore a falling church, surrounded with pagodas and mosques, is no less a service than to erect a new one among savages. How different the really Catholic spirit, that endeavors to blow into a flame the dying embers in churches once renowned, and, having infused the living spirit, suffers them to assume the form, which suits the national genius; from that contracted bigotry, which labors to obtain proselytes to papal supremacy, and which excites only angry feelings on both sides, to the disgrace of Christianity, and the triumph of the common foe!

Such is a brief enumeration of the Protestant Missionary Societies of most note. We had wished to say something more specific on their prospects of success, on the means they employ, and on the difficulties they have to contend with: and perhaps hereafter we may find an opportunity of filling up this sketch. But at present our limits will force us to conclude with merely pointing to a few stations which have not yet been particularly specified, but without some notice of which the picture we have given of missionary exertion, would be defective.

In Southern Africa the Moravians have two settlements within the colony, a particular account of which may be found in Mr. Latrobe's journal. Of late years their stations have suffered severely: for, as the means of their church are very scanty, and their establishments are rather colonies than missions (Gnadenthal for instance has a population of 1400 persons to maintain), the effect of scarcity or of hostile invasion is very destructive. The Wesleians have formed a settlement near the new colonists in Algoa bay. They have also

a mission among the Nemaquas, and are beginning to penetrate into the country of the Bootsuannas. But it is the London Missionary Society that is most active in this quarter, where they have no less than twelve stations, some far up the country beyond the boundary of the colony; and they are now spreading into the African islands, Madagascar, Johanna, and the Mauritius.

In Ceylon also Missionaries are numerous. But here the Methodist Society carries on the work on the grandest scale. It has eight stations, and sixty-three schools, under eighty-four teachers, upon which it expends a thousand pounds a year, and is gradually producing a change in the sentiments and conduct both of professed Christians and of the pagan population.

In Java, and the other islands of the Indian Archipelago, the Netherlands Missionary Society has five stations, the Baptist three, and the London Society two. Mr. Kam, the agent of the latter at Amboyna, states, that the reading of the Malay Testament has caused many of the natives to burn or drown their idols. He has printed above seven thousand tracts in Malay, and has begun a translation of Burder's Sermons, for the use of the congregations in the Malaccas, who are without a regular pastor.

As we proceed eastward, the means for propagating Christianity diminish. In the Burman empire, the American baptists have had a solitary station for some years. The London Society too with its characteristic energy has made an inroad into the heart of Tartary. It has obtained a grant of land south of the lake of Baikal at Selinginsk, and the Russian Government even defrays the expence of their buildings. The partisans of two rival religions, Shamanism and Dalai Lamaism, the names of which to most of our readers require explanation, though between them, they spread over a greater surface than Christianity, are eagerly striving to bring over to their respective tenets the very Buriats, among whom these Missionaries are settled. "The zeal of the Lamas has led them to send missionaries beyond the Baikal, to the unlettered tribes round Irkutsk, in order to overthrow Shamanism; and Mr. Shaw met with one Buriat, who out of ten thousand sheep, left him by his father, had disposed of seven thousand, and devoted the produce to the building of a temple. Well may these things provoke Christians to jealousy." The Scotch missionaries, whose settlement at Karass, we have had occasion to notice, have also a station at Astrachan, which seems a kind of central post between Europe and Asia, and where they may meet with fire-worshippers, and even with

Hindoos. They have a mission likewise among the Kirghisians and other Tartars six hundred miles further, at Orenberg, on the high road to Siberia.

The Sandwich Islands, which are memorable for the untimely death of our celebrated navigator, Cook, and which have outstripped the other Polynesian states in the rapidity of their intellectual improvement, have not been overlooked by Missionaries. The extraordinary fact, that a son of their Sovereign had been brought to America, and placed there under Christian Instruction, led the Board of Missions in the United States to fix upon these Islands as a station. At the same time the aboriginal population of their own continent engages their most earnest attention. The tribes indeed, among which the Mayhews and Eliot labored, are all but extinct, and his Bible is said to be now as much in a dead language, as the original. But their memory is revived in geography; and their names, among those of others, who have deserved well of the Christian world, have been conferred upon settlements among the Chictaws and Cherokees. However, as they retire, as the back-woodsman advances into the wilderness, their number probably will yet be found considerable in the heart of America, and beyond the rocky mountains; though Dr. Morse, in an official document, estimates that of all their tribes together at 471,000, a population which is considerably exceeded by that of the principality of Wales. These Indians have always appeared to us to be the most favorable specimen of man, when left to himself; and we, and our transatlantic brethren, who have driven them into the interior, and deprived them of their ancient hunting grounds, seem to have incurred a heavy debt to them. In still higher latitudes, in Labrador and Greenland, the United Brethren have formed congregations of pious and contented Christians, out of beings, who when they came among them, seemed hardly raised in capacity above the brute creation.

We have thus travelled over the world, and found the missionary under the line, and as far north as the human race inhabits. We rise from the survey with a variety of mixed emotions; but joy and hope predominate. We find the missionary risking the perils of the ocean, or "measuring kingdoms with his feeble tread," not to amass riches, or to gratify curiosity or the love of distinction, but to rescue savages whom he has never seen, from bondage to false gods and their own evil passions; and we admire his self-denying virtue and the constraining efficacy of Christian love. We trace upon the map the blessed spots, whence heavenly light is shooting forth its rays into the dark habitations of cruelty

and vice ; and we anticipate from the promising dawn the noon, when the sun of righteousness, with a power superior to that of his feeble representative in the heavens, shall chase away the shades of night, and shall at once enlighten and invigorate and cheer the nations from pole to pole. Again, when we remark how great the difficulties, how formidable the opponents, how few the combatants in this struggle between light and darkness, between truth and error ; our hearts are ready to faint. But we recollect, that the Missionary goes forth to battle in the name of the Lord of hosts, who can give victory by many or by few ; and we once more take courage, feeling as assured as the word of God can make us, of ultimate triumph. The worthies of ancient days indeed would have rejoiced to see even the spiritual harvest, which has been already reaped. May we not underrate our privilege ; but, while the Missionary takes the field, may we who remain at home, be grateful that we are allowed to co-operate in such a cause by our contributions and our prayers ! Especially may the members of the church of England take their full share in this holy warfare ; and, while almost every denomination of Christians has its peculiar institution for the propagation of our common gospel, let that, which has three, maintain its pre-eminence, and not suffer any of them to languish for want of funds or of men, but endeavor through them all to make the trumpet of the everlasting gospel sound to the most distant regions of the earth ! Still more especially may the pious youth of our country not overlook, in their search for useful and charitable employment, the most honorable, because the most arduous, the most extensively beneficent, because the most exclusively Christian, of all occupations, an occupation, honored by the example of apostles, and sharing in the sympathy of angels !

ART. VII.—MEN AND THINGS.

Men and Things in 1823, a Poem in Three Epistles with notes, by James Shergold Boone, M.A. London. Hatchards, 1823. pp. viii.—155.

It seems almost impossible for a periodical censor of the literature of the day to let this poetical essay pass altogether without notice, expressing, as it does, very free opinions on

all the current topics of political conversation. A work, so constituted, cannot indeed carry much weight. It cannot avoid hazarding many sentiments, which even the author himself may be unprepared to defend, when a little further reflection brings them into clearer view, or fresh occurrences in the political world throw light upon that, which is ambiguous. For ourselves, it is well known, that we do not wish to advocate the cause of any political party; and our only reason for reviewing the present production is, that we believe the sentiments, promulgated in it, whether right or wrong, to be so far British, that they are for the most part the prevailing sentiments of a large majority of all classes in the British empire on the passing events of the time. We may say in the words of the author :

“ Here look—the people’s voice here echoed find,
And the faint image of their gen’ral mind !” (P. 46.)

We must be understood to say this of course with considerable latitude : and especially we would confine the remark to the things referred to, rather than the men ; for on this subject the state of parties is such as to preclude unanimity.

The plan of the author is to sketch rapidly in the two first epistles the great events, passing on the theatre of Europe, the principles, involved in the dispute, now carrying on in the heart of Spain, the opposite struggles of despotism and liberty, and the position of England, as fitting her to be an arbitress in this contest ; and in the third he addresses Mr. Canning, as a person, at the present moment so situated and so gifted as to enable him to exercise a great moral influence on the destinies of England and of the world ; in which view he gives him his advice both in verse and prose on many subjects of national concern, as that of the proposed concessions to the Roman catholics, of the poor laws, the slave laws, the game laws, commercial restrictions, and the management of associates and opponents, admonishing him, that

“ ‘ There is a tide in the affairs of men ’—
Thou know’st the rest—thou know’st it—and what then ?
I tell thee :—at this hour ’tis thine to ride
Safely and proudly on that risen tide,
Led on to fortune ;—but, if fears prevail,
See, bolder rivals stretch th’ adventurous sail,
While, bound in shallows, thou shalt sigh in vain ;
For ne’er that tide shall flow for thee again !” (P. 46.)

As an apology for obtruding his advice, unasked, upon so many important topics, or for thinking it may be useful, Mr. Boone opens his poem with the following simile :

“ Who has not known, when with some idle play
Men while the lagging winter night away,
How oft the mere spectator of their game,
Tho’ small the science, which himself may claim,
Shall yet discern, where tried experience makes
Its casual oversights and slight mistakes?
All *he* surveys with easy tranquil air,
Calm, unembarrass’d, unperplex’d with care ;
While the poor players---’spite their practis’d art---
Eager, yet fearful, watch some single part ;
Draw back—determine—weigh the doubtful cast ;
Deliberate long—yet move in haste at last.

E’en thus, methinks, in that most venturous game,
Where kings and statesmen stake repose and fame ;
Where—their vast board—all earth, before them lies,
Mankind their playthings, the world’s sway their prize—
Something the careless looker-on may see,
Whose sense is clear because his mind is free,
Which skill’d tacticians, as they play, let pass,
Confus’d and dazzled by the mighty mass.

Yet change their place—bid him who could discern
The play’r’s omissions, play himself in turn ;
Straight shall he fail and falter ten times more
Than they, who caus’d his sapient shrug before ;
Straight, floundering on through error’s every phase,
Heap fault on fault each moment, as he plays.
Still objects may in both be seen too near—
Nature or life:—due distance makes them clear,
Since few or none can view the whole aright,
When parts, too close, press ever on the sight.

I then, who stand aloof, nor ’mid the throng
And crush of business move, like thee, along—
Thee, Canning, girt with thousand toils and cares,
And wedded to the weight of state affairs—
I, tho’ perchance th’ inspiring hope be vain
That thou canst listen to so light a strain,
Would bold explore the maze of men and things,
Reason, my guide ; or borne by fancy’s wings,
O’er Europe’s wide-spread realms excursive range,
And mark, through all, the seeds of coming change ;
Then, speeding back to busy Britain, muse
On parties, prospects, politics, and news ;
And, last, display, with lights and shadows true,
Thyself, a faithful picture, to thy view.” (P. 1—3.)

This task the author performs in verse, but yet not so exclusively so, but that the convenient appendage of notes is found necessary to give body and substance to a picture, which

in the shadowy visions of the poet is of too unsubstantial a nature to suit the practical purposes of the politician.

We do not mean to follow him into all this extensive range of speculation. Still less do we propose to hazard predictions of our own on the probable issue of passing events, not having in plain prose the privilege, which he claims

“ according to the custom and licence of poets from time immemorial, of embodying wishes in the form of prophecies, and predicting, as about to happen, rather what may be hoped with ardour, than what may be expected with certainty.” (P. iv.)

But the form and local existence, which he has given to many of the fluctuating sentiments of the day, will enable us to say a few words on the present feeling and temper of the public mind with respect to several points of great interest to the cause of morality, religion and truth.

As a specimen of the manner, in which the poetical part of this volume is executed, as well as of the independent spirit, in which it is conceived, we select the following disavowal of blind attachment to names, which are often rather the watch-words of party than substantial distinctions of sentiment :

“ Here were it fit, perchance, to tell at length
Thy parties, England, and their various strength :
But no : I scorn the hackney'd party-cry,
And pass the brood of Whigs and Tories by.
No idle senseless terms shall stuff my line,
Which none or understand, or can define;—
Distinctions obsolete, and just as good
As any other born before the flood !
Let such as swear by Peel or Eldon go
By name as Tories, if it must be so ;
Whigs be *they* call'd, who Scotch reviews adore,
From honest Tierney down to Peter Moore.
I care not!—hear me, Commoners and Lords !
I speak of men and things, not names and words. (P. 60.)

It will be already divined by our readers, that the model in point of style, on which these epistles are written, is that, of which the classical reader has so happy a specimen in the epistles of Horace, a model of easy frankness, in which no attempt is made to elevate into poetical dignity the *verba*

Sermoni propiora,

but in which general sentiments and even personal allusions are uttered with freedom and familiarity, and in which those details are not expected, which in prose-essays on practical subjects or in the recommendation of practical measures are at once necessary and dull.

This style of writing, whatever be its merits, is very re-

spectably sustained in the work before us, which is of an uniform tenour, and will be found in most of the extracts, which we shall give, to maintain the same tone ; remarkable rather for ease than strength, sometimes indeed degenerating into slovenliness, seldom rising into dignity, but implying commonly a power of expression and vigour of conception beyond what is exhibited, and which only waits for occasion to draw it forth.

The question, how far a work of this kind is calculated to do good, may admit of various answers. So far as it gives a faithful picture of the state of sentiment and feeling in a country, like this, where all the people think and talk on all subjects, whether understood or not, and where the opinions of the people exercise a decided influence on the counsels of the legislature and the measures of the government, so far as it gives this picture, free from the overcharged coloring of party-prejudice and political faction, it has its use. It is always convenient for practical purposes no less than for the amusement of the passing hour, to

“ catch the manners, living, as they rise ; ”

and, when this is done by a person, who identifies himself with the public, and represents, as his own sentiments, what is felt by the people at large, it is seen to more advantage, and studied with happier effect.

On the other hand the practice of dogmatically insisting on one set of principles, and anathematizing all who uphold others or are disposed to qualify their adherence to these, is a British vice, which is encouraged by publications of this nature. The unmeasured length, to which partisans in parliament and out of parliament are disposed to carry their statements ; the vehemence with which they affirm their own views, and theirs alone, to be the rule of public duty ; and still more the personal invectives, in which they often indulge, have had much to do in producing that ferment in the popular mind, which has given to conflicting principles, as held by different persons, not so much a deliberative as a hostile character ; and the confidence, with which every new combatant in the political warfare starts up to propound with oracular dogmatism his own views of policy or right, even though he should not side with either of the contending parties, strengthens the arrogance of contention. When will men learn, in contending for theological, political, or literary, as they do in prosecuting scientific, truth, to respect the errors of others, and to be willing to receive correction for their own ?

We do not mean by these remarks to impute the vice of

arrogance to the writer before us. The habit of asserting positively, that the only right view to be taken of a particular question is, as we state it, and no otherwise, and that those, who think differently, are

‘desp’rate sots and fools,’

is too truly national and warranted by too many high examples to be laid to the charge of a single individual, as a fault. We consider the present author, as in this attempt making a trial of his strength on political subjects, and preparing to enter hereafter more deeply into questions, on which he has here propounded the principles, that are intended to guide his decisions upon them; nor do we doubt, that he will gain courage from his first reception to proceed.

As the author entitles his poem ‘Men and Things,’ we will first produce his character of some of the men, who attract a considerable degree of notice in the present day.

“Here Cobbett brandishes his potent pen,
The Delphic oracle of desperate men—
The bashful Cobbett, who might bear the bell,
If writing shamelessly were writing well.
Next him—bright names together doom’d to go---
Hunt, Wooler, Waddington, Carlile, & Co.---
Pure precious souls, who fondest zeal betray,
And would do mischief---if they knew the way. (P. 31, 32.)

We forbear to quote other examples: for, except in the case of Mr. Canning, they would mostly be taken from the prosaic half of the volume; in which dress, whatever truth they might possess, they would certainly, when transferred to our pages, appear to less advantage. There is something in verse which renders even a more pointed censure less offensive; and we agree with the author, that

“The world will be an intolerably dull world, when men cease to retain something of the *poetry* of life, as well as something of its *philosophy*.” (P. 128.)

Our readers will (we are sure) be pleased with the following fresh and graphic delineation of the condition of

“The slave, earth’s shame and manhood’s scorn,
Not self degraded, but in bondage *born* :
Mere *property*, his very frame, blood, bone,
Flesh, senses, sinews, marrow, not his own.
But he is fed and healthy, though not free?---
Ay, so the horse, or brutish ox must be;
For interest forces man in every soil
To feed his beast, and give him strength to toil.
But fed, cloth’d, healthy, is he less a slave?
A slave! that word is all to pain, debase, deprave. (P. 52.)

Nor do we imagine there is much more reason to question the correctness, than the force, of the considerations, suggested in the following passage, upon the effect of the laws against smuggling and poaching, to which may be added the too frequent penalty of imprisonment for small offences. Whatever be the necessity or advantage of any of the laws, to which allusion is made, it is at least painful to reflect,

“ How grave decrees, and strict provisions grow
Hot-beds of varied villainy and woe ;
How many felons by the law are made,
How many murderers by restraints on trade ;
How many, plung’d by circumstance in crime,
On gibbets die---or from their native clime,
Dishonour’d exiles, far and friendless roam,
To plan new feats of plunder when at home !” (P. 54.)

The author’s representation of the enactments, which have been made or attempted, to repress the extravagance of dissipation or the rage for cruel pastimes among the lower orders, indicates a want of practical acquaintance with the details of the subject. He expresses his belief, that

“ Many of the new enactments are objectionable on two accounts : 1st, they make a most unjust and invidious distinction between the poor and the rich ; 2dly, they are founded upon erroneous principles, if the poor only are considered. They are proofs of over-officiousness on the part of Government ; they are well-intended, but mistaken attempts at legislation, in cases where no legislation ought to be attempted. Good habits must be instilled into the poor by education, and the diffusion of useful knowledge. To legislate them into steadiness and sobriety by coercive provisions and severe penalties, is a project at once harsh and ineffectual. Many, at least, of the subjects which have employed the collective wisdom of the British parliament, are matters with which the parent, or the schoolmaster, or the parson of the parish, have far more to do than all the legislators under heaven. (P. 137.)

Now, were Mr. Boone the parson of a parish, he would perhaps see how irresistible an enemy to all his pious endeavours for the reformation of his flock is an established fair, an ale-house, or a bull-bait. The poor are not good œconomists of their little all ; and, without wishing to take the management of it out of their own hands, that man ought not to be stigmatized as a meddler, still less to be decried as an oppressor, who would remove out of their way some of their principal temptations to mis-spend it ; and we are strongly of opinion, that many a poor man, when he sees his family growing up around him in habits of industry and sobriety, will thank the patriot, who suppressed the amusement, which by its seductive and mischievous fascination would have taken him from them at an age, when his paternal care was most

availing. The people can still have their amusements, when fairs and prize-fights are withdrawn. But they will be amusements of their own seeking, whereas an established fair may more justly be regarded as an attempt on the part of the legislature to force them into a prescribed form of diversion, and into habits of dissipation and extravagance, whether they will or no. To represent the establishment of a temptation, as innocent, and the removal of it, as officious intermeddling, is a figure of speech, for which we do not recollect, that the ancients have invented a name, though it seems to be a sort of *enallage*, in which the quality belonging to one of two opposites, is bestowed upon the other. But in point of fact it is so far from being true, that the projected measures are oppressively levelled at the poor, while they leave the rich to pursue the same diversions unmolested; that the real state of the case is, that bull-baits and other cruel sports were once the amusements of all classes in England, as they are now in Spain, and that they have been abandoned by the superior orders of society, before any attempt was made to abolish them among the lower. The two following extracts from Evelyn's Memoirs, giving an account of a pastime, which was common in his day, will shew, what advances have taken place in general refinement, as well as in female delicacy, among the upper orders, in the course of a century and a half; nor can we see any just reason why we should now grudge to the laboring part of our population their share in the general improvement. Our first extract bears the date of August 17th, 1667:—"There was now a very gallant horse to be baited to death with dogs. But he fought them all so as the fiercest of them could not fasten on him, till they ran him through with their swords. This wicked and barbarous sport deserved to have been punished in the cruel contrivers to get money, under the pretence, that the horse had killed a man, which was false. I would not be persuaded to be a spectator." The other is dated, June 16th, 1670:—"I went with some friends to the bear-garden, where was cock-fighting, dog-fighting, bear and bull-baiting, it being a famous day for all these butcherly sports, or rather barbarous cruelties. The bulls did exceeding well; but the Irish wolf-dog exceeded, which was a tall greyhound, a stately creature indeed, who beat a cruel mastiff. One of the bulls tossed a dog full into a lady lap, as she sat in one of the boxes a considerable height from the arena. Two poor dogs were killed: and so all ended with the ape on horseback; and I was most heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime, which I had not seen (I think) in twenty years before."

We might next quote for the sake of the reflections to which they give rise, some of the remarks, which occur on the proposed concessions to the Roman catholics, on which, as may be supposed, the author takes the poetical side of the question, not without strong insinuations against the intolerance of all who would resist the contested claims. But on this topic so decisive a tone can hardly be said to give a fair representation of public sentiment, inasmuch as it is a question, on which the cabinet, the parliament, and the nation are too much divided to be represented by a single counsel: and perhaps a little moderation on so delicate a point, and some respect, if not to Mr. Peel, who is cautioned against the paralysing influence of cloistered zeal, to his learned and respectable constituents, and to other conscientious opponents of the projected change, would not have been less becoming than the dictatorial assumption of superiority, which is adopted. This however (we have already admitted) is no fault. The last author as well as the last speaker is always in the right; and we shall consequently hold, till some opposite arguer shall give a new turn to the dispute, that in the annual debates on this interminable question, the advocates of concession are the only reasonable party, while their opponents are among those

“ Statesmen, who to thinn’d benches tell their views,
And cause more sudden coughs than damps or dews;” (P. 29.)

more especially, as by adducing no arguments upon the subject the author has effectually concealed any weakness that might attach to his own.

The main subject, however, of the volume may be stated to be the prevalence of two conflicting principles in the minds of nations, the principles of despotism and of liberty, which are both progressively advancing, though in opposite directions. In tracing this progress the course of public events, from the combination against Napoleon to the present war in Spain, is sketched with much spirit:

“ The energies of freedom were roused and brought into action, Napoleon was crushed, and the hope of universal dominion, which France had nourished, was like a dream that had vanished. But what happened next? The victors evinced a disposition to turn their backs upon the cause in which they had conquered. The spirit of liberty, which had achieved the triumph, was to depart, and be forgotten. The free sentiments, which had been studiously excited, were to be discarded and sent home, like the retainers of a feudal lord, whose marauding expedition is at an end. Their service was done: and the selfishness of kings is a stronger feeling than their gratitude. But was all this possible? Could such high and holy

impulses pass away or remain dormant, as if they had never been? Could the nations forget in a moment all the glorious attachments which had been instilled into their hearts for years? Could they cease to look upon those visions of liberty, which had been presented to them, first, by the early progress of the French revolution, and afterwards by the exhortations and example of their own sovereigns." (P. 133.)

The inconsistency of the despotic governments on the subject of military revolutions is then strongly pointed out :

" They complain of a *military* revolution in Spain---they complain of a *military* revolution in Naples ;---yet they seek to put down the revolutionary principle by military aid." (P. 82.)

Then in applying these remarks to the present scene of the contest in Spain, the temperate reflections, which follow, are well worthy of being extracted :

" No sober politician, perhaps, can altogether approve the constitutions which have been established in Spain and Portugal ; and certainly no prudent man will pledge himself to commend the future actions of the ' Liberals ' on the Continent. The real patriot, on the contrary, and genuine philanthropist, will endeavour to preserve moderation, and mark the line between liberty and extravagance, regard for order, and hatred of improvement. As a lover of freedom, he will lament its excesses : as a lover of good order and regular government, he will regret the oppressive system which is maintained under the authority of those terms : as a lover of both, and a believer in their compatibility, he will be sure of experiencing the benefit of cordial abuse from the exclusive admirers of either the one or the other." (P. 107.)

The view taken also of the natural correctives to these causes of confusion and conflict, is equally just and seasonable :

" The monarchs of Europe must be told, and must be made to understand,---' Promote reform---promote improvement---promote a rational system of representative government, if you would save yourselves from the horrors of revolution and convulsion. If you would take the cause of freedom out of the hands of political enthusiasts, hairbrained speculators, soldiers of fortune, ambitious rebels, hungry, desperate, unprincipled adventurers, PLACE IT IN YOUR OWN. If the preservation of ignorance is impossible, and the possession of half-knowledge is pernicious---and which of the two positions can be controverted?---one only resource, one only alternative remains---provide for your subjects *ample* and *good* instruction. Instead of endeavouring to compel a gloomy, slavish, insecure acquiescence by force of arms, do what is far easier, and far safer---establish a constitutional authority, by having reason on your side, and by *shewing* that it is on your side.' By both parties (it is true) concessions must be made, and pretensions must be abated. But the first step ought

now to be taken by the supporters of the monarchical principle; for they are now the aggressors." (Pp. 152, 153.)

Having thus been led to exhibit the author's view of the circumstances of the struggle, now carrying on in the Spanish peninsula, a view, which we believe to accord very nearly with the sentiments, generally entertained upon it in this country, we are tempted further to extract a few passages from Mr. Quin's visit to Spain, for the sake of helping our readers to form a judgment on the question, how far the principles here referred to, might ever have been reasonably expected to decide their quarrel on that soil. Mr. Quin was present during the most critical period of the pending dispute, while the invasion was threatened, and when it was commenced, and therefore had a fine opportunity for witnessing any ebullition of popular feeling. His general view of the whole position of affairs is thus stated by himself: "I went to that country perfectly unbiassed; I soon saw that the Constitution was impracticable, and I perfectly agreed with those who wished that it was as much as possible assimilated to the Constitution of England. But I did then abhor, as I do still, and ever shall abhor, the entry of a foreign power armed for the purpose of carrying those improvements into effect." (P. 359.)

On the important question, whether the constitution is really popular in Spain, or not, Mr. Quin again and again reports, that there is a great indifference to it every where, and that the cry of the people is for peace. Thus we are told, that "it was frequently stated in Cortes, that the annual amount of the contributions, levied on the people since the restoration of the Constitution, was considerably below that which was paid during the despotism." "I am not prepared" (says Mr. Quin) "to confirm or dispute this assertion: but from all that I saw or heard up to this time in Spain, I was convinced that the people generally did not believe this allegation, and that the great majority of them were desirous of nothing so much as of peace. If any tradesman, or a peasant laboring in the fields, were asked whether he was a Constitutionalist, the answer was, 'All that I want is peace.' Exceptions to this observation might have been met with in places where party spirit ran high, and divided towns and villages into different sects. But where the passions were not excited, 'Peace---Peace!' was the desire of all. As to the clergy, it was notorious that the great majority of the secular as well as the regular degrees were at heart hostile to the constitution." (Pp. 160, 161.) It can be scarcely necessary to add, that the grandees,

with very few exceptions, were as much opposed to the new system as the clergy." "Looking, therefore, to the Peninsula alone, it would appear that the mass of the people were indifferent with respect to the Constitution; and two very powerful classes were sincerely adverse to it. Every day new enemies to the system rose from the bosom of the country; and in point of fact it was upheld only by the army, by those enjoying public employments, and those desirous to obtain them." (P. 162.)

The first place, at which this subject is noticed by the author is Villa Real, where he says, "The woman, who shewed us the chapel, informed us, that the clergy explained the constitution every Sunday from the pulpit, and that the inhabitants were, some for the new system, some against it. The point, in which all were agreed, was a love of peace and quietness. As to the rest, they were not particularly anxious one way or the other. (P. 43.) At Guadalaxara, to which Bessieres penetrated in his attempt on Madrid, Mr. Quin reports, "On inquiry into the political sentiments of the inhabitants, I received the same answer in every instance, which I had already frequently heard---'We want nothing but peace.'" (P. 225.) Again at Seville "I made some inquiries into the feeling of the Sevillians with regard to the Constitution, and the answers which I received from persons resident here for some years, were shortly to this effect; that when the constitution was first proclaimed, a number of rich proprietors, and of steady commercial men, embarked ardently in the cause, under the hope that liberal institutions would tend greatly to the amelioration of their different interests. Within the last year, however, the frequent changes of ministry produced corresponding alterations in all the offices." (P. 312.) The new *employes*, it was said, consisted mostly of that half-educated gentry, who after leaving school, had spent the greatest part of their lives in coffee-houses, and billiard and gambling-rooms; and when they found themselves invested with authority, they exercised it in a rude, and sometimes oppressive manner. The result of these proceedings upon the general spirit of Seville was to render it exceedingly indifferent towards the Constitution." (P. 313.) "The same state of apathy, to use the mildest expression, prevailed in all the towns through which we passed after leaving Madrid. From my own observations, and those of others, I can safely state that the great majority of the people on the line of that route desired nothing so much as peace." (P. 317.)

Under these circumstances it is evident, that the constitutionalists can be regarded only as a party, not as the nation. It

follows, moreover, that the king has been all along really a prisoner in the hands of this party, of which many decisive indications are afforded in the course of this volume. The author justly remarks that, "it was impossible for any prince, who regarded the dignity and just rights of his throne, to subscribe, with a willing hand, the Constitution of Cadiz; for it reduced his prerogatives and faculties to mere shadows. The Cortes, by demanding too much, and succeeding in their demands to the very letter, placed themselves in a false position, which they were obliged to keep, in order to preserve any of the advantages they had gained. The king, on the other hand, by conceding too much, reduced himself to a situation that rendered him naturally an object of hourly suspicion at home, and of manifold intrigues abroad. There were accordingly household guards and officers appointed, in whom the new government confided. These guards, armed with small carabines, were stationed in different rooms of the palace, and the stairs were night and day lined with battle-axe men." (P. 122.)

Hence it would seem, that the French have been encountered in that country, not so much by the love of liberty as by the national pride, which, notwithstanding the accession of generals to their cause, repels them still from all the fortresses of the country, though it has learned to care little for the political questions at issue. How favorable a state of things was this for the gradual correction of those anomalies and vices, with which the constitution abounds! and how fatal to all such hopes might the sword of the invader have proved! We shall rejoice, if it shall appear, that Providence has been secretly conducting the affairs of that distracted country to an issue, unlooked for by all the contending parties, but yet more conducive to the real interests of the kingdom, than those at which they aimed. We shall rejoice, and Spain too, and Europe, will have reason to rejoice, if the events which have passed, and the expressions of sentiment which have been elicited, shall induce both the king of France and the king of Spain, and the constitutionalists and the royalists, to listen to moderate counsels, to bury past animosities in oblivion; and even now, after measures have been pushed to an extremity without perhaps drawing nearer to a decision of the theoretical principles at issue, to agree in some middle point of safety, at which the rights of freedom may be substantially guarded, and the regulated privileges of monarchy preserved from violation.

There is only one other topic touched on in Mr. Boone's book, on which we feel it necessary to say a word. On subjects

connected with religion, as well as politics. Mr. Boone maintains the the same peremptory tone. We have the following specimens of his diffidence and correctness in such points from the text and from the notes.

“Modes, too, of faith, to strange excess have run,
 Since many have too much, and more have none.
 ’Twixt unbelief and superstition’s growth,
 Religion wanes, and weeps at sight of both.”
 Here high-church zealots rave; there sectaries rant,
 And men of different minds together plant
 The mingled seeds of blasphemy and cant.”
 Here o’er religion, saints, too busy, fling
 Black gloom, and turn it to a joyless thing.
 There coarse buffoons, with random satire, strike
 Bright worth and mean hypocrisy alike.” (Pp. 32, 33.)

“The well-meant officiousness and incessant zeal of the evangelical members of the Church of England, sectaries of all denominations, members of missionary and other societies, would afford ample room for investigation, and some perhaps for remonstrance. (P. 113.)

We fear, that there are too many still in the country, who are ready to join in this cry against zeal in the best of causes, which by placing spiritual religion at one extreme, and rank infidelity at the other, implies, that the happy medium of a rational piety is equally remote from both. The persons here, and in Mr. Wilkins’s work, ironically stigmatized, as saints, have little to fear from such really random satire: and therefore we will not degrade by defending them. We are happy to believe they are an increasing body; and we trust, that, as their numbers increase, the sterling excellence of their characters and the acknowledged utility of their beneficial labours will render all other vindication superfluous. But for the author’s sake we wish him to consider, that in reality there is no middle ground in the cause here alluded to, that religion is either all, or it is nothing, and that consequently either Carlile and Wooler are right, and all our ecclesiastical establishments ought to be cut up, root and branch, or else the incessant zeal, displayed by missionary and other societies, is something more than well-meant officiousness.

Mr. Boone indeed can write with just feeling on subjects of this nature. We were much pleased with the following peroration, if we may so call it, to his diversified disquisitions.

“Such are not my sentiments alone: they are the sentiments, I know, of some among the most respectable and enlightened persons in this kingdom and on the Continent; persons, who must never be confounded with the numerous revolutionists and convulsionists, who disgrace and endanger a good cause, or the traitors and apostates, who first rise upon it to importance, and afterward desert it at its need:

since they are the staunch and steady friends of constitutional monarchy, of legitimate succession, of regular government, of rational religion.

"That in the establishment of these blessings will be the final consummation of the present struggle, they anxiously hope, and they have some grounds for believing: they feel that much is to be effected by the example and authority of England; and they therefore think, that *the men* who wield the power, and resources, and influence of England, command almost as far as human agents *can* command, the destinies of the world. Moreover, they see the hand of Providence at work amid the clash and ferment of actions and opinions; bringing the things of earth to its own good and appointed end, and using the passions and caprices, and energies and weaknesses of sovereigns or subjects, as instruments for its own wise and inscrutable purposes. For, as Shakspeare has said, with his inimitable felicity of language,

'There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will.'

The introduction of Providence in the close of a work, taking a review of differences, disputes, and controversies, has a soothing and tranquillizing effect. It is, as in Virgil's mob, when

"— pietate gravem ac meritis, si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus astant.
Ille regit dictis animos, ac pectora mulcet."

It would be useful to cherish a feeling like this, in all our disquisitions on passing events. It would moderate the ardour of opposition, and allay the heat of unreasonable contention. It would make difference of sentiment stop short of hostility and rancour. It would enable bigots on one side to see, that there may be independence of mind, without revolutionary fanaticism, and on the other, that there is yet a holier cause to be maintained in the world than that of freedom itself.

We regret indeed, that both in verse and in prose, the author has associated the epithet, holy, with the cause of freedom; a cause, which, however excellent, and however necessary to real holiness, is too often maintained by unholy men, for unholy purposes; and too seldom advocated from considerations or motives truly holy to deserve to be so characterized. There is a cause, truly such; and that is a cause, which has led to those benevolent and voluntary associations, referred to in the preceding article, which (he thinks) afford 'ample room for investigation, and some perhaps for remonstrance;' though the object of them is purely disinterested; and though the end pursued by them, injudiciously perhaps in some instances, but insincerely or without a good effect (we believe) in none, is the glory of God, and the best interests of the universal family of man.

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NOVEMBER, 1823.

ART. VIII.—*The Siege of Jerusalem : A Poem* ; By Charles Peers, Esq. 8vo. pp. 263. Murray, London, 1823.

ONE of the fathers of the English church long ago affirmed, that a time would come, in which three words, uttered with meekness of wisdom, would outweigh three thousand volumes, written with an unhallowed sharpness of wit. No man, who believes that the moral Governor of the world estimates virtue above talent, will doubt the correctness of this sentiment. It may be extended, to pronounce a sentence of comparative worthlessness upon every attempt to advance the boundaries of literary gratification, except under the presiding and controlling influence of morality and religion. We are aware of the importance of mental cultivation ; we can comprehend the enjoyment with which a student may walk in the society of historians, sages, and poets, of past and present generations. We are nevertheless fully persuaded, that intellectual pleasure, from whatever source it may be derived, and to whatever extent it may be felt, is too dearly purchased, if it fasten upon the memory a single sentiment which may pollute the heart, or raise a blush upon the cheek of modesty and virtue. The most gorgeous day-dream of the poet's mind, which might extend the poison of impurity or infidelity, would be rather a curse than a blessing to mankind. A writer would rank with better title among the benefactors of his race, though his genius were not marked by any enviable pre-eminence, if he wrote

“ No line, which, dying, he might wish to blot,”

than if, having lightened with unrivalled brilliancy across the firmament of letters, he had marked his pathway by any train

of thought or language, which might dazzle and confound the unsuspecting simplicity of a Christian's belief, or enkindle the elements of a strange and forbidden fire within his bosom, to consume its purity and peace.

Opinions, like these, may probably be laughed to scorn by many, as the unnecessary suggestions of a rigid and morose philosophy. A Christian moralist, however, will judge more truly of their worth and importance. In his regard a virtuous tendency will constitute the grace, and life, and value of every work of genius; and nothing will compensate to him the intrusion of sentiments, calculated to diminish that purity of heart, in which consists the essence, and on which depends the hope of religion. The present day, therefore, will demand his caution and vigilance; because it is remarkable for an unexampled number both of writers and readers. The critic also, who may possibly exercise some little influence upon the taste and feeling of the community, should stand upon his watch-tower, and examine, from the post of his observation, every thing which passes within the range of his eye, that he may raise a voice of applause or warning, as good or evil may appear. The exercise of this constant vigilance is especially necessary in regard to poetical composition, which may influence the principles through the powerful medium of the imagination, and from which so much advantage or injury must necessarily arise, according as the intent of the writer is "wicked or charitable." The province of the critic, therefore, should not be confined to the structure of sentences, or the harmony of periods. It should extend beyond decisions upon the beauty and fitness of the subject which he undertakes to examine, the mode in which it is treated, the truth, force, or tenderness of the language, the aptness of the similes, the vigour of thought, or luxuriance of fancy,

" With all that meets the poet's eye,
In visions of his ecstasy."

It should be conversant with matters of higher interest, and of more important tendency. It should aim, not merely to develop the literary excellencies or defects of a poem, but to exhibit its moral beauty and deformity; and to shew how far it is calculated to subserve or to injure the interests of truth and virtue. Genius and talent, art and learning, should have the ready meed of his approbation: but there are requisites of a higher order, which should never be overlooked in his estimate of real worth. Unfortunately for the cause of morality, too many writers have been contented to seek notoriety,

(we will not say fame,) by clothing licentious or vicious opinions and sentiments in the glitter or magnificence of poetical imagery; while every thing which could refine the heart, and extend the common charities of our nature, has been overlooked or derided. The worst passions of mankind have been brought forward, as the objects of a perverted admiration; and characters have been deified, with no other claim to the worship they have received, than a terrible superiority in the hardihood of committing crimes, or in the sophistry of palliating them. It would be equally absurd and false to deny the praise of

“Thoughts, that breathe, and words, that burn,”

to many poems, which the friends of virtue, if they read at all, must read with regret. It is, notwithstanding, consolatory to look around, and find that the highest mental excellencies have been most frequently ennobled by an association with virtuous principles, and by a reference to worthy ends. In fact, it invariably happens, that, should a poet commence his career with the most rare endowments, they will be debased by their employment in the cause of irreligion. The very purposes which they are meant to advance, will weigh them down by a kind of moral gravitation, insensible perhaps to the writer, but palpable to all whose judgment is unbiassed by the love of evil, or whose respect for the sanctions of divine and human law is unimpaired. A poet of this perverted school may for a while astonish and delight: but the splendid medium through which he has dazzled and misled, will pass away; and the sober decisions of good sense, good feeling, and good principle, will rank him as he is. He will be eventually denied a place upon that eminence of renown, where the mightiest and the holiest of his brethren shall repose through an immortality of admiration and reverence.

“For still this sov’reign principle we find
True in the individual as the kind;
Strong links and mutual sympathies connect
The moral pow’rs, and pow’rs of intellect:
Still these on those depend, by union fine,
Bloom, as they bloom, and, as they fade, decline.
Talents (’tis true), gay, quick, and bright, has God
To virtue oft deny’d, on vice bestow’d;
Just as fond Nature lovelier colours brings
To paint the insect’s, than the eagle’s wings.
But of our souls the high-born loftier part,
Th’ ethereal energies that touch the heart,

Conceptions ardent, lab'ring thought intense,
 Creative fancy's wild magnificence,
 And all the dread sublimities of song,
 These, Virtue, these to thee alone belong :
 These are celestial all, nor kindred hold
 With aught of sordid or debasing mould.
 Chill'd by the breath of Vice, their radiance dies,
 And brightest burns, when lighted at the skies ;
 Like vestal flames, to purest bosoms giv'n,
 And kindled only by a ray from Heav'n."

Grant's Poem on the Restoration of Learning in the East. (P. 19.)

Milton, himself an illustrious exemplification of his own remark, has a passage in his prose works to the same effect: " True eloquence I find to be none but the serious and hearty love of truth, and that whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words, like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places."

The author, whose name stands at the head of this article, may well aspire to the praise of possessing and communicating a high tone of moral thought and feeling. He has been somewhat unfortunate in being forestalled, if we may so say, by a writer who came after him to the work. Mr. Peers tells us in his Preface, that the publication of his

" poem has been delayed by many concurring circumstances, although it was commenced several years ago, and has been long since completed. The success of a Cambridge exercise upon Christ's lamentation over Jerusalem led to a more attentive examination of the event, in which the memorable prophecy of our Lord received its accomplishment, and excited the author to attempt its description. In the mean time the attention of the public was attracted to Mr. Milman's beautiful dramatic poem. The subject, however, is so differently treated in the following pages, that the author trusts he should have escaped any imputation of plagiarism, even if his work had not been previously written; still more of a hope to rival that admired production. The coincidence in the choice of a subject was entirely accidental; and, if any should be discovered in the thoughts, or expressions, it is to be attributed to the necessity of resorting to the same sources of information for the principal facts.' (P. v. vi.)

Nevertheless, if it be true, that every requisite of poetical excellence, with which Professor Milman is gifted, has received not only lustre and honour, but even strength and sweetness by being engaged in behalf of all that is dignified

in morals, and valuable in religion, Mr. Peers has entered upon his honorable course in the same spirit; he has brought to his high and animating labour the best elements of success: and the result cannot be doubtful.

The author of "*The Siege of Jerusalem*," having thus himself adverted to the production of Mr. Milman, will not be surprised, if we also, though that work has already passed under review in our pages,* are tempted to take some notice of it in connection with his own, if it were only to illustrate the manner in which two poets of undoubted genius, have handled the same subject. The different forms of Epic and Dramatic, in which the poems are cast, will of course prevent a minute similarity: but there are still common features of resemblance, too plain to be mistaken; and both authors have departed sufficiently from the rules of the Stagirite to bring their works into a decided approximation. It is also pleasant and profitable to consider the coincidence of thought and sentiment, which must in some degree arise, from using materials dug from the same mine; while each production bears evident marks of its author's peculiar turn of mind and expression.

In our proposed remarks, therefore, the two writers will be occasionally brought to illustrate each other; but with no feeling of partiality, no undue attempt to magnify the one or to injure the other: such a purpose would be most unworthy, and we disclaim it. Each author has given the most unequivocal testimonies of ability; and each may see his own work brought into contact with the other, under the security of that respect and admiration which we truly feel for both.

Among the variety of important events which have occurred upon the theatre of the world, it seems remarkable that the *Siege of Jerusalem* should have so long remained unsung. It is a subject so grand in its character, so full of incidents deeply pathetic, so intimately connected with the record of revealed truth, so admirably calculated to bring shame upon the doubts of the infidel, and to build up the sincere Christian in the firm belief of his most holy faith, as apparently to make an almost irresistible appeal to poetical appropriation. No subject, indeed, could be in its own character more adapted to the pen of a Christian poet, or to the sympathy and love of a Christian reader. The principal materials lie in a narrow compass. The nervous sketch of Tacitus, and the more finished picture of Josephus, recommend this eventful history in terms of no common persuasion. The sacred

* VOL. XV. No. XXX. P. 365—377.

character of the history, which necessarily connects it with the Bible, almost compels a writer, upon the simple plea of consistency, to draw his most frequent illustrations from the well-spring of real poetry; and enables him to enrich his work with images of grandeur, which the volume of inspiration can alone supply. Moses, the prophets, and the Messiah open sources of beauty, pathos, and sublimity, unknown to the ancient masters of Epic and Tragic song. Of these advantages both the authors we have mentioned have been well aware; and have thus given to their works an air of keeping and harmony, which materially assists the moral worth and magnificence by which they are distinguished.

Our first attention is necessarily directed to the character and conduct of the son of Vespasian, to whose hand is entrusted the office of executing the woe, denounced against Jerusalem. Professor Milman has, with great success, blended the warrior with the philosopher, and made his hero rather an accomplished disciple of Zeno, than a mere commander of the Roman Legions. Mr. Peers (we think with less felicity) describes Titus, as little more than the most valiant and sagacious leader of the hosts, that begirt the towers of Jerusalem. By the one author he is painted as a man, who had almost attained to the boasted impassibility of his school.

“ Thy brethren of the porch, imperial Titus,
Of late esteem’d thee at the height of those
That with consummate wisdom have tam’d down
The fierce and turbu’lent passions, which distract
The vulgar soul. They deem’d, that, like Olympus,
Thou on thy cold and lofty eminence
Severely didst maintain thy sacred quiet
Above the clouds and tumults of low earth.”*

By Mr. Peers Titus is brought before us, as a warrior of matchless valour and conduct; but less adorned than might have been expected by those higher and more endearing qua-

* The simile of Diagoras necessarily reminds the reader of Goldsmith’s beautiful image, “As some tall cliff that rears its awful form,” &c. The same idea occurs in the works of a divine of the seventeenth century, who well deserved his appellation of “The Silver Bates,” for an uncommon measure of that pure and flowing style of writing and preaching, which, in its still greater perfection, procured the more honorable title of “Chrysostom,” to the celebrated Bishop of Constantinople. “As some high mountains, that ascend above the middle region, while clouds, charged with thunder, break upon the sides, and storms encompass it below, yet the top has a pure sun and calm air; thus the philosophers proposed to raise men to that height of virtue, that the superior part of the mind should be serene and undisturbed, whatever was done to his lower part, the body.”—(*Bates’s Works*, P. 75. fol.)

lities, with which his own desert and the partiality of history have very largely invested him.

“ Behold, himself,
The mighty master of the host, begirt
With noblest escort, all the flower of war !
His heroic port
Seem’d, as of Mars victorious ; Youth and Hope
Presaging conquest, o’er his cheek diffus’d
The glow of triumph.”

(P. 8, 9.)

This allusion to “the port of Mars” is not quite happy. If the description indeed had been put into the mouth of one of the personages in the poem, he might well have described his general, as resembling the Deity of a Roman soldier’s idolatry ; but a Christian poet, employed on a subject eminently Christian, should not, though in Milton’s manner and model, have realized or admitted his existence, by acknowledging him, as the standard of warlike bearing, or warlike beauty, even in a heathen commander.

Professor Milman’s poem opens, as some regard to the tyranny of dramatic writers seemed to demand, about thirty-six hours before the final assault. The work of Mr. Peers commences some months earlier, with the first encampment of the Romans upon the Mount of Olives ; and he has brought them before us with much spirit and success.

“ All around, and far as sight could strain,
Shadow’ing th’ horizon, rose a haze of sand,
Such as in Libyan deserts oft precedes
Sudden tornadoes, and at once inumes
Convoys, equipp’d for traffic or for war.
On with the host it mov’d, that dusky pall
Shadow’ing their numbers, whilst athwart its womb
Flash’d ever and anon the gleam of arms ;
Till, at a signal giv’n, their van stood fix’d,
And the subsiding sand and cloudless air
Gave to behold its infinite array.
Glorious, if sight so fatal might inspire
Aught, but dismay, shew’d that bright vision, bright
As th’ eye could bear. Th’ Almighty, though incens’d
Against his people, mix’d the bitter cup
With all, but shame, and e’en in misery,
Vouchsaf’d the last sad solace of the brave,
To fall with glory by a noble foe.”

(P. 67.)

The concluding lines are well imagined. Great dignity is thus given to the subject ; and our strongest sympathy is bespoken for those on whom the threatened vengeance is destined so tremendously to fall.

Mr. Milman has shewn great judgment in making Titus act under the secret influence of a principle, which he can neither define, nor resist; and which compels him to fulfil the decrees of Heaven, while he wishes to regard himself, as vindicating the insulted majesty of Rome.

“ I know not whence or how,
 There is a stern command upon my soul.
 I feel th’ inexorable fate within,
 That tells me, carnage is a duty here,
 And that th’ appointed desolation chides
 The tardy vengeance of the war. Diago’ras,
 If that I err, impeach my tenets ! Desti’ny
 Is over all, and hard Necessity
 Holds o’er the shifting course of human things
 Her paramount dominion. Like a flood,
 The irresistible stream of Fate flows on,
 And urges in its vast and sweeping motion
 Kings, consuls, Cæsars, with their mightiest armies,
 Each to his fix’d, inevitable end.
 Yea, ev’n eternal Rome, and father Jove,
 Sternly submissive, sail that onward tide ;
 And, now I am upon its rushing bosom,
 I feel its silent billows swell beneath me,
 Bearing me, and the conqu’ring arms of Rome
 ’Gainst yon devoted city.”

The same overruling energy is acknowledged in his speech, after Josephus had been wounded by the javelin of Amariah.

“ Now, mercy to the winds ! I cast thee off.”

The character of Titus, according to the conception of Mr. Peers, evidently admitted not the moral beauty, with which Professor Milman has thus been enabled to invest him.

The first of the nine books, into which the Siege of Jerusalem is divided, contains a spirited description of the Roman armies. From its merited praise we would only deduct the simile, instituted between the northern Raven and the legionary Eagle. The latter suffers by the comparison, whether we regard their different natures, or the character of those exploits, to which they respectively marshalled the rude and sanguinary warriors of the Cimbric Chersonese, and the high-minded soldiery of Latium. The havoc, to which these “ *bellorum Dii* ” led the way, is too characteristic a specimen of the propriety, with which scriptural metaphor and illustration are introduced, to be omitted.

“ The Eagle God
 Seem’d, as he grasp’d Jove’s thunders, to affect
 The wrath of Jove ; nor did his course belie
 That fancy’d prodigy. Before his track

A land, like Eden, deck'd with every charm
Of prodigal and loveliest nature, lay ;
Havoc behind, a blasted wilderness,
Blank solitude, and long sterility,
Total destruction, irretrievable !”

(P. 11.)

He must be an inattentive student of the sacred volume, who does not immediately recognise the terrible prediction of Joel in this close and spirited imitation, even though his attention had not been drawn to the prophetic page by the appendage of a note.

The unexpected and vigorous sally of the Jews, by which the life of Titus was endangered, is well told ; and the characters of the two rival chieftains, John of Giscala, and Simon, the Assassin, are ably contrasted. Professor Milman has identified the licentious Galilean with “the spawn of Sadoc,” and the zealot, Simon, who “made long prayers, while his hands were full of blood,” with the precise and formal Pharisee ; and the advantage, which he has thus acquired, amply compensates for that departure from strict historic truth, to which the laws of the drama allow more indulgence, than is permitted by the canons of epic poetry. The contending tyrants are thus made to reproach each other with aggravated applications of the terms, in which the persecuted Saviour addressed the parties, of which they are made the representatives. In proof of this remark we need only apply to the dialogue in the Fall of Jerusalem, p. 71—81.

The celebration of the passover in the temple, and the successful perfidy, with which John of Giscala obtained possession of it during the solemnities of this high festival, form the opening incidents in the second book of Mr. Peers’s poem. We shall extract the substance of the song, in which past interpositions of power and mercy were extolled by the sweet singers of Israel, whose strains,

“ With bland illusion stealing o’er the sense,
Call’d up the images of time o’erpast
To present vision, and beguil’d the soul
With varying sympathies of joy or woe.”

(P. 26.)

The passage is almost too long for quotation, but yet too beautiful to be abridged.

“ First of their fathers’ travail and sojourn
In bondage, lab’ring long with thankless toil
To build proud Rameses, and Pithom’s strength ;
Haply those loftier and enduring piles,
That tower, triumphant o’er the wreck of time,
Egypt’s long vaunted wonders, though achiev’d
By Israel’s toil, and wet with Israel’s tears.

Chang'd the sad measure, as requir'd a theme
Of loftier import, when th' Omnipotent
Disdain'd not for his people to put forth
Miracu'lous pow'r, and measure strength with man.
Of signs they sung and wonders, that appall'd
Audacious Egypt, which her wizard sons,
Leagu'd with the fiends of darkness, strove in vain
To rival,—purest rivers chang'd to blood,
Murrain, and sores, contagious, beast with men
Alike afflicted. Where was Pharaoh's pride,
When the vex'd elements, earth, flood, and air,
Teeming with noisome swarms innumerable,
Assail'd him in his marble halls, reclin'd
At the rich banquet or soft couch of love ?
Anon in solemn numbers, to express
A deeper horror, they resum'd their chant.
Of noon-day night they sung, profoundest night,
Of darkness palpable, of hail, and fire,
Locusts, whose flight obscur'd the cope of Heav'n,
Whose taint, more fatal than the storm, devour'd
The wreck of harvest. Bends not yet thy pride,
Stubborn deceiver ? Wouldst thou still provoke
Worse visitation ? The decree is past :
Forth, on the wings of darkness borne unseen,
The high commission'd angel speeds his flight,
Scatt'ring destruction. Hark ! Thro' all the land
Sounds, as of wailing, weeping, and despair ;
When not a house in Egypt, but, bereav'd
Of its first-born, re-echoed to the cry
Of some sad mother ! Soft and dolorous,
From virgin voices flow'd the note of woe ;
Now in loud murmurs, from the silver lyre
Or smooth recorders, swelling on the breeze,
Now in mellifluous cadence, soft, as dews,
That fall from Hermon's hill at eventide,
Sinking to silence. The delighted ear
(So true their unison) might well believe
The blended sweetness, instrument and song,
Were but one voice, that pour'd its plaintive wail
In simple melody, while all who heard,
Made moan for Egypt, and forgot the foe.
Not sweeter measures sooth'd the frenzy'd king,
What time the shepherd minstrel swept his harp,
Wak'ning such music as at once becalm'd
Long-rankling wrath, and sooth'd the soul to peace.
The strife is o'er. The proud oppressor yields.
Exult for Israel ! Lo ! with all their tribes
They march triumphant ; to what numbers swell'd
From those affected brethren, who besought

Food for their hunger, now a nation huge,
 Thousands of thousands, all complete for war,
 And God their captain ! The parted sea
 Yields them safe passage. Lift the song of joy !
 Swell, ev'ry instrument, a louder strain !
 Behold pursuing Pharaoh and his host,
 Horsemen and horse, beneath the reflux wave,
 Pomp, pride, and prowess, all at once engulf'd !
 Again the note of triumph, yet again
 From the throng'd multitude ascending, tore
 The vaulted firmament, while all the choir
 Pour'd the full tide of music to the song.
 Part, with the trumpet's peal, and thrilling horn,
 Timbrel, or clarion shrill, to beat of drum
 Or clanging cymbals, blew the blast of war.
 Others with skilful touch awoke the chords
 Of the string'd dulcimer, and sweeter lyre ;
 Heroic measures and high poesy,
 Whereof no record now ; the sons of song,
 Their fame unknown, their memo'ry unembalm'd,
 Sunk in their city's universal doom,
 Nor left a name behind." (P.27—30.)

This passage is strongly marked with the *vis vivida* of a real poet's mind.

The remainder of the book contains a powerful and very picturesque description of the situation of the city and temple. To this succeed the destruction of the suburbs by the Romans, and their attempts to shake the walls by those immense machines, which they had erected against the Holy City. The book, however, with the exception of the passage, which has been quoted, is somewhat devoid of interest.

The third book narrates the truce between the factions at Jerusalem. The speeches of the leaders are made with great consistency. Matthias, the high priest, who wisely counsels for internal unity, and peace from foreign war, is made to give his testimony to the character, miracles, and predictions of our Lord, which he had witnessed and heard, and which were at that moment in a course of terrible fulfilment.

“ Mock not, if I speak
 Of one, as king, rejected and disdain'd,
 Whom yet miraculous and mighty signs
 Proclaim'd a prophet of no mortal cast !
 For sure, had any seen him put to proof,
 In every trial, torture, bonds, and death,
 Heard his last warning words, and seen th' event
 Thus far fulfill'd, they could not choose, but own
 His dread prediction worthy of our care.

His port was more than human, though array'd
 In simplest garb, his words above compare
 For truth and wisdom ; add to these a life
 Unstain'd of passion, unimpeach'd of sin ;
 His mission vouch'd by matchless miracles !
 These orbs beheld the stormy waters hush'd
 At his rebuking, saw the fiends of hell
 Cast out from souls possess'd, the sick restor'd
 To life and healing. I was of the throng,
 When at his call the shrouded Lazarus
 Awoke from death ; and, when himself expired,
 I stood beside him at the tree of shame,
 To mark the end. Strange darkness overspread
 The noon-day heav'n ; the temple's veil was torn,
 And the rocks rent ; while many yet can tell,
 How, all night long, th' uncoffin'd dead were seen,
 Roaming the city. Such was he, whose voice,
 Twice twenty seasons gone, proclaim'd this woe,
 And worse to come, our people led again,
 The few, who 'scape, to far captivity,
 Our temple sack'd, our bulwarks in the dust.
 That hour perchance is near, and this the foe
 Ordain'd for vengeance. Yield, while yet ye may !
 The great and terrible nation from afar
 Is come against us. Lo ! His camp is set,
 His trench dug deep. E'en now our outward wall
 Shakes with his batt'ring train. Beware the rest !"

(P. 54—56.)

This highly wrought and finely imagined passage will immediately recal to the reader of Mr. Milman's poem a dialogue of similar import, between Miriam and an aged unbeliever, who had witnessed the crucifixion of our Lord, and yet had steeled his heart to a dreadful obduracy against every compassionate yearning and conviction which the last agony of the son of God had occasioned. We think, that Mr. Peers has introduced Matthias, as the narrator of the Redeemer's sufferings, more advantageously than is done by the character, which Professor Milman has invented for the same purpose. The speech of the High Priest assists the main action of one poem, while the other is rather impeded than forwarded by the unavailing anguish of the impenitent and despairing Israelite.

The resemblance between the Miriam of Professor Milman, and Sapphira, the heroine of Mr. Peers's poem, cannot fail of occurring to every reader. The former, indeed, and her well-contrasted sister, Salome, are the daughters of Simon, the latter of Matthias : but there is an identity of character not to be mistaken, and shewing, how naturally creations, purely

imaginary, are invested with corresponding lineaments, by the hands of taste and genius. A remarkable coincidence will be perceived between Sapphira, overlooking the ranks of war from her lattice, to behold her lover, Habor, and Salome seeing "the glorious battle deepen round her," and recognizing Amariah, the object of her affection, as the hero of the war. Both, indeed are formed upon some of the earliest models in classical poetry.

Each author has introduced a bridal. That of Mr. Peers is merely incidental, while that of Professor Milman is narrated with the pride, pomp, and circumstance, and perhaps with rather too much of the licence of hymeneal festivity, among a people, whose marriage-rites were conducted with unusual ceremonial and splendour; while in his poem the denunciations of woe, made by the son of Hananiah, are terribly contrasted with the sweetness and tranquillity of the epithalamium, though perhaps the frequency and rapidity of these transitions are productive rather of confusion than awe.

The fourth book describes the vain attempt of the Romans to maintain their forced entrance into the city, and their subsequent success in compelling the Jews to seek shelter behind the defences of their third and last wall. These transactions are followed by the departure of some of the inhabitants, who retired from the city with the permission of Titus. The book concludes with a most pathetic account of the pestilence which assailed the devoted city, in awful and ruinous alliance with the other ministers of Almighty wrath, famine and the sword. The following lines ably contrast the departure of the Trojans from their burning homes, with the more mournful exile of the sons and daughters of lost Jerusalem.

"Sad was their transit o'er th' Ægean wave,
Who view'd the ruin, that enwrapp'd thy walls,
Long-leaguer'd Ilion, when the victor Greek
Fir'd all their city—yet not all forlorn,
Outcast, or hopeless. O'er the deep they bore
Their household deities, with high presage
Of a new empire and a nobler name.
Not so with these, sad Sion's fugitives,
No angel sent, as erst, to soothe the sigh
Of the lone mother in the wilderness,
Famine and thirst before them, death or bonds,
No nation but a foe, no pow'r but Rome.
Wide and afar their fleshless carcases
Whiten'd the region with promiscuous heaps,
As part, soon failing, sunk, or part endur'd
Longer, yet sunk at last, a meagre prey
To Jordan's lions, or the bird, that feasts

On slaughter'd men, yet happier thus to 'scape
That last dread consummation of despair,
Which soon upon the suff'ring city fell." (P. 84, 85.)

The description of the plague is taken, as the notes inform us, from Thucydides and Ovid among the ancients, and Boccaccio and De Foe among the moderns. Lucretius might have been added to the number with some advantage; for he well deserves and repays a perusal, although his account is mainly taken from the great Historian, who was himself not only an eye witness but a sufferer.* We know no higher praise, which this part of the poem can receive, than to assure our readers, that the author has infused into the former part of his narrative the terrific truth of Thucydides, while the latter part mingles with the classic pen of the Athenian the harrowing fidelity and intense pathos of the "eye witness" in modern London. The whole dreadful statement is given with powers which no mind of ordinary vigour could have brought to the task. Nothing detracts from its merit, but the cold and inappropriate simile, instituted between the sufferers, and "Niobe stiffened to marble."

A review of the Roman army, among which Titus bestows military rewards, opens the fifth book. Among the auxiliaries appear the hostile posterity of the Canaanites, who are very fitly introduced, as in their turn about to execute judgment upon the descendants of those men, who had crushed the power, and possessed the soil of their warlike ancestors. Instances of such happy invention and appropriation bear unequivocal testimony to the skill and genius of the poet. They shew that intuitive quickness of perception, which at once discovers the true materials for a work of fancy, and incorporates them with the main subject as naturally, as though they had formed a necessary part of its original conception.

"The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Glances from heav'n to earth, from earth to heaven;
And, as Imagination bodies forth
The form of things unseen, the poet's eye
Turns them to shape, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name."

The following lines which accompany the description of the chief auxiliary troops, are expressed with a classical elegance and beauty.

These, and yet more, like vultures, to the feast
Of slaughter'd armies lur'd, or forc'd to swell

* Αὐτός τε νοσήσας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἴδων ἄλλους πάσχοντας.—Thucyd. Book II. Chap. 48.

The ranks of Titus, sped from many a realm
Remote or near; from Priam's ancient reign,
Where Ida's woods with frantic orgies rung
To the tow'r'd Cybele; from th' Euxine shores,
Bithynia, and the realm of Mithridate;
Or more to southward, where the Carian Queen
Rais'd her proud monument of widow'd love;
Nations, that drank Cayster's vocal stream,
Or where Pactolus in Mæonian land,
Dear to the Muses, rolls his golden wave." (P. 98, 99.)

The review is succeeded by a council of war. Josephus is sent to offer terms to the besieged, after a wall had been built around the city, and no hope of flight remained to its misguided inhabitants. The same event is related in Mr. Millman's fall, with the additional circumstance of the wound which he is said to have received, and which comes from the hand of Amariah. The merit of propriety in this address of Josephus is on the side of the latter, who makes him speak as becomes a Jew, devoted to his country, painfully alive to its waning glory, jealous for its departing honour, and yet seeing no hope of safety, except in unconditional submission to the will of the conqueror. Mr. Peers on the other hand, has united him rather too closely with the victor; and made him address his endangered countrymen with an admiration of Rome not sufficiently qualified, and with somewhat less sensibility and veneration than became a distinguished Israelite, zealous for the towers and temple of the City of David. The murder of Matthias at the suggestion of Simon, in a tumultuary council of the Jewish leaders, and the retreat of the Romans after a temporary possession of the outer court of the temple, concludes the incidents of the fifth book.

The sixth is occupied with the various portents and prodigies which announce the coming ruin of Jerusalem, the funeral obsequies of the Romans slain in battle, the death of Habor, the bridegroom of Sapphira, and the retreat of his forces from the city, with the permission of Titus. Here, and in the corresponding parts of "The Fall," the awful succession of miracles, all pointing to the dreadful consummation which they foretold, are taken from Josephus, who, as Mr. Millman justly observes, has related them "in a magnificent page of historic description." In fact, the account of the historian is more highly and terribly wrought up than that of either poet. The "*audita major humana vox, excedere Deos, simul ingens motus excedentium*," of Tacitus, could not of course be overlooked. We regret, that Mr. Peers should have neglected to bring forward the unceasing prophet of ill, whose

seven years' predictions were silenced only when the woe which he had been so long pronouncing against Jerusalem, was executed against himself. This incident might have been introduced into the Epic, with more advantage perhaps than into the Dramatic; as it would have given animation and action to the narrative, by heightening the interest, and by connecting the prodigies of the sky, with the departure of the heavenly ministers from the recesses of the sanctuary. The following lines must be read with powerful interest by every admirer of genuine poetic taste and feeling. They are given as natural reflections upon the miracle which left Jerusalem forsaken of her divine protection, and thenceforward delivered up to her enemies without ransom, and without hope.

Was this thy last departing, this the hour,
Guardian divine? And didst thou thus forsake
Thy chosen dwelling-place? And was that voice
The last farewell of a fond father's love,
Or giv'n, to manifest by surer proof
Thine own sad sentence, like the fatal scroll,
Which shook Belshazzar, when proud Babylon
Fell to the Mede? Yet sure that majesty,
At whose descending the deep-seated hills,
Horeb or Sinai, rock'd, could scarce desert
Its favor'd sanctuary, and with no signs
Of voice or vision, palpable to sense,
Mark its last love. No. Haply once again
Those eyes, that wept before on earth, might drop
Celestial tears, while th' humbler hierarchies
Sigh'd forth such sympathies as angels may,
Forbid to aid, but not forbid to mourn.
Oh, if the mind could view those awful forms,
That o'er the fate of man for weal or woe
Their gracious guardianship and vigils keep,
Then might the bard relate, how all in robes
Of brightest temper, adamant or gold,
Shapes more than human stood in silent grief,
Watching the fall of Sion's guilty towers.
Then might his ear imbibe the solemn sounds
Of angel's pity, stealing o'er the sense
With sweeter sadness than th' Æolian strings,
Stirr'd by the breeze, or rills, whose softest flow
Murmurs, melodious, o'er their mossy bed:
For they had trod that hallow'd mountain oft,
On high commission bent, and oft had borne
Behests of graciousness: nor was that spot
Of all the earth unhonor'd, unendear'd,
Where their great master deign'd erewhile to dwell,

Where he had taught and suffer'd, where themselves
Whilom in happier age had minister'd.
They too must now depart those blissful scenes,
And shades, not joyless to the sons of heaven,
No more must list sweet anthems, breath'd to strings
Of ravishing instruments, or scent the gale
Of incense pure, from golden censers flung.
Time had been once, and long, when He, who fills
Infinite space, had not disdain'd to tread
The sacred courts, and from the radiant veil,
That shrouds his brighter essence, spoke his will
To guide the people at their hour of need.
Farewel to Sion, now forlorn and reft
Of all her hope, of all her glory shorn !
Farewel, th' insuff'able, and living cloud !
The voice and oracles of God, farewel !
Farewel the silver trump, the banner'd host,
The lion-standard ! All her ancient pride,
High triumph, and victorious war, farewel !
No fight henceforth, but fatal, dire defeat,
Field after field, sore sorrows thick'ning still,
As danger's limits narrow'd daily round."

(P. 136—139.)

Mr. Peers apologizes for introducing slight sketches of the principal Roman warriors, who fell in the last attack of the temple, and whose characters and even existence are almost, if not altogether, imaginary. His management in this part of the poem is no doubt strictly within the rules of epic composition. He has entrenched himself within the punctilioes of poetical canons, and may plead the highest authority of example. Still, we cannot refrain from thinking that the interest and beauty of the poem are materially injured at this point of its action. The peculiar sacredness and sublimity of the war, and the immediate association of the whole transaction with the decree of insulted Heaven against Jerusalem, make this private biography somewhat inappropriate. At the moment when the city of God is about to fall for ever before the hosts of the heathen, when they are encamped on the very ground, where the Saviour of the world suffered for its sins, when the temple, with all its magnificent associations, is about to become the funeral pile of Jewish glory, our interest is wholly absorbed by the solemn realities around us. We have little to spare for the mothers or brides of Italy, whose sons or husbands may have fallen in the war. The magician cannot frame a spell to transport our sympathies to Rome. We turn indeed from the attempt with impatience. Our hearts recur to the mountains, which stand round about Jerusalem,

and to the spectacle which they exhibit. We admit that these details have in themselves considerable grace. In their adaptation however they are unfortunate. A weed may be beautiful: but in a garden, it is "a flower out of place." The solemn pomp of the long funeral procession, the mighty funeral pile, the heroic games, and martial feast in honour of the departed brave, and the glowing speech of the Roman Chief, must be excepted from these objections.

The slaughter of mighty men is not confined to Rome. "One is fallen of Judah's champions." Hazor, the bridegroom of Sapphira, receives his death-wound in the same conflict. He expires in the arms of his wife, who succeeds in gaining access to the tent of Titus; from whom she obtains permission, that her slaughtered lord should be buried

"In the green valley of Jehosaphat."

Life has now lost every charm; and she speedily follows Hazor to the tomb. We need hardly observe, that Salome, on the other hand, in Mr. Milman's poem, is wounded to death by Amariah, as the only alternative to save her from the worst pollution.

The attack upon the temple, the stratagem of the Jews to destroy the Romans, by setting fire to some buildings connecting the sacred edifice with the ruins of Antonia, and the final conflagration, in which the house of God was consumed, compose the main features of the seventh and eighth books. We must however hasten to a conclusion, and can only introduce the following bold and vigorous simile, illustrating the desperation, with which the warriors of Jerusalem rushed upon their enemies; and the stern resistance, by which their onset was repulsed:

"What was the shock and tempest of the fight,
When their long-hoarded fury burst amain
From ev'ry gate! Scarce the wild hurricane,
Borne o'er the broad Pacific to assail
The Cordilleras, more impetuous beats
Their giant sides from Darien to the Cape
Of Terra Fuego, than bold Judah bursts
Upon the legions; nor did Rome, less firm
Than that huge barrier, set his shock at scorn." (P. 173.)

The temple being destroyed, contrary to the wishes and express commands of Titus, but in exact obedience to the decree of him, "who doeth as he will, in the armies of Heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth," the consummation of ruin could not be long averted from Jerusalem. Famine and misery might be protracted; but defence was vain. The hand of time had brought round the hour, when

Sion was to become a desolation, a place not inhabited. The wretchedness of the guilty inhabitants, perishing with hunger, the final death-grapple of the combatants, the last effort of despair for the deliverance of the city, and the triumph of Rome against devoted Jerusalem, form the subject of the ninth and last book. Simon dies in battle. John of Giscola, taken prisoner, is

————— “ From that hour condemn’d
To chains and darkness, with no hope to cheer
The tortur’ing solitude, no thought, but woe,
The curse of Judah, and the scorn of Rome!” (P. 210.)

In the drama on the other hand, Simon is represented consistently with his infatuated expectation of an almighty and miraculous interposition in behalf of Jerusalem, as throwing away his arms, taking his stand, defenceless, before the burning sanctuary, and being thus made captive by the Romans,

————— an unhop’d pageant
For Cæsar’s high ovation.

It is almost unnecessary to add, that neither of these representations is in exact conformity with historic truth. Simon concealed himself in a cavern beneath the ruins of the temple; but, finding escape impossible, surrendered himself to the Romans, and was condemned to die, after he had assisted to dignify the pageantry of Titus’s triumph. John was doomed to perpetual imprisonment, as Mr. Peers has noticed in the lines, last quoted.

It is no mean praise, that the spirit, animation, and pathos of Mr. Peers’s poem, in its last very difficult circumstances, are well and honorably sustained. We would gladly have quoted largely from this part of the work, but must confine ourselves to the concluding lines.

“ Is the bright vision fled? utterly fled,
As what had never been? fled evermore?
Gone, like a meteor-flash thro’ summer skies?
What, not a stone to tell thy greatness? none,
Save the last, emptiest triumph of the proud,
The stately tomb? Oh, if thy place could speak,
If thy pale Genius, such as bards have feign’d,
Lifting her awful presence from the wreck
Of ancient realms, could pour her moan aloud,
How would her tuneful voice ascend to Heav’n,
How plaintive from her naked hill forlorn
Break the dumb grief of ages? ‘ Look on me,
On me, all you, that pass! Behold, and say,
If any sorrow be, as mine, or shame,

Like what I suffer, I, that, as a queen,
 'Mid thron'd monarchs sat, now tributary
 To basest tyranny, I, that rejoic'd,
 A blessed mother once, now all bereav'd!
 Hath God forgotten? Shall his heritage
 Lie thus for ever in the spoiler's power,
 The land, that erst with milk and honey flow'd,
 Whose stones were iron, and her mountains brass,
 Still groan, untill'd? No. Let the heathen mock
 Thy desolation! They, their glory shorn,
 Shall never wake again to brighter hopes,
 Or new dominion. Thou, thy days fulfill'd,
 Lion of God, shalt rouse thee from thy trance,
 Fresh, as a giant from the wine, array'd
 In nobler majesty, than from no fall.
 Then shall Judea from the waste, that now
 Encrusts its bosom, fair, as Earth, new-form'd
 From Night and Chaos, smile in all her pomp
 Of golden grain, and vintage, herb, and fruit,
 Rich, as of yore; the lily-whiten'd vale
 And Sharon's rose, which, like sweet Pæstum's pride,
 Twice in her season blossom'd, flow'rs anew;
 The healing balm, so long thy choicest gift,
 To its own soil restor'd, unharm'd of change,
 Flourish in deathless verdure, ev'ry breeze
 Perfum'd with incense, odours, and delight.

Rest then, sad city! Rest in hope the while,
 That He, who smote thee, thus will heal thy wound.
 He, at whose voice the bones of armies slain
 Join'd from their scatt'ring o'er the vale of death,
 And stood complete in life and limb for war,
 He, who from seas unfathom'd or the depths
 Of Earth's dark chambers at his word can wake
 The dead of all past ages to their doom,
 The same will lead thy wand'ring remnant home
 From ev'ry region of their wide exile,
 Rebuild thy throne on th' everlasting rock,
 And o'er a new and nobler temple shed
 Imperishable glory, light, and peace." (Pp. 217—220.)

These lines need no other recommendation than perusal. They speak most eloquently for themselves. In respect to the whole work, it will be readily anticipated, that our judgment, and therefore our duty, demand us to speak in terms of sincere and cordial approbation. Mr. Peers may safely take his stand by the side of the author of the *Fall of Jerusalem*, and say, without fear of contradiction, "*Et Ego in Arcadiâ fui.*" Untrodden, as the path had been, on which he proposed to adventure, the difficulties and discourage-

ments were so many, and so great, that any judicious friend, to whom he might have disclosed his purpose, would probably have cautioned him in the words of Horace;

“ Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ
Tractas, et incedis per ignes,
Suppositos cineri doloso.”

Mr. Peers seems to have weighed these dangers attentively. He has ascertained “quid valeant humeri.” He has not rushed lightly upon his toil, nor grappled with his hindrances, as children encounter danger, from ignorance of its extent, and presumptuous confidence in themselves. He has merely shewn that chastened reliance upon his own powers, which is the usual attendant of true genius, and one of the most animating and efficient of its coadjutors. The plan of his poem has been judiciously studied, the outline carefully, yet spiritedly drawn, and the finishing is by a master’s hand. He is evidently conversant with our best writers, and has drunk deeply

“ At the pure well of English undefil’d.”

His reading embraces an ample, and fertile range; and his knowledge is always valuable, because it is always producible. His style is, for the most part, easy and simple, yet without any sacrifice of energy and vigour. His illustrations are frequent, apt, natural, and elegant. He has chosen a subject deeply interesting to the poet, and the Christian; and he treats it, not like a man who feels, that he is to describe merely the events of an insulated passage in the book of history, with which he has no more connection than with any other distant political tempest, which did its work of ruin, and was forgotten,

“ Roll’d, blaz’d, destroy’d, and was no more.”

On the contrary, he treats it, as one who knows it to be a transaction of the most unequivocal importance to his faith, one of those many signs and wonders and mighty deeds, which were wrought by the hand of Almighty Providence, and by which he is able to ascertain the impregnable safety of that religion, which is the ark of his eternal hope.

The action of the poem is sometimes tedious; and our imagination outruns the description of the events, which consummated the fall of Sion. “Feats of hosts and battle” occasionally want the relief, which might have been given to several parts with very advantageous effect. Indeed few readers of poetry have failed to discover, that, of whatever general interest the epic may be susceptible, there are invariably some scenes and situations, in which the continuance

of an unbroken attention is difficult, if not impracticable. If Mr. Peers had moulded his personages after a more heroic model, he would partly have escaped this disadvantage. Defective character indeed seems to be the leading blemish of the work. It is true, that to remedy the error would have obliged him to sustain a loftier flight: but he possesses the "*membra poetæ*" in too much vigour to tremble at the attempt, or to fail, if it were made. Some passages suffer from a want of perspicuity: among them we would notice the ambush against the Romans, p. 168, which wants the animated and graphic distinctness, by which it is so strongly marked in the narrative of Josephus.

There are also many faults and imperfect lines, with a few grammatical errors; both of which a little care may easily correct; and which (we trust) will be amended in another edition. The word "medicinal" is used, p. 85, with the accent on the penultimate, and on the antepenultimate in page 88. Mr. Peers has certainly the high authority of Milton for using the verb "gaze" in an active sense; but this is not its common and legitimate form in our language; and therefore it should not have been taken in that acceptance, four times at least in the course of the poem. We have "Gazed the drought below," p. 87. "Gazed the pale dead," p. 89. "Gazed one plumed casque," p. 144. "Gazing his children," p. 195. "Cavalry" is properly taken for horse and rider; but Mr. Peers has confined the term to the former.

"The proud Cavalry,
No less caparison'd for pomp or war,
Trail'd their long housings, champing burnish'd bits."

This quotation reminds us that the word "burnish" is used as a substantive, for "brightness."

"All in panoply
Of dazzling '*burnish*.'" (P. 8.)

Again, p. 124, "Respiration" is the act of breathing; it cannot therefore be quite correct to say "Scarce drawing respiration." "A band of arm'd battalions," p. 170, is at least equivocal. We say "a band of *men*," and it is hardly proper to use a word, which in this sense implies "a band of bands of men."

There are several other blemishes of this description; but they are easily committed, and easily rectified. As the poem has been long since finished, haste cannot be pleaded in defence of inadvertency, even if the apology were generally one, for which an author could expect allowance from the

public. These however are venial faults, and should be estimated with indulgence.

The notes appended to the poem are few and brief, but apt and judicious. Such illustrations should at all times cautiously accompany works of imagination; and should rarely extend beyond the most easy and simple explanation or reference. This caution is especially necessary in a poem like the *Siege of Jerusalem*. The sources of information are few, and accessible to the reader, not less than to the poet. The Bible is in the hands of all: every scholar is familiar with the works of Suetonius and Tacitus: and what inquiring Christian is unacquainted with the pages of Josephus, delightful as they must ever be, notwithstanding the glaring injury which they have sustained from being *done into English* by William Whiston, M.A. Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge? Will not some master hand do greater justice to a narrative so deeply interesting to the feelings of a Christian?

We close by observing, that Mr. Peers's volume contains also some feeling and spirited lines upon the interment of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, which were favorably received at the time; and which appear to have deserved the regard of the public, even had its sympathy been less sincere, or its taste more fastidious.

ART. IX.—FACT OR FICTION?

1. *No Fiction, a Narrative founded on recent and interesting Facts.* By Andrew Reed. Seventh Edition. Westley, Longman, London. 2 vols. crown 8vo. pp. viii. and 667. 1823.
2. *Memoirs of Francis Barnett, the Lefevre of No Fiction, and a review of that work, with letters and authentic documents.* Barnett, London. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. xxxv. and 760. 1823.
3. *Martha; a Memorial of an only and beloved Sister.* By Andrew Reed, Author of *No Fiction*. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. xii. and 642. Westley, Longman. London. 1823.
4. *A Reply to Mr. Reed's Advertisement to the Seventh Edition of No Fiction, with a Review of Martha.* By Francis Barnett, Author of *Memoirs of Himself*. 12mo. pp. 48. Barnett. London. 1823.

To a considerable portion of our readers it may occasion some surprise, that we judge it necessary to notice, in any way, the volumes which are named at the head of this article. They may be regarded as calculated to excite an ephemeral interest, and then to sink into deserved oblivion. And certainly if our readers think thus of them, their opinion nearly coincides with our own. There are some works which may not improperly be compared to the squibs and crackers which fly about on a night of rejoicing. They excite attention, but not on account of their beauty or their utility. They emit sparks, but afford no such light as can at all assist the traveller in discovering his road; and, after their few short moments of useless splendour are past, all that remains of them is a noxious vapour to annoy the bystanders. Such (we venture to assert) is, or will be, the case with some at least of the works now before us. They have attracted, and do still attract some considerable attention, but not by any peculiar merit which they possess. They give something in the form of instruction, but still in such a way that we can augur little good from it; and we doubt not that very soon they will be either entirely forgotten, or, if remembered at all, it will only be on account of the unhallowed feelings, which they have inspired, and the disgrace to religion, which they have occasioned.

It is not therefore on account of their intrinsic value that we bring them before our readers; but because the first of them, if not the third also, belongs to the class of religious novels. We believe, that fictitious works of this kind are producing a considerable effect upon the religious character of many persons in the present day, and that it may therefore be no useless occupation to examine, how far that influence is of beneficial tendency.

But, before we enter upon this investigation, it probably will be expected, that we should notice the controversy, to which the publication of *No Fiction* has given rise.

The first edition of this work appeared in the year 1819; and though it was anonymous, the very title obtained a considerable degree of credence to the truth of its statements. But in addition to the declaration, contained in the title, there was in the preface a plain assurance, that though some liberties had been taken in the arrangement of connecting circumstances, still the leading and most extraordinary facts were rather *under* than *over-stated*. This was the solemn assertion of an author, who, though unknown, still made large professions of writing merely for the benefit of mankind: and his declaration so far blinded the eyes of the public that

very many persons did implicitly believe that they were, in the ordinary acceptation of the words, reading *no fiction*.

It is time therefore that we should, for the benefit of those of our readers who have not seen the work, give a short description of the plot of this once too much credited drama.

The hero of the piece is Lefevre, a young man, who is first introduced to our notice, as a teacher in a Sunday-school. We then find that his occupation is that of a clerk in a public office in London. For a considerable time he is represented as acting with the most strict propriety; diligently performing the duties of his official station; carefully using his leisure hours for the improvement of his mind; and watchfully cultivating a spirit of Christian piety.

He has, however, a Mentor, Douglas, whom from the beginning to the end of the work we are taught to regard, as an almost perfect character, excelling in talent and in piety. He is depicted in the most glowing colours; and in nearly every page we find somewhat to exalt him in our estimation, above the common lot of man.

To him then we are to look as the instrument, or almost as the agent, in the production of every thing even morally good in Lefevre: for no sooner are they separated, by the removal of Douglas into the country, than Lefevre begins to decline. He forms acquaintances with persons of corrupt principles, through whose fascinations he is speedily led to depart from the ways of piety; and, having acquired a taste for novel-reading, he renounces his more serious literary pursuits. He afterwards hurries along his devious path, till he turns his back upon all common rules of decency, and becomes a drunken debauchee. From this state, however, he is for a time externally recovered, by the hope of being united to a lady of strict principles: but she, having discovered his irregularities, firmly and finally renounces all acquaintance with him; in consequence of which he is plunged into the deepest melancholy, and sinks into a state, which, we suppose, would probably be called religious madness. Under the influence of this disorder he escapes from his friends, enlists into the army and goes with his regiment into America. As soon, however, as he loses sight of the British shore, he recovers his senses, and with them his religious feelings, and becomes a devoted Christian. Then follows a highly wrought description of various improbable or impossible circumstances, which occurred during his stay at Montreal, and an account of his discharge and restoration to his friends in England.

We have endeavored to give the shortest possible summary

of the history of Lefevre, because we do not feel that there is the smallest necessity for any very full description of it. It is neither so complicated, nor so ingenious, that we need enlarge upon it.

But, whatever might be the degree of talent, displayed by the author of *No Fiction*, true it is, that in a certain circle his work excited attention. It was read, and enjoyed a considerable measure of popularity; and speculation was soon engaged in attempting to discover the author, and the individuals, intended to be portrayed in it, particularly under the fictitious names of Douglas and Lefevre. Circumstances, related in the work, soon convinced many persons, that the character of Lefevre was intended as a description of a Mr. Francis Barnett, and that Douglas was the Rev. Andrew Reed, a dissenting minister in the eastern part of the metropolis. But still there remained the inquiry, who is the author? To whom is Mr. Barnett obliged for this full display of all his errors and crimes real or supposed? And who is this enthusiastic panegyrist of the Rev. Andrew Reed? The secret was soon discovered; and the fact is acknowledged: for Mr. Reed himself now claims the sublime honour of being the setter forth of his own excellencies, and the malignant publisher of the errors and vices of his *quondam* friend.

Now, when Mr. Reed published the first edition of *No Fiction*, he either thought, that he should be discovered to be the author of it, or he did not. In the latter case, he was destitute of common foresight; in the former, which we believe to be the true one, what are we to think of the vanity and presumption, which can induce a man to speak of himself in such terms as these?

“Genuine friendship, in minds truly noble, is, at once, a delicate and vigorous plant. It outlives the greatest injuries, while it is susceptible of the least. Such was the friendship of Douglas.” (*No Fiction*, i. 267.)

Again, he brings in the repentant Lefevre, writing thus to his protégé, Graham.

“See as much as you can of Mr. Douglas; you cannot prize his society too highly.” (*No Fiction*, ii. 220.)

Indeed he appears to have a most unbounded opinion of his own work; for in his advertisement, he gives us the following useful hint for the formation of our judgment respecting it.

“The principles, by which we try the *Pilgrim’s Progress* and *Paradise Lost*, are the principles by which alone it should be judged.”

But it is vain to attempt to extract every passage in which

the same self-love is manifested ; the whole tenor of the work is such, as convinces us, that, if Mr. R. had not possessed a more than ordinary desire to praise himself, the world would never have been favored by the publication of the seventh edition, with the author's name at full length.

But we have a much more serious charge to bring against Mr. Reed. We before remarked, that both his title and his solemn declaration in the preface to the first edition were so worded as to contain a full assertion, that the work was a collection of facts. As such, it was generally received ; and no doubt it would still have persisted in its demand upon the public confidence, had not circumstances occurred, which compelled the reverend author to change his ground : and now in the seventh edition he substitutes for his preface an advertisement, in which he tells us that—

“ It was not his design, that the characters he drew should be true to *existing individuals*, but, what was of far more consequence, true to our common nature ; and, on the facts themselves, he allowed his imagination to be exercised in selecting, uniting, and ENLARGING, so as to convey the great moral lessons he was anxious to teach.” (No Fiction. I. i.)

It is indeed a pity, that any man, and most of all it is a pity, that a man bearing the name of a Christian minister, should so far forget the “simplicity and godly sincerity” which ought to mark his conduct, as to imagine, that he may “do evil, that good may come,” may impose upon the credulity of men, in order to teach them *moral lessons*.

It has been said, that a lie is any thing which is intended to deceive. We think this a sound definition ; and, bearing it in mind, we cannot compare Mr. Reed's preface to the first, with the advertisement to the seventh edition, and then say, that his veracity stands unimpeached ; on the contrary, uncharitable as it may appear, we must assert, judging from his own account of the matter, that he has been guilty of gross equivocation, even if we use no harsher term.

Had his work been altogether a fiction, it might perhaps have failed to produce any seriously mischievous effects. This however is not the case. Mr. Reed has taken Mr. Barnett for the subject of his portrait ; and, while he has so far preserved the resemblance, that those, who know Mr. Barnett, can at once recognise it, he has so exaggerated his faults, that it reminds us of a caricature, which we once saw, of a person of more worth than either Mr. Barnett or Mr. Reed, in which the likeness was prodigiously strong, but the painter had annexed to it *cloven feet*.

Now what reason Mr. Reed had for fixing upon Mr. Barnett,

as the object, on which to exercise his ingenuity, does not readily appear ; but the effect was just what might have been anticipated. It brought Mr. Barnett into notice, and into precisely that kind of notice, which a man would wish to avoid. The whole of the follies and crimes of Lefevre were laid to his charge. No inquiry into the justice of the accusation was made ; all was regarded as "no fiction," because recorded in "a narrative, founded upon facts, which were rather under than over-stated : " and, when he offered himself as a candidate for the office of assistant secretary to the London Orphan Asylum, it was objected to him, that he was the hero of *No Fiction*, that he had so misconducted himself, as a clerk in the post-office, that he was in danger of a dismissal, that he had embezzled the money of his employers, and that in all respects he was a most immoral character.

How did Mr. Barnett conduct himself in these circumstances ? In November 1819, he appears, from his own narrative, to have taken legal advice, in order to institute proceedings, which might have the effect of removing the aspersions, under which he labored, but from which he was induced to abstain by Mr. Reed's promise to apologize. No apology has however yet been made. In October 1822, Mr. Barnett, under the name which Mr. Reed had given to him, issued an advertisement of an intended series of Letters to Douglas, the design of which was to be, to give a real statement of facts, and to expose the character of Douglas. In consequence of this, Mr. Reed wrote a letter, not to Lefevre, but to Mr. Barnett, threatening to publish a full justification of himself, with an overwhelming exposure of the character of his antagonist, in case he should render such a step necessary. This letter, with a reply to it, Mr. Barnett published. But Mr. Reed, instead of bringing forward his full justification, preferred a bill of indictment against the publisher, which bill was ignored ; and in May, 1823, Mr. Barnett sent out his *Memoir of himself*.

In this work, he enters into a most wearisome detail, and produces a variety of documents, for the purpose of proving, that he is not such a man as he is represented to be in *No Fiction* : and in this we think he has succeeded, chiefly by means of his documents, which he fairly and ingenuously offers to exhibit in their original form to any one, who may be disposed to examine the matter with complete accuracy.

Had he done no more than this, we should have certainly regarded him as acting in such a manner as was justifiable or even commendable. But we cannot approve the spirit which pervades his work. We do indeed pity him, and can make large allowances for him : for it must be almost insupport-

ably galling, to be pilloried as he has been. But, as he makes some profession of religious feeling, we must remind him, that the spirit which he manifests, is the very opposite to that of him "who when he was reviled reviled not again," and that, before he can himself enjoy the sweet sense of pardoning mercy, he must learn to forgive, to pity, and to pray for his calumniator. Till, however, it is fairly and fully shewn, that the documents, to which he refers have either no existence, or are forgeries, we must regard it, as a point, which will not admit of dispute, that Mr. Reed has been guilty of publishing a most disgusting series of calumnies.

Here then we must leave this controversy, repeating our opinion, that Mr. Reed has, upon his own shewing, forfeited all claim to public confidence; and that Mr. Barnett, in his eagerness to expose his opponent, has resorted to means, utterly unjustifiable upon any Christian principle whatever.

Having reluctantly been compelled to form such an opinion respecting *No Fiction*, it can hardly be supposed, that we should open another publication by the same author, with any very favorable prepossessions. Mr. Reed may, for aught we know, be an ingenious man. He may be acquainted with some parts of theology. He may be dextrous in composing sermons. But he is the author of *No Fiction*. Therefore let him never again publish any thing, which has to do with facts!

The two volumes, to which Mr. Reed has prefixed the title of "*Martha*," profess to be a memoir of his only sister, who died in the year 1821. We acknowledge, that it is with considerable reluctance, that we offer any criticisms upon them. If Mr. Reed had only made known his fond affection for "an only and beloved sister," in a somewhat indiscreet manner, the circumstances, under which his work was composed, would probably have disarmed critical severity, and we might have allowed it to go quietly down to that oblivion for which it seems to be peculiarly adapted. From what Mr. R. has told us of his sister, after making due allowance for his "enlargement" of facts, we feel disposed to think, that, in her station of life, she was an useful and respectable young woman, and that she was blessed with a considerable share of piety; but then it is to be remembered, that a young woman may possess much respectability and much piety, and may even be the means of doing some good in the world, while still it is perfectly unnecessary that her life should be recorded in two octavo volumes.

We would not, however, undervalue the character of Martha Reed. Mr. Barnett has indeed in his memoir, and

in the review, which he has published, made her appear sufficiently ridiculous. But we have no evidence whatever to corroborate his assertions; and we would therefore endeavor to view her in the most favorable light, and rank her among that increasingly numerous class, as we hope, of young persons, upon whom the Christian patriot can look with heart-felt satisfaction, who by the quiet and unostentatious discharge of their humble duties in domestic life, diffuse comfort in their family circles, while those hours, which are not thus occupied, are devoted to modest endeavours to relieve the suffering, and to diminish the ignorance of their poorer neighbours.

But Mr. Reed delights in the marvellous, and has interspersed his account of his departed sister, with many a tale, which seems to exceed the bounds of possibility, and which compels us to rank this work also, as well as the former, among religious novels.

In proof of this, we would advert to his catalogue of the works, which his sister studied during a two years' course of reading under his tuition. The catalogue is too long for extracting, though it was all studied (and some parts of it would require deep study) at a period when according to his own account (P. 182) she could not have more than five hours a day for such occupation. He seems also, as a novel is nothing without a love-tale, to have been satisfied, that something on the subject of the tender passion was necessary, in order that his work might be sufficiently captivating. He has therefore given us a chapter with the title of "Embarrassment," which he begins by informing us that "Unquestionably, the most sacred duty of the biographer is, *to state the truth*. I do not" (he proceeds) "understand, however, that in the most conscientious discharge of this duty, it is necessary to state *all* that is true. Much that is trivial and detached may be suppressed, not only without injury, but with advantage." (I. 105.)

In these sentiments we most heartily concur, and in conformity to them we think, that the whole of this chapter might have been suppressed, not only without injury, but with advantage. Indeed we can hardly conceive, how the same man who wrote the severe and (upon the whole) just strictures upon novels, which may be found in *No Fiction*, can possess sufficient hardihood to annex his name to this chapter—a chapter which speaks unutterable things against the good judgment of his sister, and which equals almost any portion of the writings of the higher class of our novelists, in its tendency to awaken feelings in the youthful mind, calculated to destroy its peace and to unfit it for the

discharge of duty. The purport of the chapter is briefly this, to inform us, that Martha was at one period rendered unhappy by finding, that a young man had meant nothing by some attentions, which he paid her, and by which she unfortunately had allowed her affections to be captivated.

Such is the sum total of this part of her tale: and surely, if Mr. Reed had possessed one particle of genuine sensibility, he would never have suffered this account to find its way into a memorial of his only and beloved sister. But so far is he from suppressing it, that he spreads it over twenty-two octavo pages; and then concludes his recital by the following sickening exclamation.

“And oh, if there be any sorrow, natural to our suffering state, that makes its way direct to heaven, it must be that pure, deep, unutterable sorrow of the virgin heart, which scorns to tarry on earth, and which arises from insincere professions and inconstant attachments!” (I. 126.)

The style both of this work and of *No Fiction* is precisely that which might be expected from their character in other respects. We subjoin, as a specimen, the reverend Author's account of Martha's closing scene.

“The body stirred, and called up my attention—I hung over it, and explored the features, hoping yet for some sign of love and consciousness—but there was no spirit visible there! ‘My dear!’ I said. Her eyes, still true to her love, wandered in search of their object—but no! the film of death hung too heavily upon them.

“Disappointed at this, the hand which had seemed to be lifeless so long, made an effort to creep towards me. The sight was too affecting. I put my hand into hers, and brought it on its way. I pressed it. It made a feeble and painful effort to return the pressure. ‘My dear!’ I repeated. She made a last effort to raise her eyelids, but in vain! Her lips moved, and I bent my ear for some expression of hope and peace. *My—Brother!* they whispered. Those gentle, affectionate, dying sounds will always dwell in my ear; but there was yet (I can scarcely tell why) *another name* I wished once more to pass those lips! I said—there is a name that is far dearer to you than even that of brother. She made an effort to speak again—but the lips refused to do her bidding. I watched them intensely. They became fixed, and the eyelids had sunk to their former position! I pressed my finger on her pulse. It came and went; it fluttered and faltered; it stopped and revived most ominously!

“I was relieved by the arrival of the family. Her mother, Eliza, and Maria, came into the chamber successively; and without saying a word, they marked the change, and took their place beside me. It was a solemn hour. We could not move; could not speak; could not weep. We were standing on the verge of two worlds. This world never appeared so shadowy; heaven never appeared so near.

It seemed, as though a breath would waft aside the thin veil, which separated us from eternity, and faith and imagination were alive to the presence of ministering spirits, who were expected each moment to convey a sister spirit to all the grandeur and blessedness which it can reveal.

“The object of our motionless and fixed attention lay, as in a profound sleep, only that the respiration was becoming longer and deeper. Our own breathing, by sympathy, was made more difficult.

“It became deeper—and deeper—and deeper! After each act of respiration, there was a dreadful hesitancy, whether it should be renewed any more!

“It was renewed—once—and again—and then lost for ever!

“That moment our breath was suspended—and all was still as death, silent as the grave.

“The next minute we recovered our inspiration by an hysterical effort; trembling seized us; we fell back in our seats, and burst into a flood of tears.” (II. 209—212.)

And here we desire to take our leave of the works of the Rev. Andrew Reed: and we do this with a solemn assurance that we feel no ill-will towards him. If our strictures bear any appearance of severity, it is only, because truth and duty compel us so to speak. We are constrained to regard him, as having grievously sinned against both the public and the individuals, whom he has made the subjects of his works; and our sincere desire for him is, that he may see the error of his ways, and may have grace for the future in simplicity and godly sincerity to have his conversation in the world.

We must not however forget our original purpose to make some remarks upon the general tendency of that class of works to which *No Fiction* belongs.

We are most ready to hope, that some works of this class have to a certain extent been useful, and that perhaps religious instruction will be received through their medium by some persons, who would not tolerate it in any other form: and yet we believe, that there are dangerous tendencies even in the most unexceptionable of these writings.

The old laborious methods of acquiring knowledge are by no means adapted to the taste of the present generation. Hence we find, that invention is continually upon the rack, to discover methods of communicating instruction, with the least possible demand upon the patient labour of the pupil; and daily do we hear of fresh plans for producing men of learning without study. Now to all this we are antiquated enough to have serious objections. Not indeed that we would place needless difficulties in the paths of knowledge; but we believe, that in many cases the mere knowledge, that is acquired, is of small value, in comparison with the habit of

attention and of patient investigation, which is produced in the process of acquiring that knowledge. In this respect the faculties of the mind resemble those of the body. Neither the one nor the other will ever attain perfection without exercise: and we are decidedly of opinion, that the various fashionable schemes for educating youth without mental labour, have a direct tendency to breed up for us a race of men with infantile minds. And perhaps we shall not be greatly mistaken, if we say, that a considerable portion of that vanity and self-confidence, which unhappily characterize the majority of those who are now arriving at maturity, may be traced to the fact, that they have been exempted from their due share of labour during their education, and so have prematurely been enabled to make a show of knowledge, while their intellectual faculties have not been called to that kind of exertion, which is necessary to give them stability and consistence.

We feel, however, that we are digressing from our main subject; though perhaps it will appear, that these remarks upon education may, to a considerable extent, be applied to the attempt to give religious instruction by means of works of fiction. It is very true that the great and fundamental doctrines and precepts of religion are plain and simple, and easy to be understood; and yet it is no less true, that they demand application of mind, and that no one will ever possess any competent knowledge of them, who will not bestow labour upon the pursuit: and we do not think that the instruction conveyed in mere works of fiction will often be found such as tends to call forth vigour of thought. They are rather to be regarded as means of amusement, than as affording subjects for devout study and prayer; and, being such, they tend more to augment the number of smattering theologians, and loquacious professors, than to raise up well-informed and consistent disciples. Nor can we believe, that among those, whose stock of religious knowledge is drawn from the ephemeral productions, which at present crowd the shops of our booksellers, we shall ever find such solid and useful Christians, as may reasonably be sought among the readers of plain didactic theology.

But again, as it has often been objected to ordinary novels, that they tend to imbue the mind with false ideas of the world, so we object to religious novels, because they are calculated to give young persons mistaken notions of the experience and life of a Christian. It will be easily seen by every one who knows what human nature is, that a tale, in which were recounted only the views and feelings and con-

duct of an ordinary servant of God, in an ordinary situation of life, would possess small interest; and would probably lie neglected upon the shelves of the publisher. And, therefore, every author of a fictitious narrative, if he means his work to circulate, feels the necessity of what Mr. Reed calls the "*enlargement of facts.*" It will not answer his purpose to describe a character which comes under the *rule*, but he must bring forward one, which, if it resemble any thing which has a real existence, must be regarded as the *exception* to the rule.

But this the great body of readers do not understand. They fancy that the description which they read, is the description of the real Christian character: they judge of themselves and of others, not according to the rules laid down in the word of God, but according to those which they derive from the work which makes the deepest impression upon their imagination. They imbibe vague ideas of Christian feeling and conduct; and in the vain search of some undefinable and unintelligible emotions, they become "like children tossed to and fro with every wind of doctrine," and too often cease to search for that simple, humble, obedient state of mind in which religion essentially consists. We are also disposed to apprehend that there is a considerable danger, lest the works to which we allude should prove, to many of their readers, a source of dangerous self-deception. There are (we believe) many young persons who, having been religiously educated, are convinced of the importance of personal religion, and are disposed, at times at least, to inquire whether they are possessors of it. At such periods they remember that they have been taught, that an attachment to the study of religious works is a favorable token. And, as these works are read by them with avidity, and deeply interest their minds, they may not improbably be led to a sort of self-satisfaction, for which there is no adequate foundation. For, if we examine what it is that interests them, we shall discover that it is not the pious sentiment, but the striking incident; not the lesson of heavenly wisdom, but the well-wrought description, which engages their affections and fascinates their minds; while the same sentiment or the same instruction, read in a less alluring work, would awaken no one responsive feeling: and thus, while they flatter themselves that real piety is the cause of their love for these works, their motives will be found very little to exceed in value those of the mere novel-reader.

But we may add to these considerations the very important

reflection, that works of fiction are found to lead off their admirers from the study of the word of God. We hope and believe that the great body of the authors of such writings, would abhor the thought of being instrumental in producing so disastrous an effect as this: and yet we do seriously believe that, in many instances, this effect is produced. The bulk of mankind have not their time at their own disposal: it is but a small portion of it that the necessary occupations of life will allow them to devote to religious study; and where this is the case, that portion ought, undoubtedly, to be consecrated to the word of God, or to those human writings which have a direct and powerful tendency to open that word to the understanding, and to impress it upon the heart. But such, alas! is human nature, that too often, even in truly good men, there is a lamentable backwardness to the performance of this necessary duty; and where a fascinating work is of such a kind, that in reading it a person can at all persuade himself that he is religiously employed, it will not seldom be the case that he will fancy that he is profitably engaged, and so quiet his mind, without inquiring whether he is occupied in that manner which is best calculated to build him up in faith and holiness.

We must, however, before we conclude, assure the writers of religious works of imagination, that we are far from placing them all upon the same footing with the author of "No Fiction." We believe that many of them are actuated by a pure desire to promote the spiritual happiness of mankind: we only doubt whether they have adopted the most effectual measures for the accomplishment of their end, and would invite them to inquire, whether the talents which we believe that they have consecrated to the glory of God, may not be employed in more decidedly useful services, than those in which they have hitherto been engaged.

Nor need they fear, that the absence of fiction will cause their works to be disregarded. The demand for religious publications is rapidly increasing; and the time (we are convinced) is at hand, if not actually arrived, when the plain simple truths of God's word will not require to be adorned with the trickery of a novel, in order to attract the public notice, but when their own simple and heart-affecting importance will ensure a careful perusal for every duly qualified author, who is disposed to devote himself to the religious improvement of the world.

ART. X.—*The Siege of Valencia ; a Dramatic Poem. The Last Constantine ; with other Poems.* By Mrs. Hemans. London. Murray. 1823.

THE writers of poetry may be compared to persons, who lay out plots of ground according to their peculiar taste, and plant them with various trees, shrubs, and flowers ; and who, after their labours are finished, invite every passenger, that chooses it, to ramble in their walks, or repose in their arbours ; to listen for a moment to the murmur of a limpid stream, or to pluck a fragrant blossom from the bush ; to climb an elevation that commands a diversified and boundless prospect, or to sink into a glen where all is peace and stillness. If passengers attend to every invitation, and inspect every one of these highly decorated spots, they will probably find that some are repulsive for want of taste, that others abound with weeds as well as flowers, that these are so flat as to give no commanding and enlivening view, and that those are planted with productions so familiar that they need not turn out of the beaten road to behold them ; while only few are to be found, that merit regard from the choice of place, or from the talent and taste, that have been developed in the cultivation of them.

The province of the critic is to inform the passenger, whether he shall enter on the enchanted ground or not ; what he is to expect, if he enters upon it ; what he is to guard against ; and how he is to take his walk, so as to come away enriched by it. Venerating the dignified oracles of Christian truth, he will only give his cordial permission to explore districts where a due regard has been paid to the welfare of man. It is not the lot of all writers of verse to display the splendour of genius or multifarious stores of knowledge ; but all may render a just homage to the sacredness of truth, the dignity of reason, the purity of morals, and the delicacy of taste. If it is the prerogative of a nobleman here and there to conduct us over a large scene, where every variety of magnificence and beauty may be inspected, yet it is within the province of the humblest individual to shew us a garden, where there is no vulgarity to excite disgust, no weed that can injure us, and where there may be some productions that are lovely and fragrant.

In the volume that we are about to examine, two beautiful spots, if we may be permitted to pursue the same illustration, are pointed out to us, in which a lady of genius and taste has worked, and to the inspection of which she now invites her countrymen. It will appear from our present number, that

sieges are favorite themes, with both poets and poetesses. Nevertheless, on opening the book, we were rather surprised to find, that it begins with another poem, and not with the Siege of Valencia. We shall review them in the order in which they stand.

The subjects, on which Mrs. Hemans has chosen to employ her talents and taste, are exceedingly different; the one being taken from the awful transactions of real history, the other from the creations of fancy in connexion with the history of a country, which furnishes an inexhaustible mine of topics to all who love the glittering achievements of chivalry and romance, or the sterner deeds of heroic valour.

Our readers may be supposed to be conversant with the siege and taking of Constantinople, of which Gibbon has given a detailed account in the sixty-eighth chapter of the *Decline and Fall*. The subject is undoubtedly a great one. It forms no mean occurrence in the history of the human species; and, connected with the depression of Christianity, and with the aggrandizement of the Arabian imposture, it leads to contemplations of the highest order on the moral government of the world. The causes and the results of that disastrous event, (for such it is to human view,) so far as they fall under the contemplation of such feeble and fallible creatures as we are, suggest the most important and useful reflections. The contrast between genuine Christianity, and the presumptuous fabrications of Mahomet, the character of Constantine, his chiefs, and the Greeks, on the one hand, and, on the other, the haughty son of Amurath, in the pride of ambition and the rage of conquest, with his attendants, present a fine field for the delineation of character, passion, and incident, suited to the melancholy catastrophe; and a poem, which should happily embrace these varied objects, might breathe a deep spirit of exalted piety, and be sprinkled with maxims that might contribute to the health of nations.

Although we have thus ventured to suggest a work of greater magnitude, let us not be thought for a moment to undervalue the present performance! The *Last Constantine*, although it scarcely touches on any of the topics that we have mentioned, is a highly pleasing and interesting poem. It first gives to our view Constantinople in all its glory; and after contrasting it with its degenerate condition, introduces the Turks preparing for the siege. The Greeks are called to exertion: the siege is begun, and described in its various particulars of distress; which are relieved by the tranquillity of a night-scene, and suitable reflections and apostrophes, besides a poetical portrait of the palace of Constantine, and the church of St. Sophia, till the subject is brought to a close by

the death of Constantine, and capture of the city. The poem then concludes with an apostrophe to the dead Constantine, and a reference to the present circumstances of Greece.

The plot is certainly inartificial: but we see in it a poetical mind, selecting and arranging its topics with propriety; and the manner in which they are all wrought up and blended together, indicates no common skill. If the poem be not what such a subject required; nor what such a writer, on maturer thought, might have made it; and though it may not have in it a sufficient measure of those elements which alone can excite universal interest, and secure for it a perpetual existence; yet it is a fine performance of the kind, and exhibits the genuine thought, imagery, language, and enthusiasm of poetry.

As a specimen of the poem, we put before our readers one scene:

“ The hours move on. I see a wav’ring gleam
O’er the hush’d waters tremulously fall,
Pour’d from the Cæsar’s palace. Now the beam
Of many lamps is bright’ning in the hall,
And from its long arcades and pillars tall
Soft graceful shadows undulating lie
On the wave’s heaving bosom, and recal
A thought of Venice, with her moonlight sky,
And festal seas and domes, and fairy pageantry.

“ But from that dwelling floats no mirthful sound.
The swell of flute and Grecian lyre no more,
Wafting an atmosphere of music round,
Tells the hush’d seaman, gliding past the shore,
How monarchs revel there. Its feasts are o’er.
Why gleam the lights along its colonnade?
I see a train of guests in silence pour
Thro’ its long avenues of terrac’d shade,
Whose stately founts and bow’rs for joy alone were made.

“ In silence, and in arms? With helm? with sword?
These are no marriage-garments!--Yet e’en now
Thy nuptial feast should grace the regal board.
Thy Georgian bride should wreath her lovely brow
With an imperial diadem. But thou,
O fated prince, art call’d, and these with thee,
To darker scenes; and thou hast learn’d to bow
Thine eastern sceptre to the dread decree,
And count it joy enough to perish, being free.

“ On thro’ long vestibules, with solemn tread,
As men, that in some time of fear and woe
Bear darkly to their rest the noble dead,
O’er whom by day their sorrows may not flow,

The warriors pass. Their measur'd steps are slow ;
And hollow echoes fill the marble halls,
Whose long-drawn vistas open as they go,
In deso'late pomp ; and from the pictur'd walls
Sad seems the light itself, which on their armour falls :

“ And they have reach'd a gorgeous chamber, bright
With all we dream of splendour ; yet a gloom
Seems gather'd o'er it to the boding sight,
A shadow that anticipates the tomb !
Still from its fretted roof the lamps illumine
A purple canopy, a golden throne.
But it is empty. Hath the stroke of doom
Fall'n there already ?---Where is He, the One,
Born that high seat to fill, supremely and alone ?

“ Oh ! there are times whose pressure doth efface
Earth's vain distinctions !---When the storm beats loud,
When the strong tow'rs are tott'ring to their base,
And the streets rock, who mingle in the crowd ?
Peasant and chief, the lowly and the proud,
Are in that throng. Yes, life hath many an hour,
Which makes us kindred, by one chast'ning bow'd,
And feeling but, as from the storm we cow'r,
What shrinking weakness feels before unbounded pow'r !

(P. 17—29.)

The reader, who feels the beauty of this picture, will probably be still more pleased with the stanzas relating to the church of St. Sophia, beginning with the sixty-first. We proceed to the Siege of Valencia.

This is a much longer poem than the preceding, dramatic in its form, and tragical in its nature. It will be proper, in the first place, to give a brief outline of the story on which it is founded. Valencia, a city of Spain, is besieged by Abdullah, a Moorish prince. The governor of the city is Gonzalez, who has a wife, Elmina, two sons, Alphonso and Carlos, and a daughter, Ximena, whose constitution is suffering by grief for the loss of one, who was slain in battle, and for whom she cherished a concealed attachment. The two sons are taken prisoners by the Moors, and Abdullah demands the surrender of the city as the only price of their ransom. Gonzalez refuses to be a traitor : but Elmina pleads for his compliance with all the earnestness of a distressed and feeling mother. Not being able to prevail upon her husband, she next unfolds her mind to Hernandez, a priest. But, receiving no encouragement from him, she contrives to get in disguise into the Moorish camp, where she sees her sons, reasons with Abdullah, and withdraws with him to consult in

secret about the surrender of the city. This having been arranged, she returns, corrupts the sentinels, and informs Gonzalez of her proceedings in sufficient time for him to adopt preventive measures. Ximena puts forth all her energy, and stirs up the citizens to take arms for the rescue of her brothers: but they come too late, and the boys are beheaded. Ximena reveals her love to her mother, and dies. The Moors attack the city; in the critical moment forces arrive from Castile; Abdullah is slain; the Moors are routed; and Gonzalez breathes his last.

This narrative, with episodes, furnishes nine scenes. Before we make any extracts, we shall mention the characters that are delineated in the poem. In the former poem of the volume there is but one character, Constantine himself; and, in our view, it is conceived and portrayed with skill and feeling. He is thoughtful and pensive, but firm, unwavering, and brave. He is calm and collected. There is about him no stormy woe that excites strong emotions of grief. No sudden bursts of heroical ardour absorb the mind in the contemplation of his military prowess. We see him wearing the appearance of forlorn dignity, and entitled to our tenderest regrets. In the "*Siege of Valencia*," there are more. Gonzalez is brave, dignified, faithful, calm, and kind; exhibiting the honour and integrity of a soldier: but his various excellencies are so blended, that it might be difficult to determine which is his predominating virtue. Wherever he appears he obtains our love, esteem, and sympathy. Alphonso, his eldest son, is a boy of high, and unbending spirit, full of pride and impetuosity. In Hernandez we find a total destitution of all kindly feeling. With whomsoever, and on whatsoever subject he converses, he is still severe and vehement, with nothing of the sanctity of affliction, and nothing of the sacredness of a priest. Elmina principally appears in the character of a distressed mother, overwhelmed with grief, and losing, in the prevalence of maternal affection, all sight and sense of rectitude and propriety. But we also see in her a peculiar spirit of pride and loftiness, even after the death of her sons, after her own reconciliation with her husband, and his death. Ximena is a gentle and affectionate daughter: in the sixth Scene, however, she appears with a most unexpected display of courage, tempered with a feeling affectionate earnestness.

After this abstract of the fable, as our limits will not admit of our transcribing a whole scene or dialogue, we shall only quote one passage, which will give a pleasing impression of the style of the authoress. It is from the first scene,

where Elmina is pleading with Gonzalez for the rescue of their sons :—

ELMINA.

————— You ne'er kept watch
Beside him, till the last pale star had set,
And morn, all dazzling, as in triumph, broke
On your dim weary eye; not *yours* the face
Which, early faded through fond care for him,
Hung o'er his sleep, and, duly as Heav'n's light,
Was there to greet his wak'ning! You ne'er smooth'd
His couch, ne'er sung him to his rosy rest,
Caught his least whisper, when his voice from yours
Had learn'd soft utt'rance; press'd your lip to his,
When fever parch'd it, hush'd his wayward cries,
With patient, vigil'ant, never-weary'd love.
No! these are *woman's* tasks!—In these her youth,
And bloom of cheek, and buoyancy of heart,
Steal from her all unmark'd. My boys! my boys!
Hath vain affection borne with all for this?
—Why were ye giv'n me?

GONZALEZ.

Is there strength in man
Thus to endure?—That thou couldst read, thro' all
Its depths of silent agony, the heart
Thy voice of woe doth rend!

ELMINA.

Thy heart?—*thy* heart?—Away! It feels not *now*!
But an hour comes to tame the mighty man
Unto the infant's weakness; nor shall Heaven
Spare you that bitter chast'ning! May you live
To be alone, when loneliness doth seem
Most heavy to sustain!—For me, my voice
Of pray'r and fruitless weeping shall be soon
With all forgotten sounds, my quiet place
Low with my lovely ones; and we shall sleep,
Tho' kings lead armies o'er us: we shall sleep,
Wrapt in earth's cov'ring mantle. You the while
Shall sit within your vast, forsaken halls,
And hear the wild and melancholy winds
Moan thro' their drooping banners, never more
To wave above your race.

P. 121, 122.

The other pieces proceed from the same ardent spirit and elegant pen: but they are not the pieces on which the fame of the authoress will depend. We select from "*Belshazzar's Feast*," the striking description of Daniel :—

"Then stood forth one, a child of other sires,
And other inspiration, one of those,
Who on the willows hung their captive lyres,
And sat, and wept, where Babel's river flows.

His eye was bright; and yet the deep repose
 Of his pale features half-o'eraw'd the mind,
 And imag'd forth a soul, whose joys and woes
 Were of a loftier stamp than aught assign'd
 To earth, a being, seal'd, and sever'd from mankind."

(P. 272.)

In these poems, viewed as a whole, there is much to admire, and much to interest. Still there is too much vehemence, too much effort in our authoress, especially when she enters on scenes that require the exhibition of tender or ardent feeling; but it is in the latter that she puts forth her energy most conspicuously. If we were to judge from the present volume, she has a strong predilection for warlike affairs, for bold, fervid, and daring characters. We must, however, remark, that the military spirit that breathes and glows in many of her pages, does not add to their real excellence. We do not like Bellona as a Muse. We would add, that a just taste never suggests thoughts that cannot be easily comprehended; or which, if comprehended, cannot be approved of by a sound judgment. To be full, clear, and equal, as well as dignified and splendid, ought to be the aim of the poet: nor, if wise, will he try to astonish his readers by singular thought, by dazzling imagery, by forced expressions, or by unusual metres. Mrs. Hemans cannot claim entire exemption from the censure, implied in these remarks.

In a moral point of view, the volume can scarcely be said to offend in the least degree: we might make our exceptions at a few exclamations. It may, however, be put into the hands of any one, without any painful apprehension. At the same time we must express our regret, that the volume before us does not contain more in it, that has an immediate reference to the highest interests of man, especially, as in the principal poem one character, and one not the least conspicuous, is a minister of our holy religion, whose appearance in the faithful discharge of his peculiar duties, amidst the calamities of his fellow-citizens, would, by adding a moral dignity to the poem, and by infusing into it the softness and sweetness of religious consolation, have materially aided its effect. Though we are pleased with the blossom whose beauty fades, and whose fragrance evaporates, we dwell with the highest delight on the amaranth steeped in celestial dews; and in conclusion, would simply remind the admirers of harp and song, that they can only weave an imperishable garland for their brows, by frequently visiting a holier hill than Parnassus, and a purer fountain than Aganippe.

ART. XI.—*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of William Hayley, Esq. the Friend and Biographer of Cowper; written by himself; with Extracts from his private Correspondence, and unpublished Poetry; and Memoirs of his Son, T. A. Hayley.* Edited by John Johnson, L.L.D. Rector of Yaxham with Welborne, Norfolk. 2 vols. 4to. London, Colburn. 1823.

THE idea, which naturally presents itself to the mind in taking up a book of this character, is, that an author cannot easily choose a line of literary exertion that is of a more delicate nature than auto-biography. We meet the writer of his own history with something of the same shrinking suspicion with which we receive a visitor, who brings no letter of introduction, no pass-word from a common friend to smooth his way to our good-will. We put ourselves on the defensive at once, under the notion that it is ten to one but he will ask more than we shall be inclined to grant. We con him over with a prying glance, and consider whether he supports his own, or an assumed character; and, if the former, whether he shews us his best suit, and makes the most that he can of himself, or appears in his every-day clothes, in that unambitious simplicity, which is so well calculated to disarm our jealousy, and make us perfectly at ease with him. And if he should make any considerable demand on our time and attention, we are apt to scrutinize very strictly the justness and extent of his claim. Now the claim, in the present instance, is tolerably extensive, amounting to no less than the perusal of two ponderous quartos; and we must honestly confess, that, considering the numerous list of rival claims in the present day, such a demand appears to us a little unreasonable.

And this brings us to one of those points, in reference to which we have spoken of the delicacy and difficulty attending this species of publication. It is no easy matter for the historian of his own life to judge of the degree of interest which the public will feel in what has befallen him. It is true, that the generality of readers are abundantly inquisitive: but they seldom expect to find the proper food for their curiosity in what a man will say about himself. It is precisely what he will not say, that they are anxious to discover. A man must have distinguished himself in no common degree, either in serving or injuring his fellow-creatures, to excite a general concern in the events of his life, unless those events have been themselves characterized by very singular vicissitudes. But here it is, that self creeps in with its delusions,

and flatters us, that we are of infinitely greater importance in the public eye than the reality of the case warrants. We cannot but think, that Mr. Hayley has labored under this mistake. For as to the events of his life, it is probable, that those of any private gentleman, taken at a venture, would rival them in dramatic interest; and though we admit, that the historian of Cowper, and author of "the Triumphs of Temper" as well as of the life of Milton, deserves the gratitude and notice of the public to a certain extent, we cannot see in these claims sufficient ground to warrant the exhibition of so minute a picture as that before us. It has also the disadvantage, (for such it is in respect of exciting interest), of being rather too well-dressed. It has none of the easy negligence, which flatters us, that we are admitted a little behind the scenes, and see the man as he really is. We feel that we are kept at bay, and not permitted to know any more than is purposely shewn to us, which we consequently suspect to be the best side of things.

With all this, we are willing to allow that these volumes contain some interesting, some instructive, and a considerable quantity of amusing matter. The first volume, and a part of the second, contain the life of Hayley, written by himself up to a pretty advanced period, and compleated by the editor, the Rev. John Johnson, whose name is well known to the public in connexion with that of Cowper. The remainder of the work consists of the life of Hayley's only son, the strength of his affection for whom forms the most interesting feature in his character, and in the work before us. While we say this, however, we cannot allow, that the examples of such affection are so rare as to make such a work a desideratum on that score, as the following passage, near the close of it, seems to imply.

"Perhaps the records of mankind could afford very few examples of a father and a son, in whom their reciprocal affection rose to such a height, and supported itself in so striking a manner through a series of chequered years. Indeed, this work was compiled for the purpose of exhibiting, in the fullest point of view, an affection so memorable, and with hopes that the just representation of its soothing delights may in the progress of time call forth and inspirit many new examples of filial and parental attachment." (Vol. II. p. 502.)

Though not inclined to overrate the stock of human virtue, we do think, that it is not so deficient in natural affection as this passage would lead us to suppose. But this is an instance of that species of factitious elevation, which his fancy

seems to have given, through life, to every thing connected with himself; and to which we are indebted for the length of the work under our review.

His first grand mistake in this line was in the estimate of his poetical powers, from which he anticipated a more conspicuous niche in the temple of fame, than they were ever likely to win for him. He seems to have mistaken, as many another has done, a facility of composition for that peculiar constitution of the mind, that "art unteachable, untaught," that inspiration, if we may so apply the term, which marks the true poet, and is so rare a gift. He would stand high indeed, were poetical rank to be regulated, not by the quality, but the quantity of the article manufactured; for he seems to have made it a point of conscience to indite a sonnet, or something of the kind, if not before he left his bed in the morning, at least before he went to breakfast. Nothing could befall him, to which his ingenuity could not discover a poetical handle; nor can any thing account for the profusion with which he bestowed his favours in that line, except an overweening notion of their value in the eyes of others. The debt of high gratification, which we owe to a first-rate poet, makes us anxious to treasure up every line that he may have written: but few perhaps of Hayley's readers will sympathize with him in the regret, which he expresses at not being able to recollect his first essay in rhyme, composed when he was nine years old; though a large portion of our youthful population will probably lament, that he abandoned the plan, alluded to in the following passage of his early history, a plan, however, which we must not introduce to the notice of our readers, without first apprising them, that, while a school-boy at Eton, he had been whipped, of course most injudiciously and improperly in his own opinion, "for an accidental neglect of a Greek lesson."

"In his subsequent reflections, as a man, on this incident of his boyish days, and the effect, which it certainly had, to alienate his mind for some time from the study of a language, for which he had before entertained a predilection, he was led to meditate on the various ill effects of corporal punishments upon ingenuous youth. He wished to banish them, as a barbarous absurdity, from every school, and conceived, for that purpose, the plan of an extensive satirical and moral poem, in several cantoes, which he meant to entitle, 'The expulsion of the Rod;' a design, in which the author intended to prove himself as much a friend to just and sound discipline, as he professed himself an enemy to all brutal force. No vestiges appear of any verses, that might form a part of this projected work." (Vol. I. p. 27.)

This is unfortunate, as we are not aware that any one of our spirited and patriotic anti-flagellants is distinguished for a poetic vein : but we trust that a subject of such radical importance will be taken up by some one of them, or that they will club their wits to do it justice. The usual risk of authorship might be avoided by opening lists for subscriptions at Eton, Westminster, and elsewhere.

We could well have dispensed with the specimen of his verses, "sent up for good," and still more willingly with the lines (vol. I. p. 59.) beginning with—

" At Glasgow we walk'd, after tea, up and down,"—

of which it is quite enough to say, that the first line is a fair sample of the whole. To this *Index expurgatorius* we would add all the verses, written in his son's name on several of his early birth-days, which were very well calculated for the amusement of the family, but by no means for that of the public.

We grant, that it would destroy in great measure the peculiar interest, which belongs to an author's memoirs of himself, (and we wish the caution to be borne in mind), were a posthumous editor to make alterations in them *ad libitum* ; but judicious omissions, in such instances as we have referred to, would surely be justifiable. Such a pruning would be an act of kindness, in regard to both the reputation of the author and the time of the reader, and would be approved by all who subscribe as heartily as we do to the truth of the adage, which reprobates *great* books. Perhaps the editor of these volumes may have used this discretion to a certain extent already : but we could wish, that it had been carried a little further, convinced, that many will take alarm at their size, and forfeit in consequence the pleasure, which the perusal of a considerable portion of the matter contained in them is calculated to impart.

We have already said, that paternal affection is the feeling, from the exhibition of which they derive their highest interest. Our attention will be more particularly drawn to this, when we turn to the life of Thomas Alphonso Hayley. At present we will select a few of the passages, which throw a light on the poet's own character, and some also, which will bring before our readers names of a certain degree of celebrity.

It may be as well to preface these with the following sketch of Hayley's character from the hand of the editor.

" As to his personal qualities of a higher order, these were cheerfulness and sympathy, in a very eminent degree ; so eminent, indeed,

that as no afflictions of his own could divest him of the former, so neither could the afflictions of others find him destitute of the latter. His temper also was singularly sweet and amiable, being not only free from ebullitions of anger, but from all those minor defects, which it is needless to enumerate, and to which social peace and harmony are so repeatedly sacrificed. It was the most even, in its exercise, that the writer of this brief account of him ever witnessed. Whether this regular flow of good humour was owing to the native cheerfulness of his mind, to the habit, which he had contracted, of viewing every adverse circumstance on its bright side, to a course of self-discipline, which he did not avow to others, or to the joint operation of all these, it is not possible to say; but certain it is, that it was one of his most striking peculiarities.

“ In all these respects, there can be no doubt that the character of Hayley is worthy of imitation; and the Editor feels that he should be deficient in a becoming attention to the expressed wish of the author, in the close of his memoir, if he did not briefly advert to the importance, both to individual and social happiness, of endeavoring to cultivate to the utmost those eminent ingredients of a beneficial life—cheerfulness, sympathy, and good temper.

“ Closely connected with these was a rich assemblage of amiable qualities, which the Editor cannot do better than display in the following extract from the Rev. Samuel Greatheed: ‘ Hayley retained, I believe, throughout his life, a high sense of honour inflexible integrity, a warmth of friendship, and overflowing benevolence. The last was especially exerted for the introduction of meritorious young persons into useful and respectable situations; and it was usually efficient, as it never relaxed while they justified his patronage. He did not indeed scruple, while it was in his power, to entrust them with large sums, where there appeared a prospect of their future ability for repayment; but as this prospect not seldom failed, either through death or unavoidable impediments, his property was greatly reduced by such beneficence.’

“ Another distinctive mark of the character of Hayley, which few possess by nature, and still fewer attain to by art, was an eminently great conversational ability. It was scarcely possible for any one to be in his company an hour, how distinguished soever his own gifts or acquirements might be in the possession and exercise of colloquial powers, without being conscious of his superiority in this respect. It has been a subject of repeated astonishment to the Editor, that in a soil, so unfavorable to the growth of this faculty as seclusion must necessarily be, it should yet have arrived at such a pitch of exuberance, in the case of the retired subject of this Memoir, as only an interchange of the best-informed minds, and that continually exercised, could be supposed capable of producing.

As to the defects of the character of Hayley, perhaps the most prominent feature was a pertinacity of determination with regard to his modes of action, which has seldom been exemplified to the same extent

in the case of others. When, in the contemplation of supposed advantage, whether to himself or his friends, he had once matured his purpose, it was an attempt of no ordinary difficulty to divert him from the pursuit of it. To this may perhaps be attributed the perpetual disappointments with which his life was chequered. Certain it is, that his matrimonial infelicities may be traced to this source. His first adventure of the kind alluded to, had the warning voice of his surviving parent against it, and (it may naturally be supposed) the dissuasive arguments of all his thinking and judicious friends: and as to the similar connection he formed in the decline of life, he must have overcome obstacles both numerous and weighty, with respect to his own situation and habits, in accomplishing that object of his wishes. Instead of entering into a detail of these, however, it will be more profitable to secure the good effect, that may arise from the contemplation of the former part of his character, from the danger of being neutralized by the present exhibition of it. This may perhaps be accomplished by reminding the reader of that principle of our lapsed nature, which inclines us, too often, to confound evil with good. The good, in Hayley's case, appears to have been the viewing, through his native cheerfulness, every *dispensation of Providence* on its bright side; and the evil, his applying this rule to what might be not improperly designated *the dispensations of his own will*. There can be no doubt, that his example in the first instance, and his mistake in the last, are equally to be followed and avoided.

"Another failing observable in the character of Hayley, was the little attention he paid to the public opinion, in regard to his modes and habits of life. During his long residence in his paternal seat of Eartham, though he occasionally received friends from a distance, and especially the votaries of literature and the fine arts, yet to the families in his vicinity he was not easily accessible. He seems, indeed, to have been almost an insulated mortal amongst them, and one who, discharging himself from the obligation of what is commonly called *etiquette*, made it impossible to maintain with him the reciprocities of intercourse." (Vol. II. p. 215, 216, 217.)

"With respect to the characteristics of Hayley, as an *Author*, these were, doubtless, a laudable ambition to excel; an uncommon degree of industry, as a candidate for public applause; and a courage most undaunted under the failure of success. To these may be added, a candour rarely witnessed in acknowledging his defects, a readiness to avail himself of suggested emendation, and a perception most alive to the superiority of others." (Vol. II. p. 220.)

Having seen what his friends thought of him, we will now turn to some scattered sentences, which will shew what he thought of himself.

"Having through life been highly attentive to the interests of my friends, and rather too careless of my own, I must try to correct my error, to preserve the evening of my day from indigence. Courage, Industry, and Hope, be my constant companions!" (Vol. II. p. 362.)

"As I find that œconomy is the only thing, that a spirit so independent as mine can safely trust, in regard to this world, I am growing a minute œconomist, in respect to my household; keeping no footman, and only two diminutive maids. By this reduction, and by denying myself the expensive amusement of visiting London, I hope to accomplish the grand and necessary object of living within my little revenue. The sacrifices that I make to honest pride, are never (thank Heaven) painful to my spirit; and I consider poverty itself, as a robe of honour, when it is gracefully decorated with the jewel, independence." (Vol. I. p. 414.)

"I have ever possessed, and still retain, one constitutional blessing from nature, which I hold infinitely more valuable than all the gifts of fortune. The blessing I mean is a native serenity and cheerfulness of temper, which leads and enables me to look on the bright side of every prospect, both present and future." (Vol. II. p. 264.)

"Some circumstances, indeed, have conspired to throw a kind of melancholy over my nature, which is in itself, (you tell me) rather too much inclined to it. But I would not wish to part with it; for, however unfit it may render a man for public business in the world, it will fill him with a happy benevolence in private life. There is no time when you could induce a man to do more for a living friend, than when his heart is filled with memory of the dead." (Vol. I. p. 42.)

"I find that I can do nothing, but in the inspiring tranquillity of the dear and delightful Eartham. The prosaic visitants of a country town absolutely rob me of all literary powers, and not even the sublime Muse of Litchfield can counterbalance their lethargic influence." (Vol. I. p. 251.)

"In his estimation, books, retirement, and friendship, were the real treasures of human life. In all these he was abundantly rich; and he justly reckoned his quick and constant relish for them all a blessing in itself, that called for incessant and cheerful gratitude to the Giver of all good." (Vol. I. p. 333.)

The above quotations will serve to shew the view which Hayley took of his own character; and it is evident from them, that he was by no means on bad terms with himself. It is fair, however, to state, that similar testimonies are borne by others to his possession of the qualities which he ascribes to himself, and particularly to that of a delight in serving his friends. The editor of the present work may be quoted on this head—

"The remaining letters exhibit still further proofs of the sympathetic turn of the spirit of Hayley, whether appealed to in seasons of sorrow, or of joy. Some of them also illustrate, in a striking manner, that prime feature of his character, a restless desire to subserve the interest of his friends, even when those friends were unpardonably indolent in prosecuting their own concerns." (Vol. II. p. 155.)

With so much warmth of affection, and so keen a relish for the delights of friendship, we should naturally presume, that

he would be the man of all others to give and to receive happiness in the dearest of earthly bonds of union. But this was very far from being the case. On the contrary, the heaviest cloud that hung over his life seems to have arisen from his matrimonial connexion; and that in both the instances in which he formed it. It would be equally useless and unfair to pretend to sit in judgment on the parties, and pronounce where the fault lay, considering that little real light is thrown upon the subject by the publication before us; and that, of course, only on one side of the question. We have seen that his first match was against "the warning voice of his parent;" and, if it be a superstition, we are not ashamed of being superstitious enough to believe, that we need not look much farther to account for its unhappiness. The circumstances, under which it was formed, also warrant the conjecture, that it owed its rise mostly to the pique occasioned by a disappointment in another quarter. The separation, in which it ended, was a very singular one; for Hayley seems to have constantly kept up an affectionate correspondence by letter with his wife, whom he describes as "a singular and highly meritorious mortal;" and his letters, to use his own words, "afford a proof with what incessant tenderness and solicitude he endeavored to counteract the infelicity of her constitution." We may fairly suppose too, that her letters were of an equally affectionate character, from the delight which they appear to have afforded him; and the specimens we have of them prove, that they were far from being deficient in vivacity or ability. He says, in one of his letters to her—

"I continue as eager and impatient as ever for your letters; and when they do not arrive quite so soon as I wish or expect, I am seized with a sort of *post fever*." (Vol. 1. p. 252.)

Were we to rest our opinion simply on Hayley's account of the matter, we should be forced to conclude that the lady had lamentably forgotten her engagement to take him "for better, for worse." For he says—

"While he retained his health and the native cheerfulness of his spirit, a lively imagination afforded him the best possible antidote for the marvellous mental infirmities of his pitiable Eliza. When he could no longer divert her volatile mind with lively sallies of fancy, she considered Eartham as a dungeon." (Vol. I. p. 339.)

He speaks of her, however, as "this noble-minded lady," and as "the most important personage in the world to him." On her part there is the following admission:—

"I should indeed be ungrateful, were I not to acknowledge *more* years of kindness and polite attentions, than I could *now* suppose so lively a character as yours capable of paying to any woman. I have

never regretted the time I devoted to you, since I owe to it powers of enjoyment, without which riches could afford me little gratification."

It must be allowed that this is a most singular tone for a lady to assume, and indicative of very shallow notions of the principles and feelings likely to conduce to happiness in matrimony. Wherever the fault lay, Hayley's mind seems to have been very decidedly made up on the necessity of total separation, as the following extract from one of his letters to her manifests :—

"Whenever business may call me to town, it is my earnest request to you, my dear Eliza, that we may kindly avoid an interview. When two persons have failed so entirely in a long endeavour to make each other happy in living together, it is assuredly best for *both parties* to contrive, from motives of delicacy and tenderness, not to see each other. We shall meet, I believe and hope, in a happier world, and clearly perceive why our respective virtues were unable to form, as we vainly expected, our reciprocal happiness on earth; a sort of disappointment not uncommon in every human connexion, yet in regard to us, not so much the fault of either, as our mutual misfortune." (Pp. 104, 105.)

The last service, that he paid to her, will mark, in no small degree, the peculiarity of his character. It is detailed in the following letter to his son, written a few days after her death :

"Having composed a brief occasional discourse for our friendly pastor to recite at the funeral of my poor Eliza, I am induced, because I believe it may be a pleasing attention to you, and such as the departed spirit would approve, to dispatch it to you so speedily, that you may, if it prove convenient, recite it yourself to our dear Flaxmans, at the very time when it will be delivered to the good people of our village. My eyes are fatigued by their labour in your service. So adieu!" (P. 370.)

In a subsequent letter he says—

"Our little church was filled, and the sermon was universally felt and approved." (P. 371.)

We are inclined to think this transaction quite unique in its way, and were not aware before, that the labours of the clergy were thus abridged occasionally by their lay-brethren.

So little is said by Hayley about his second wife, that we need not dwell any further on the subject than to say, that a repetition of the experiment seems to have been equally unfortunate, in spite of the singular precaution to be traced in the following extract from his diary at the period of his first acquaintance with her—

"Read Homer, and translated his brief prayer for a wife."

(Vol. II. p. 69.)

We have already adverted to the abundant productiveness of Hayley's muse. He says himself, that "his various re-

sidences might be traced by the footsteps of his muse, as a scene that was new to him generally produced new verses. His pleasures and his studies, his friendship and his love, afforded him inexhaustible subjects of poetry." Vol. I. p. 128. He gives the following account of the composition of what he calls, and with justice, his most fortunate production.

"His observation of the various effects of spleen on the female character, induced him to believe, that he might render an important service to social life, if his poetry could induce his young and fair readers to cultivate the gentle qualities of the heart, and maintain a constant flow of good humour. With this view he composed his *Triumphs of Temper*, and the success of it appears to have been fully equal to his most sanguine expectations. He has been heard to declare, that the sweetest reward he ever received as an author, was a cordial declaration from a very good and sensible mother of a large family, that she was truly indebted to the work in question, for an absolute and delightful reformation in the conduct and character of her eldest daughter, who, by an ambition to imitate Serena, was metamorphosed from a creature of a most perverse and intractable spirit, into the most docile and dutiful of children." (Vol. I. p. 207.)

Writing about it to his wife, he says,

"I have received some very pleasing letters from some fair correspondents in praise of Serena, and on the happy effects it will produce in the female world. The essays of your favorite Montaigne have been called, you know, the *Manuel des honnêtes gens*. My ambition is to see my poem become the *Manuel du beau sexe*. (Vol. I. p. 238.)

The importance which he attached to his poetical plans, is exhibited almost ludicrously in the following notice of the death of one of his oldest friends :

"Perhaps the poet felt his sudden death the more keenly, as he had accidentally omitted to impart to him the commencement of a new poem on a subject peculiarly interesting to his liberal mind." (Vol. II p. 57.)

In reference also to his meeting with Mr. Pitt, when quite a youth, at Lyme, he expresses his regret that "his own poetical reserve" (the last quality we should have discovered in him) "had prevented his imparting to the wonderful youth the epic poem he had begun on the liberty of of their country."

The poet seems to have exposed himself to a series of vexatious disappointments by a persevering determination, if we may judge from the result, "invitâ Minervâ," to be a dramatist. The history of one of these failures may be selected as a creditable specimen of the author's graphic style of narrative; and also as bringing us personally acquainted with a man of no small note in his day.

"A common friend took his tragedy to Garrick, and said to him,— 'Garrick, I have a play for you, of which I think highly. But you shall judge for yourself. All I ask of you is sincerity. If you think it unfit for the stage, send it back to me with any mark of rejection, and we will pester you no more on the subject: but, if you think of it as I do, and resolve to produce it, I will then bring to you my friend, the author. But remember you are upon honour, and engaged not to ask even his name, unless you have previously determined to try the success of the play.' After the anxious suspense of a few weeks, Hayley received a most encouraging billet from his friend, to say, that he had promised to carry him the next Saturday morning to breakfast in Southampton-street, with Garrick, who was delighted with the tragedy. Saturday morning arrived; and the exulting poet trod on air in his way to the house of the manager. The guests were ushered into a little private room, where Garrick soon saluted them with a profusion of compliments. He said to the poet, 'Sir, I have perused your tragedy with great attention and pleasure. I assure you, that I have not seen, for years, any new production, of which I could entertain such very high expectation. But we will talk of it more at large some early day in next week; for Mrs. Garrick is now expecting us to breakfast with her and a few friends.' * * * * * The conversation was lively and general; a new appointment was made, in private, by the manager, before Hayley and his friend withdrew, that they should both breakfast with him again on the Tuesday following, and settle all particulars relating to their dramatic business. After breakfast, on the appointed Tuesday, Mr. Garrick said to their host, 'Well, Garrick, let us now proceed to your promise! What day have you fixed for the first rehearsal?' The manager assumed a face, in which politeness vainly endeavored to disguise his perplexity; and, with much embarrassment, he said, 'Why, faith! I have not been able to fix a day; I have been reconsidering the tragedy: it is most elegantly written, it is a charming composition to recite to a small circle, but I am afraid it is not calculated for stage-effect. However, it shall certainly be played, if you desire it.' 'Oh, no! by no means,' (mildly said the poet, with suppressed indignation at the duplicity of the manager,) 'I shall instantly put it into my pocket; and I am very sorry, Sir, that it has given you so much trouble.' Garrick burst again into a profusion of new civilities, and offers of the kindest good offices upon any future occasion. Mrs. Garrick seemed desirous of soothing the spirit of the poet by personal flattery; and the first hopes of his tragedy thus ended in a farce of adulation." (Vol. I. pp. 103, 104, 105.)

Colman treated him, in the first instance, with greater frankness, and subsequently gave him encouragement, which, however, the taste of the public did not ratify.

The name of Gibbon, with whom Hayley enjoyed a certain degree of intimacy, is frequently introduced in these volumes, but not in a way that brings us much more acquainted with "the Roman eagle," as he styles him, according to a favo-

rite habit of giving a name of his own to all his friends. He informs us, that "the friendship and correspondence of that illustrious historian," were procured by "the Epistles on History," which were addressed to him. We regret, that such a passage as the following should occur in the letter, which announced the poem, since it was but too well calculated to countenance and encourage him in that scepticism, which, on other occasions, Hayley lamented.

"I intended only a single and short epistle, but my production insensibly increased to such a size, that I am almost afraid it may appear to you as heavy a present as you ever received from the dull-est of your theological correspondents. Perhaps the pride which I take, in placing my own name on the same page as yours, may lead one or two of these gentlemen to honor me with a few such compliments as they have paid to you." (Vol. I. p. 205.)

He is thus mentioned also in a letter to Cowper, a friend of a very opposite stamp in most respects.

"I was in a great bustle the beginning of last week, to prepare a dry and safe nest for the Roman Eagle.

"A very kind letter from my friend Gibbon informed me, that he and Lord Sheffield (with whom he resides while he remains in England) were going on a visit to our gracious friend of Petworth, Lord Egremont, and that he intended to steal away from the festive palace, and devote a few days to the hermit of Earham. He was so good as to keep his word, (no trifling instance of virtue and friendship in a man who has lived so much in the great world,) and I had the delight of finding my extraordinary guest not only friendly to me, as indeed he ever has been, but infinitely firmer in his health than I could have supposed it possible for him to be, considering the little use he makes of his legs. My ideas on religious and political topics are by no means in unison with those of this wonderful man, but I have great delight in his talents, and still more in the benevolent disposition he shews towards me, and the objects of my regard. Great as he is, as a writer, I think he has equal, if not superior, talents for *conversation*; and you will readily believe it quickened my relish for his society, to find him perfectly inclined to sympathize with me in esteem for you. He was enchanted, as every man of taste must be, with those specimens of your translation from the Latin poetry of Milton, with which you have so kindly allowed me to embellish my biographical composition; a kindness so very uncommon in men of the world, that the historian said it *surprised* and gave him a most favourable idea of your heart." (Vol. I. pp. 445, 446.)

Speaking of his history elsewhere, Hayley says,

"I grieve to find, from some parts I have dipped into, the same sarcastic air on religious subjects." (Vol. I. p. 234.)

These volumes do not afford much interesting matter in relation to Cowper, to whom Hayley is indebted for so much

of his celebrity. Lady Hesketh's name is so well known also in connexion with that interesting bard's, that the following letter, in which she acknowledges the receipt of his *Life*, may interest our readers.

"On my return from a half-hour's walk, I beheld on my table a square parcel, which my heart instantly told me was *The Life of Cowper*!—*Hayley's Life of Cowper*! I surveyed it all round with fear and trembling, yet with the most lively interest; but determined, whether *heroically or cowardly*, (I know not by which name to call it,) to defer opening it to some future time; when, fortunately, I discovered that the paper was very wet, owing to something it had lain near in the coach. Of course, it was become necessary to strip it instantly, lest the precious contents should suffer: and, having stripped it, was it in woman to do less than to read the first volume quite through, only stopping to sleep? for, as to dinner, it was impossible to eat any; neither could I have slept, had I not armed myself with ten drops of laudanum to tranquillize my agitated spirits. You will not, (I am sure) ask me, as many cold-hearted mortals would do, *why* they were agitated? On the contrary, you seem, in your last on this subject, to enter so entirely into my feelings, that I need say nothing more on that head, but shall proceed to tell you, that I finished the first volume before ten this morning. I have since made a progress into the second, of more than a hundred pages; but I can go no further, till I have expressed to you some part of the admiration I feel on the *Life*."

"You have exactly answered the idea which the person, whoever he might be, who invited you to this task, in the magazine, had formed, when he said, that, could you be persuaded to undertake it, you could not fail to execute it *con amore e con spirito*. This is exactly the case; and should I write a quire of paper, I could not describe more exactly what I think on the perusal of this charming work, where, indeed, I should say *to any one but to you*, that the elegance and animation of the style can only be equalled by the extreme tenderness and delicacy with which you touch on particular subjects, too affecting in their nature not to be seen with real pain by me, and which would indeed have been *insupportable*, had they been drawn by a rougher pencil." (Vol. II. pp. 34, 35.)

"Hayley" (says his biographer,) "had great reason to be thankful to Heaven for the extensive success of his new publication. He considered it as a most gracious reward from Providence, for the compassionate zeal with which, in the midst of his own troubles, he had labored to improve both the fortune and the health of his beloved Cowper. While he was active in the service of that dear sufferer, he was very far from surmising that he should ever receive any pecuniary recompence for his friendly exertions; but in the very uncommon advantages that he derived from the great share of public favour which attended his *Life of Cowper*, he acknowledged with

devout gratitude, that Heaven unexpectedly rendered his disinterested friendship for a man of virtue and genius, suffering under the darkest calamity, a source of unthought-of blessings to himself at a distant period." (Vol. II. p. 41.)

An interesting warmth of friendly feeling is shewn in the following extract from a letter to his wife.

" My dear Eliza,

Saturday, May 10, 1794.

" Here we are at last in London; but of all the acts of painful exertion that I have known (and many have fallen to my lot) I never experienced a trial more severe than that of forcing myself from the dear sufferer at Weston, who considered my departure from him as the darkest part of his very dark calamity. I took all imaginable precaution to render it as little painful as possible, both to him and to myself, yet it almost overwhelmed me; and in the moment of my quitting him, Lady Hesketh, I believe, thought me almost as much out of my senses as our beloved invalid. I have the consolation to think, that my visit to him, severely as I feel it myself, in my agitated nerves, has been productive of great good; and I am sanguine enough to hope, that, in a month or two, this most interesting genius will burst from his present dark eclipse, in all the lustre of his bright and beneficent mind. I have yet a farther consolation in the infinite delight I feel from having been a little instrumental towards correcting the injustice of fortune to this marvellous being; for the circumstance is true, which (I am told) has found its way into the newspapers. A pension of 300*l.* is just granted to him for life; and, when I have a little leisure and tranquillity, I will give you a history of the many very singular incidents, by which this blessed act of munificence in his favour was accomplished. He has not, at present, the slightest idea of it; and we hope no perverse accident or indiscreet friend may impart it to him, in his present calamitous state, when it would create more terror than satisfaction in his troubled spirit: but on his revival it will, I trust, produce a very beneficial influence on his future comfort." (Vol. II. p. 92.)

A feeling equally kind, but of a more cheerful character, is to be traced in a letter to his son.

" August 3, 1796. *Eartham Gazette Extraordinary.*

" Great news, my dearest of dear correspondents! Great and blessed news, indeed, which you will receive, as I impart it to you, with singular delight! Let all the arts, and Nature at their head, rejoice! For our beloved Cowper is bursting from his calamitous eclipse of mind. He is already so far recovered, that he is absolutely at work on the correction of his Homer, and with such spirit, that he says he never knew, how Homer ought to be translated, till now." (Vol. II. p. 223.)

Mr. Samuel Rose bears the following interesting testimony to Hayley's zeal in Cowper's behalf:

" I never think of this most happy and interesting event," (the grant of Cowper's pension) " without recollecting with gratitude, how much

indebted all Mr. Cowper's friends are to you, for your persevering benevolence upon this occasion. If a man's happiness is proportioned to his social and philanthropic exertions, which I actually believe to be the case, I know no man entitled to so large a share as yourself, knowing no one, who has obliged and benefited so many." (Vol. I. p. 465.)

The benevolent Howard is mentioned in an interesting way—

"I sallied forth early, and just after hard rain, in the hope of catching the peerless Howard in his lodgings. I luckily succeeded, and passed a delightful half-hour with him, in which we talked of his new-projected expedition, to visit the sources of the plague. I am more and more charmed with this quiet enthusiast, who is calmly preparing to visit Egypt, Æthiopia, &c. and repeatedly to shake hands with the pestilence, for the benefit of mankind." (Vol. I. p. 378.)

No one, perhaps, of the author's friends appears in a more amiable and interesting light, in this publication, than the celebrated sculptor, Flaxman. Hayley's son, who had shewn a particular turn for the art, in which he was so eminent a proficient, was put under his tuition; and we cannot refrain from laying before our readers some extracts, which will prove the sense which the artist entertained of his responsibility, and exhibit something of the mode in which he endeavored to do justice to it.

"If, you think he has talents for the fine arts, shew yourself my friend indeed, and accept my offer as frankly as I make it! Send him to me! I will instruct him in all the little I know, and it shall not cost you a farthing. You shall provide his board and lodging in the manner most agreeable to yourselves. The education he should have under me, would be a theory and practice of art and science, to make him profound in his profession, and not a drudge for the interest of his master. In your absence, I will be his father, and my dear Nancy promises to look to his morals." (P. 81.)

"November 27, 1794—420, Strand.

"You will believe me, when I tell you, that I love your son as tenderly as you can wish, for his father's sake, and that nothing would be likely to improve that love, but intimate acquaintance with his amiable qualities. And now that you express so serious an intention of placing your little good boy under me, it is necessary that I should explain my intentions concerning him, when he is under my care. My first object will be, to preserve his mind in his duty to God and his neighbour, which cannot fail to form a good citizen, and give his mind sufficient strength and resource for happiness, under the various attacks on his peace, which he must meet with in this world. With respect to instruction in the arts of design, I shall only consider his good, and instruct him in those sound principles which cannot fail of laying the foundation for an excellent practice. If it is agreeable to you, he shall

live with me, and have his own lodging-room. He will fare, as we do, and you shall pay only what I lay out for him in these particulars, without putting you to the charge of keeping a floor, and maintaining a housekeeper. If you prefer his living out of the house, you can accommodate him on your own plan, and I shall only require his regular attendance. In this case, you are well aware that I can only be answerable for him while he is in my sight." (Pp. 101, 102.)

The youth himself writes thus—

"As to my Greek and Latin, I read the Greek Testament every morning to Mr. Flaxman, and we have begun to talk Latin, which we hope in time to do with some facility." (P. 121.)

"I had almost forgot to tell you that our good friend, good artist, good man, good every thing that can be named, Mr. Flaxman, has promised to give me an ancient medal, for every model I make, until he has given me a dozen, and I have got three already." (P. 122.)

"He has told me in a truly friendly manner, to consider whether I like my present pursuits, himself, and Mrs. Flaxman enough, to live with them for seven years; and if, upon consideration, I do not, to mention my objections to him, and he will advise me, not as a master, but a friend. As to my pursuits, those please me much, very much. As to Mr. and Mrs. Flaxman, next to enjoying your society, much as I dislike this bustling city, my greatest delight would be to live with them." (P. 151.)

However copious our extracts have been, we think that our readers will not complain of the following letter from Flaxman to Hayley being added to them.

"I wish, my dear friend, that the character of the master answered in any degree to your highly conceived description. At the same time that I am humbled with the contemplation of excellence, which I heartily delight in, but which I am conscious that I do not possess, I cannot be otherwise than grateful for your kind partiality, and wish that my conduct, if it cannot rise to the standard which you have assigned, may be such, at least, as not to cross or shock your expectations. This, I hope, has been my motive in the whole of my conduct respecting Thomas. Whenever I have been anxious for his health or his improvement, your happiness (and his also) has been my object, and so it will continue to be.

"When I expressed my doubts concerning his happiness in London, it was not on account of any discontent or wayward disposition of his; but only a strong prepossession that he has for solitude, and his native spot, made me doubt how far he may ever be reconciled to our great scene of action. His conduct, as I have always told you, has been amiable and pleasing. His even temper, modesty, and patience are remarkable, and you well know his talents for his profession could not fail to satisfy me. I have uniformly discountenanced time's being frittered in trifling employments, as the bane of excellence, as we see particularly in the higher and lower ranks of society. But where the

health requires attention, after having eluded the power of medicine, as is Thomas's case, it seems that his native air is the only remedy; and it is my serious wish that he may follow his present regimen till his constitution is confirmed, which will give him the best chance of proceeding in the study of his profession with adequate success when he returns to town." (Pp. 351, 352.)

We have been tempted to submit these letters to our readers, not merely for their amusement, or for critical purposes, but because we think that the example of that kind of interest, which their writer seems to have taken in his pupil, is much wanted in the present day, and that to that want evils of very considerable magnitude are to be attributed.

The picture of strong and tender paternal affection, exhibited in the history of the interesting youth, referred to in these quotations, is one, to which justice can only be done by a perusal of the memoirs themselves; and we think that no one can read them without feeling very deeply both for the bereft parent, and for the suffering youth, cut off in the early bloom of those hopes, which were justified by his promising talents and engaging disposition.

Hayley's religious character is the last point to which we shall advert; and we wish to do so with all the caution which such a subject demands, at the same time that we are unwilling to pass it over entirely. A certain spirit of devotion is to be traced in his occasional compositions, through the greater part of his life; particularly in those with which he seems to have begun almost every day. But many incidental proofs occur throughout his history, of the superficial nature of his religion during youth. As he advances in life, however, we perceive traces, especially in his diary, of an increase in the strength of his religious feeling; and affliction seems to have drawn his attention more pointedly to the consolations which are sought for in vain in any other direction. Still there were apparent inconsistencies in his conduct which threw a shade over his religious character in the opinion of general observers, and gave some countenance to the suspicions, to which his great intimacy with Gibbon, and some other circumstances of a suspicious nature had given rise. We are happy, therefore, to quote the following testimonies on this subject from Mr. Greatheed, and the Rev. John Sargent. The former says,

"To religious feelings Hayley was no stranger. They were promoted by his friendship with Cowper, and were carried by his only son's illness and decease, at the same juncture with Cowper's, to a higher degree than before or after." (Vol. II. p. 211.)

Mr. Sargent's testimony is as follows, and in recording it,

we need scarcely remind our readers of the weight due to evidence from the biographer of Henry Martyn.

"I take up my pen according to your desire, to state what I recollect concerning the last moments of our dear departed friend, for dear he was to those who had any intimate access to him, and had a power of appreciating his many fine and amiable qualities.

"More perfect patience than Hayley manifested under his excruciating tortures, it never was my lot to witness. His was not only submission, but cheerfulness. So far could he abstract himself from his intense sufferings, as to be solicitous, in a way that affected me tenderly, respecting my comfort and accommodation as his guest; a circumstance that might appear trivial to many, but which, to my mind, was illustrative of that disinterestedness and affection which were so habitual to him in life, as not to desert him in death.

"That his patience emanated from principles far superior to those of manly and philosophical fortitude, I feel a comfortable and confirmed persuasion, not merely from the sentiments he expressed, when his end was approaching, but from the more satisfactory testimony of his declarations to his confidential servant in the season of comparative health. *Again, and again*, before his last seizure, did he read over a little book I had given him, '*Corbett's self-examination in secret*,' and repeatedly did he make his servant read to him that most valuable little work, of which, surely, no proud and insincere man can cordially approve; and to her did he avow, when recommending it for private perusal, 'In the principles of that book I wish to die.' He also mentioned to her, at the same time, his approbation of the Reverend Daniel Wilson's Sermons, which had been kindly sent to him. He permitted me frequently to pray with him, as a friend and minister; and when I used the confessional in the communion service of our church, and some of the verses of the fifty-first Psalm, he appeared to unite devoutly in those acts of penitence, and afterwards added, 'I thank you heartily!'

"With emphasis did I hear him utter the memorable words, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth, &c.' and on my reminding him that Job exclaimed also, 'Behold I am vile,' he assented to the excellence of that language of repentance and humility. Indeed I well remember his heartily agreeing with me in an observation I made some months before, 'That a progress in religion was to be discerned by a progressive knowledge of our own misery and sinfulness.' The last words almost I heard fall from him, contained a sentiment I should wish, living and dying, to be my own.—'Christ have mercy upon me! O my Saviour, look down upon me, forsake me not!'" (Vol. II. pp. 212—214.)

Whatever errors may adhere to the conduct, or whatever infirmities mark the character, this is a sentiment which conducts to Heaven; and we cannot better close our remarks on this singular biography, than by echoing the language of the writer, and avowing it to be our wish, no less than his, that, living and dying, it may be our own.

ART. XII.—*The Protestant Dissenters' Catechism: with an Appendix, and a Preface; By William Newman, D.D.* London. Offor, 1823. pp. vii. and 86.

A DISPOSITION appears among Christians, at the present time, to merge their differences as far as they can be safely merged, in zeal for our common Christianity, and to coalesce in the endeavour to circulate the Word of God throughout all nations, and to banish vice, infidelity, and irreligion from the world. At such a time, it is lamentable to see the republication of a Manual, the direct object of which appears to be, to perpetuate the differences between Churchmen and Dissenters, and to narrow and employ the mind, which might otherwise be engaged with nobler objects, on the petty jealousies and minute squabbles of the centuries that are past. We are not, however, disposed to regard the question of Conformity or Separation, as of little moment, or to hold, that it is unimportant for those who separate from us, to make sure the grounds of their dissent. On the contrary, we look upon the differences among Christians, and the breach of unity, as so great an evil, though overruled, like other evils, for good, that we think it highly incumbent upon those who withdraw from a national communion, to consider the subject again and again, and not to keep open and widen the breach, beyond the clearest proof of present duty, and even of irremediable necessity.

One thing, however, may be fairly expected. Where there cannot be union, there may be candour. Where dissension must continue, fairness may be exercised. Misrepresentation, misquotation, suppression of facts, perversion of arguments, and all that aggravates dispute, and ripens separation into hostility, or rivalry into rancour, may at least be dispensed with. Prejudice, bigotry, party-spirit, and sophistry, may, at least as far as possible, be laid aside. But we have to complain that, in numerous attacks recently made on the Established Church, truth and candour, impartiality, fair argument, and Christian charity, have been repeatedly and grievously violated. Learned reviews, and unlearned magazines; ponderous treatises, and penny tracts; dissenting charges, and dissenting sermons; essays, and letters; dialogues, and catechisms at the present time clamorously and uncourteously assail the Church of England.

What, for instance, will be thought of the following reasoning, in a Dissenter's *Comparison between Established and Dissenting Churches*? "We tender this counsel particularly

to the clergy of the Establishments. We utterly disclaim all reference to individuals. The temper and conduct of many of them (we well know) are in the highest degree exemplary; but the history of all ages bears witness, that the spirit of the majority of these gentlemen, notwithstanding all their professional exhortations about humility and piety and brotherly-kindness, and so forth, is tyrannical and insulting, especially towards those by whose energy their measures are endangered; and, if care be not taken, it may yet occasion inconceivable mischief. Its first aspect, indeed, is rather contemptible than otherwise. We all know the humble though useful rank of life from which the greater part of the Clergy of the Establishments are taken, and likewise the humble though useful labours to which, in their early years, the most of them have been doomed; and farther, we know the means,—in some cases by no means so reputable,—by which they have obtained their present situations; and their assumption of superiority over those, who, in the independent spirit of freemen, rely not on patronage, but their own talents, is not a little ludicrous.” “The members of the voluntary churches have again and again given evidence of being sufficiently high-minded, and, instead of quietly contributing to institutions which their consciences condemn, might be easily induced (we are persuaded) to unite their efforts to get rid of their exactions altogether. That this will ultimately be the case, we no more doubt than we doubt our own existence, nor is it an occurrence which we see any reason to deprecate. But what would be the consequence of its taking place amidst the fury and bitterness of personal irritation? In spite of every effort by the friends of good order, such convulsions would probably ensue, as would not only endanger the peace of the country, but the existence of every civil institution we possess. The spirit we would earnestly recommend to both, is the spirit of that religion which both profess to have at heart.” “Under such a spirit, it is by no means impossible that the end may be gained without any violent conflict, and Church Establishments pass quietly out of being, like some antiquated custom, which, having served its generation, is no longer necessary.”

Churchmen are in peculiar circumstances. If, when the church is attacked, we are silent, it is (our adversaries tell us) because we have nothing to say;—if we speak, we are accused of prejudice and bigotry. Our forbearance must arise from a consciousness of a bad cause; our defence must spring from self-interest. Truth will enable us to deny these insinuations. To all, who so eagerly assail the religious establishment of their country, we fearlessly say,—“Select your

own field of argument ; choose your own weapons of controversy ; enact your own laws of literary warfare ; only allow to us to contend in the *same* field, to use the *same* weapons, and to have the benefit of the *same* laws, and we are ready for the conflict." If our opponents determine to contend on scriptural ground alone, on that hallowed ground, we shall be glad, with all antiquity in our favour, to meet them. If they prefer to argue on general principles, we dread not, with the immortal Hooker on our side, to contend on general principles. If they delight to allege the practical abuses of the church against the Establishment, we are prepared to follow them without fear, though not without reluctance, into their favorite field of objections and abuses. But let it be remembered, that our contest is not with persons, but with arguments ; not with doctrines, but with discipline ; not with dissenters, but with dissent.

The Manual, which stands at the head of this article, was first published by Mr. Samuel Palmer, in the year 1773. In the course of fifty years it has passed through sixteen editions, and may be supposed to have been productive of immense mischief. The seventeenth edition, with alterations, additions, and mutilations by Dr. Newman, now lies on our table. It is divided into two parts ; first, "A Brief History of Nonconformity ;" and secondly, "The Reasons of Dissent from the Church of England."

1. With respect to the History of Nonconformity, truth and duty imperiously compel us to denounce it as, in many respects, unjust, uncharitable, and untrue.

It is unjust to confound the Reformers from Popery with Dissenters from the Church of England. This is done repeatedly. Our catechists ask,

"How long have there been Dissenters in England?"

"In the *proper* sense of the word," says Mr. Palmer, "there were Dissenters in England before the Reformation." This answer does not please Dr. Newman, and therefore he gives another ;—

"In a *certain* sense there were Dissenters in England long before the Reformation." (P. 2.)

Perhaps we may venture to take that liberty with Dr. Newman, which he has taken with Mr. Palmer. "In the *PROPER* SENSE of the word," says Mr. Palmer. "In a *CERTAIN* SENSE of the word," says Dr. Newman. But we say, "In the *NON-SENSE* of the word there were Dissenters from the Church of England before the Reformation." It is surely palpable injustice, or palpable folly, to describe the Reformers from the

Church of Rome, as Dissenters from the Church of England, or to speak, as though the same church were established in this country, whether popery, puritanism, or our present form of doctrine and government constituted the national religion.

Our authors truly state, that English Dissenters were first called Puritans during their exile at Frankfort. There, instead of being united in mutual affection by their common sufferings, and common faith in Christ crucified; instead of forgetting in their distress all their trifling differences of church discipline, and cleaving with united hearts to the essential doctrines of the gospel; these unhappy exiles lost their time and their temper in bitter contentions respecting the forms, or the no-forms of religious worship. The report of these bitter contentions reached the ears of the venerable Calvin; and on this occasion he wrote his famous letter of sharp reproof, but of Christian kindness, to the Puritan Disputants at Frankfort. "Calvinus Anglis Francford. S. D. Hoc vero me graviter excruciat, et valde absurdum est, inter fratres, ob eandem fidem a patriâ exules ac profugos, dissidium oriri; et quidem hâc de causâ, quæ vel sola debuerat in hâc vestrâ dispersione, quasi sacrum vinculum, vos simul devinctos tenere. Quid enim vobis in hâc tristi et miserâ clade potius agendum erat, quam ut, a patriæ visceribus avulsi, Ecclesiam vobis adoptaretis, quæ, animis et linguis conjunctos, materno gremio exciperet ac foveret? Nunc vero de precandi formâ et cæremoniis, quasi in otio et deliciis, litem a quibusdam moveri, idque obstare, quominus in unum Ecclesiæ corpus istic coaliscatis, NIMIS, MEO JUDICIO, INTEMPESTIVUM EST." His letter produced no good effect. The English exiles returned to their native country, inextinguishably inflamed with republican ideas of government both in church and state. And these republican ideas were gradually and industriously disseminated through the land, until prelacy was laid in ruins, and monarchy was rolled in blood.

We are told (p. 8.) "that one Mr. Robinson was the father of the Independents; and that Mr. Henry Jacobs founded the first independent church in England." Now every one knows that Robert Brown was the father of the Independents, and the founder of their churches. Why then is his title given to another? Because Jacobs and Robinson were more respectable men than Brown. For Brown, according to Bogue and Bennett's *History of Dissenters*,* "after having been confined in THIRTY TWO PRISONS, died with a very indifferent character."

This Manual states, that

* Bogue and Bennett. Vol. I. p. 130.

"King Charles I. was notorious for his dissimulation, and that he encouraged profaneness."

It says, that

"He in various instances violated the fundamental principles of parliament, and exercised an illegal power in civil and ecclesiastical affairs." (P. 9.)

On the other hand, Cromwell's

"Principles were favorable to religious liberty, and he declared for a general Toleration of Protestants." (P. 11.)

But was Cromwell free from dissimulation? Was Cromwell a respecter of parliaments? Did Cromwell never exercise illegal powers? Did Cromwell never dream of arbitrary government? Was Charles without a virtue? Was Cromwell without a crime? Is this severity shewn to Charles, because he was a *lawful* king and a supporter of *prelacy*? Is this tenderness manifested towards Cromwell, because he was an *Usurper*, and overthrew the *episcopal* church? Is all this unfairness to be accounted for by the incautious admission, that, while Cromwell cruelly persecuted the Episcopalians, he

"Greatly encouraged the independents?" (P. 14.)

Is it consistent with charity or with truth to describe Charles as an immoral and unprincipled tyrant, while Cromwell is represented as the friend of religious liberty, and the supporter of general toleration? The words, "religious liberty, and general toleration," were indeed on the lips of the Usurper, even while he issued his inhuman decree against the episcopal clergy, by which it was enacted—"*That they should neither preach nor pray in public, nor baptize, nor marry, nor bury, nor teach school, nor live in any gentleman's house; nor even use the Common Prayer Book in private!*" Such was the "liberty and toleration" of Cromwell. The wealthy laity were interdicted by pains and penalties from shewing compassion to a well bred, well educated, but a plundered, persecuted, and starving episcopalian! Violently "expelled from his own *church*, the ejected incumbent could take possession only of the *church-yard*, and even *there* was not allowed to use his own forms of devotion!" Cromwell treated parliaments with the utmost insolence, contempt, and violence; and then, with hypocritical profaneness, "in the name of the Lord," dismissed them. He made laws at his pleasure, exacted taxes at his will, and with a bare and bloody sword in his hand, terribly tyrannized over three kingdoms. Now we ask every honest dissenter, whether, after all that is said of the murdered King, the character of Cromwell should have been concealed? But Cromwell was himself of

the immaculate sect, "and greatly encouraged the Independents."

As to the charge of encouraging profaneness, here cast upon the calumniated King, we are not anxious to defend every measure of that unhappy monarch, though this is an accusation, which we feel ourselves fully authorized to repel. But we appeal to every one, who is duly acquainted with the profane hypocrisy of Cromwell, to determine, where was the fairness of thus heaping up charges upon the name of the sovereign, while so much indulgence is shewn to the memory of the usurper.

In answer to the question (Q. 36.)

"Are not the Presbyterians justly charged with the murder of the King?"

We are told—

"His death is very unjustly charged on any religious party as such." (P. 9.)

That is (we presume) it was not the Independents but the Presbyterians, who slew him; or rather not the Presbyterians, but the Parliament;—not the Parliament but the Army;—not the Army, but the Executioner;—not the Executioner, but the Axe. Now we will cut off the retreat of this sophistry. "The death of the King was caused EITHER by *Royalists* and *Episcopalians*;—OR by *Dissenters* and *Republicans*." Our worthy Catechists may take, as it suits them best, either side of the alternative. But we ask—Who were they, who, the day before the King was murdered, mocked and insulted the Royal Sufferer at *his devotions, because he used the Book of Common Prayer*? Who were they, who, when on the morning of the murder General Lord Fairfax came with his own regiment to rescue the King, persuaded that noble General to turn aside with them "to seek the Lord" for divine direction respecting the life of the King, while their colleagues, according to a preconcerted plan, were actually murdering him? Who were they, who, when besought by the broken hearts and falling tears of a few faithful Royalists, would not even permit the *Burial Service of the Church of England* to be read over the mangled corpse of their Sovereign?

We are referred to Neal for a vindication of the Dissenters from the odious charge of King-killing. But Neal is always partial, and never to be trusted. He garbles, misguides, misrepresents, suppresses, falsifies. The sermons, preached before the House of Commons at the beginning, and during the progress of this distracted period, were of the most inflammatory nature. "Wilt thou," inquires one of these

preachers,—“ wilt thou have Jesus Christ for thy Antiquity, for thy Nobility, for thy Saviour, thy King, and thy all?—Go forth then, with the *high praises of God in thy mouth, and a two-edged sword in thy hands!* and Jesus will *bind Kings in chains, and nobles in fetters of iron.*” Another declares, “ It is not disputes and treaties, but *the sword*, which must end this controversy. *Turn, therefore, your ploughshares into swords, and your pruning-hooks into spears*, to fight the battles of the Lord, and to avenge the blood of the saints! This blood must be avenged either by us, or upon us. *Cursed then be he, that doeth the work of the Lord negligently; and cursed be he that keepeth his sword back from blood!*—Col. Axtell, one of the Regicides, afterwards executed, declared to Dr. South “ That he with many more went to that execrable war, with such a controlling horror upon their spirits from those sermons, that they verily believed they should have been accused by God for ever, if they had not acted their parts in that dismal tragedy.” (South’s Serm. vol. i. p. 475.)

The fiery and deluded spirit of these preachers continued to the end of the usurpation. For, when Cromwell was in his last sickness, he was fully persuaded by these Independent ministers, that he should recover. One of them prayed—“ We beg, O Lord, not that thou wouldst recover the Protector (for of that thou hast assured us already); but that *Thou wouldst recover him quickly!*” Another declared that God had revealed to him that Cromwell would recover and live thirty years, “ to compleat the work of the Lord.” Two days afterwards the death of the Usurper was announced; and this prophet publicly expostulated with Almighty God on the defeat of his prophecy—“ O Lord, Thou hast lied unto us; yea, Thou hast lied unto us!”

“ The Presbyterians,” says this manual, “ were zealous to establish the divine right of Presbytery, too severe upon the episcopal clergy, and enemies to the toleration of all other parties of Christians.” (P. 10.) But not one word of blame is breathed against the Independents. The Independents were perfect in their principles, correct in their tempers, accurate in their language, blameless in their conduct! Cromwell, one of this immaculate sect, we are carefully informed, favored

“ Religious liberty, and declared for a general toleration of Protestants.” (P. 11.)

But yet Cromwell, it is admitted,

“ For CERTAIN POLITICAL reasons very justly refused a legal toleration to the *Episcopalians.*” (P. 11.)

Cromwell, we are told, publicly said—

"All men should be left to the liberty of their own consciences, and that the magistrate could not interfere without ensnaring himself in the guilt of persecution." T. 11.)

But yet Cromwell persecuted the conscientious churchman for using the Prayer Book even in private! These facts, to be sure, prove the inconsistency, hypocrisy, and ungodly boldness of Cromwell; but, no matter; "he *greatly encouraged the Independents.*"

"He allowed the Presbyterian form of Church government, greatly encouraged the Independents, and protected other parties, (P. 11.)

Of religionists; but "*for certain political reasons*" he murdered the King, and persecuted Episcopalians.

We have learned not only Religion, but Episcopacy and Loyalty from the Scriptures, and, as loyal Christians, and scriptural churchmen, we are impelled as much by interest as by curiosity to inquire—What are "*these certain political reasons*" for murdering lawful Kings, and for persecuting Christian Episcopalians? It is utterly inexplicable to us, how this Dissenters' Catechism can in the same paragraph describe Cromwell as "*favorable to liberty of conscience, and general toleration;*" and yet "*for political reasons refusing toleration to all Episcopalians!*" But we have not now to learn, that it was the Demon of Ambition, not the Spirit of Toleration, that always guided the dark policy of the wily usurper. He dextrously balanced sect against sect, and especially arrayed the Presbyterians against the Independents: but while he labored sedulously to combine all religious factions against the fallen Church, he was no less diligently occupied in preventing their combination against himself. He allowed the Independents to hold one stirrup, and the Presbyterians the other, while on the war-horse of despotism he trampled on the ruins of the *Church*, the blood of his *Sovereign*, and the liberties of his *Country*.

The account of the conference at the Savoy is not correctly given. The blame at "The Grand Debate" is all cast upon the Episcopal Commissioners, while the Dissenting Commissioners are perfectly blameless! But there were bigotry and party-spirit on both sides. The Dissenters seemed anxious to widen the breach between them and the Church: the Episcopalians were little disposed to make concessions. But no liberal dissenter will read without a smile the trifling objections and solemn reasonings of his forefathers. We allow, that intolerance and arbitrary power produced "*the Conventicle, and the Five-Mile Act.*" We detest intolerance and arbitrary power, wherever we find them. It would, however, have been but candid to make some allowance for the

reaction of that vindictive spirit, which was mainly excited by dissenting intolerance during the great rebellion. It would have been but liberal to notice some of the bold provocations, which gave birth to those hateful acts. It would have been but just to hint at some of those inflammatory proceedings, which, when those acts were expiring, renewed, and for a while continued them.

Equally incorrect is the account of the "Act of Uniformity," and of the "Ejected Ministers." On these points there is much misconception abroad. The Church of England, at the Restoration, exhibited a variety of services, and contained a motley assemblage of ministers. Her public worship was any thing but order, and her ministers were an incongruous mixture of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Millenarians, and Ranters. Of these ministers, some had been ordained in one way, and some in another; some had been half-ordained, and some not ordained at all. By "half-ordained" we mean those, who had only been ordained deacons episcopally; or, in the words and instance of a living preacher, "who had on only one episcopal boot."

It was impossible, that the Church could continue this disorderly worship, and these heterogeneous ministers. Something must be done. And when the "Grand Debate" for a comprehension had altogether failed, what remained, but to offer to the irregular intruders a continuance in the Church, if they would comply with some conditions respecting ordination, subscription, and the liturgy? If these conditions had been made as easy as possible, and offered in the spirit of conciliation, it might have been hoped, that they would be generally accepted: nor do we see how the conditions actually proposed could have been justly condemned even by those, who rejected them.

The great body of dissenting ministers might at that time consist of *three classes*; first—of those, who had so far committed themselves in the time of spoliation and blood, that they could not on any terms be admitted into the establishment; secondly—of those, who, however desirous of harmony and peace, could not conscientiously conform; and lastly—of those, who, anxious to do good, and somewhat indifferent to discipline, would gladly, if left to themselves, have conformed in silence. But the Agitators of the whole body exerted every kind of influence, and employed every variety of argument to increase their number, and to prevent conformity. To some of sterner mould they said:—"Our number is so great, and powerful, that if we continue firmly united, Government will not dare to exclude us." To others of more pliant na-

ture, it was hinted—"We do not wish to prevent you from ultimately conforming; but it is wise to remain awhile with us, that you may obtain better terms for yourselves." To some of a more generous spirit they intimated—"Surely you will not leave your old friends in their greatest need, when your continuance with them will conduce most to the advantage of our common interests." To others of more delicate feelings it was insinuated—"Bishops have covered *us* with caresses, and tempted *us* with preferments; but for the sake of a good conscience *we* have repelled these seductions, and stood firm in the principles of Dissent." These Agitators succeeded in preventing the decision of the wavering, and the conformity of the indifferent, until the Act of Uniformity passed, and excluded multitudes, who certainly intended to conform. In fact many of them did afterwards conform, though they are, both by Palmer and Neal, somewhat artfully, enrolled among the "*Two Thousand ejected Ministers.*"

"*Two Thousand ejected Ministers!*" We question the *number*, and we object to the *appellation*. Calamy and Palmer have diligently explored all the annals of Puritanism to discover illustrious names to illuminate a page in a Nonconformist's Memorial, or to adorn a paragraph in the records of Dissent: but both in Palmer and in Calamy the number falls short of two thousand. As the number is excessive, so the appellation is incorrect. Many of these ministers, having never been *in* the church, could not be cast *out* of it; they might be *excluded*, but could not be *ejected* ministers. In numerous places during the Interreign the dissenting preacher went from the conventicle to the parish church: at the passing of the Act of Uniformity such preachers went back again from the parish church to the conventicle. It would be improper, surely, to call such men "ejected ministers." The *REALLY ejected ministers* were those multitudes of episcopal incumbents, who, by the Independent Triers of Cromwell, were forcibly expelled from parsonage, pulpit, and property.

This catechism teaches that "the Act of Uniformity" required ministers to declare their assent to the new edition of the altered Prayer Book, before they could have seen it. This is invidious and incorrect. Three months' notice was given, that they might see it; and, if within that time they could not see it, the bishops could extend the period for declaring assent.

It will, we hope, from these remarks appear, that the number of ministers really ejected was comparatively small;

and that the clamour against the Act of Uniformity has been outrageously disproportionate. But, while the sufferings of the *excluded* Nonconformists are repeatedly proclaimed, the more inhuman sufferings of the Episcopalians should not in fairness have been altogether concealed. The well-known sufferings of *Usher* and *Hall*, those learned and incomparable prelates, as well as sound divines, and exemplary Christians, may be noticed, as instances of *Episcopalian* sufferings. They were dreadfully insulted, plundered, and persecuted. Many independent ministers at the commencement of the rebellion most vehemently inveighed against prelates and prebendaries; and condemned, as intolerable evils, pluralities, and non-residence: but when the Church was overthrown, they enriched themselves with the emoluments of these plundered dignitaries, and became themselves *conscientious* non-residents and pluralists! Milton, no friend to bishops or kings, gives an account of the assembly of divines, called together by the authority of the Long Parliament. These divines were selected neither by any ecclesiastical custom, nor general rule, neither for the depth of their piety nor the extent of their learning, but as each member of parliament in his fancy thought fit. Most of them with great show of zeal had preached against the avarice and pluralities of prelates, and other dignitaries, piously proclaiming that, if one cure of souls was not a charge above human strength, it was, at least full employment for one spiritual pastor. Yet these same *conscientious* and *consistent* divines, before they had performed any part of the work, for which they had been assembled, and for which, out of the public purse, they were paid, wanted not the boldness, to the scandal of their profession, and the ignominy of their boasted Reformation, to contend for the emoluments of the fallen Church! They not only seized one, two, or more valuable livings, but also not unwillingly accepted masterships in the Universities, and rich lectures in the City, setting their broad sails to catch every wind, which might blow gain into their bosom. Thus these grave rebukers of non-residence were not ashamed to be quickly seen pluralists and non-residents, though it were to the fearful condemnation of themselves out of their own mouth. (See Milton's character of the Long Parliament, and Assembly of Divines, 1681.)

The member of Parliament (Sir Edward Deering) who introduced the bill into the House "for the Extirpation of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters," afterwards fell under the displeasure of the republican faction, and was expelled from the House. He then entered the Church, which he had en-

deavored to overthrow, and asked the king for one of those deaneries, which he had attempted to extirpate. His request being refused, he again basely apostatized from the king, and, having meanly, but in vain, labored to be reconciled to the republican tyrants, at length died of grief in universal contempt.

Dr. Cornelius Burgess was a member of the Assembly of Divines. Being appointed counsel in opposition to Dr. Hacket, he made a long speech before the House of Commons in favour of the bill for the "Extirpation of Prelacy, Root and Branch."—When the Church was overthrown, and its spoils were divided, Dr. Burgess received 400*l.* per annum from the deanery of St. Paul's, invaded an episcopal palace, and grew rich by the purchase of episcopal lands. But at the Restoration he lost all his sacrilegious wealth, and died of a lingering and tormenting disease, in great poverty and disgrace!

Mr. White, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, and member of the House of Commons, was most virulent in his speeches against the episcopal clergy. On this account, probably, he was appointed chairman of the committee for ejecting scandalous ministers from the church. (It was, then, scandalous to be loyal, and episcopal!) In this office he barbarously persecuted the clergy both in their estates and reputation. He died distracted, crying out, as he died—*"How many clergymen with their wives and children have I UNDONE!"*

We wish neither to vindicate nor to condemn either the Episcopalians, or the Dissenters of that agitated period. Our object is, by an impartial statement of facts, to remove misconception, and to establish the truth. But in this "Catechism of Dissent" facts are withheld or misstated; and the truth is perverted or suppressed. Were our knowledge of Churchmen and the liturgy derived only from this manual, we must conclude that Churchmen are always bigoted and intolerant, and their liturgy "incoherent, and shocking." Were our information of Dissenters, and their modes of worship, obtained only from the same source, we must infer, that Dissenters are always liberal and tolerant; and their modes of worship scriptural and unexceptionable. We hesitate not to declare that the book, which leads its readers to such conclusions as these, must be partial, malevolent, and mischievous. This book, indeed, seems calculated only to mislead and to poison the youthful, or the uninformed mind; to furnish vain cavillers with captious objections; and to exasperate Churchmen and Dissenters against each other.

II. We proceed to notice

“The Reasons of Protestant Dissent from the Established Church.”
(P. 22.)

A competent knowledge of grammar, a moderate share of information, and, above all, an impartial regard to truth, would sweep away nearly all the objections of this misleading manual. Seven distinct grounds of Dissent are ostentatiously announced; whereas every one knows, that the substantial matters in debate between churchmen and dissenters are, (1.) Whether the government of the Church be lodged in the hands of bishops, priests, and deacons; and (2.) whether the governors of the Church have authority in indifferent things? If these two positions can be maintained in favour of the Church, Dissent will scarcely retain the shadow of an argument.

Episcopacy may not only be traced up to Apostolical times, but may be clearly discovered in the Scriptures. All antiquity and all ecclesiastical history confirm it. For fourteen hundred years churches were never found without it. For fourteen hundred years no Christian church was ever formed on the independent, or dissenting model. We challenge the adversaries of episcopacy to produce an instance of a church, framed after the congregational plan, before the fifteenth century.

It is painful, to see the excellent Doddridge embarrassed in discussing, in his Lectures, the question of Diocesan Episcopacy. In attempting to rebut the proofs of episcopacy, which candour had compelled him to state, he repeatedly admits the validity of those very arguments, the force of which he endeavors ineffectually to repel.

But have the governors of the Church authority in indifferent things? We reply—the governors of the Church, whatever those governors be, must have authority in indifferent things, or they can have no authority at all. “Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves.” (Heb. xiii. 17.) This command must refer to obedience in indifferent things, because, when the apostle wrote, the rulers, of whom he spake, had no civil authority; and because in essential things obedience is due not to earthly governors, but to God alone.

This Catechism enumerates all the officers of all kinds belonging to the established Church; and then significantly intimates that these officers were neither appointed by Christ, nor warranted by the New Testament. But the

“Archbishops, Diocesan Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, Prebendaries, Canons, Minor Canons, Chancellors, Vicars-general, Commissioners, Officials, Surrogates, and Proctors,” (p. 30.)

of the Established Church have no more to do with the question in debate, than the "Ministers, Messengers, Preachers, Probationers, Candidates, Delegates, Members, Occasional Members, Elders, Ruling Elders, Trustees, Collectors, Chairmen, Committees, Treasurers, and Secretaries" of Dissent. The question is not, whether Prebendaries and Proctors—Trustees and Treasurers, are Scriptural officers; but whether, from the days of our Lord, *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons* have been found in the Church? For proof of the affirmative of this important question, we again confidently appeal to Scripture, to antiquity, to all ecclesiastical history, and even to the dissenting Doddridge. The long list of officers in the establishment is dextrously and insidiously introduced, not to brighten, but to obscure the question; not to guide the inquirer into truth, nor to inspire him with candour, but to lead him into error, and to fill him with prejudice.

We are frequently told that the distinguishing principles of Dissent are,

"The right of private judgment, liberty of conscience, the supremacy of Christ as the only head of his Church, and the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures." (P. 22.)

It is here insinuated that these are *not* the principles of the established Church. But these *are* (we affirm) the principles of the Church of England. Does not our Church allow the right of private judgment, and perfect liberty of conscience? Does she not pre-eminently maintain the supremacy of Christ, and the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures? Nay, does she not freely grant, what even Cromwell never granted, complete toleration? But still it is asked, is not the King of England the supreme head of the established Church? "The King has the chief power in this realm of England;" and "has the same authority that godly kings had among the Jews, and that Christian Emperors had in the primitive Church." But the king is only the *temporal* head of the Church. And no Church, no society of any kind, *can possibly exist without a temporal head*. There is not a dissenting congregation in England, boast as it may of its undivided allegiance to Jesus Christ, the glorious Head of the Church, which has not also a temporal head. We contend not for names, but for things; and we assert that every dissenting Church must have some supreme authority, some temporal head, whatever it may be called, or whoever may wear it. Sometimes it is worn by the Church at large, but never by the minister himself; sometimes by a committee or cabal of subscribers, and not unfrequently by some rich members of the congregation. The question, therefore, is not *whether* a Church, national or independent, shall

have a temporal head, but *where* the chief temporal power shall be lodged? We say without hesitation, but not without experience, that the chief temporal power is most scripturally and wisely lodged in the hand of a protestant and orthodox King, a King, who in the Church can do nothing contrary to law or to Scripture, and who, even in indifferent things, can appoint nothing but what ministers to edification.

The remarks already made will blunt the sharpest objections. But, unwilling as we are to prolong our notice of this Manual, we must briefly animadvert on its mis-applications of Scripture, its mis-quotations of authors, and its manifold perversions of fact.

The right of every man to frame a Church for himself is proved by this text:—

“Philip said unto Nathanael—‘Come and see.’” John i. 46. (p. 24.)

The duty of dissenting from an established Christian Church is confirmed by the refusal of the Three Hebrews to worship a golden image! (P. 24.) The Church of England is demonstrated to be no Scriptural Church, by the words of the Apostle:

“Greet the Church, that is in their house.” Rom. xvi. 5. (P. 26.) The *Discipline* of the Church of England is condemned by the declaration of our Lord:

“In vain they do worship me, teaching for *Doctrines* the commandments of men.” Matt. xv. 9. (P. 23.)

The argument for an established Church derived from the established Church of the Jews is repelled by the following powerful reasoning:

“The Jewish Church was doubtless national, and established likewise; but not by the power of the Civil Magistrate, but by Jehovah himself, who was its King and Lawgiver; (p. 29, 30.)

or in other words, its Civil Magistrate! This unhappy reasoning is guilty of suicide; and being come to this untimely and lamentable end, we hope its fond parents will afford it, as soon as possible, a quiet interment!

Our Readers will begin to think, that the children of dissenters would be more profitably employed in getting by heart the admirable catechisms of Dr. Watts, than in learning this Manual of uncharitableness and bigotry. It may not be without its use to observe further, for the purpose of shewing its spirit, that the power of the king to nominate bishops is stated in it according to the fact, because it is thought to be objectionable, while on other occasions the conduct and character of the church is deduced from the letter of laws, which are known to have long become obsolete.

The quotations in this book are never to be trusted. In the burial service of the Church of England, as quoted by this Manual,

"the minister is required to style the deceased our dear brother, and to express a sure and certain hope of *his* resurrection to eternal life." (P. 40.)

We cannot conceive how this mis-quotation can be otherwise than wilful. It must, however, either be wilful or ignorant; and the editor of this Catechism may enjoy all the consolation of the enviable alternative. But thus reads the Prayer Book, "In sure and certain hope of *the* resurrection to eternal life." "Not that we believe," (comments Wheatley; and the observation has been too frequently repeated to escape the notice of any intelligent objector,) "that every one we bury shall rise again to joy and felicity, or profess this sure and certain hope of the resurrection of the person, that is now interred. It is not *HIS* resurrection, but *THE* resurrection." Again:

"The Book of Homilies, to which every clergyman subscribes, as containing a godly and wholesome doctrine, expressly condemns chanting and playing upon the organ, as *sorely displeasing to God, and filthily defiling his holy house.*" (P. 43.)

We know not whether the editor here intends to condemn the inconsistency of the Church, the doctrines of the Homilies, or the playing upon organs; but we know that he has shamefully misquoted the passage. Whoever will turn to the passage referred to, in the second part of the Homily "on the Place and Time of Prayer," will see that it was the idolatry, hypocrisy, and formality, the gay gazing sights, and empty parade of the Church of Rome, which displeased God so sorely, and filthily defiled his holy house, and his place of prayer. We leave our readers to make their own observations on the nature and object of these misquotations.

"Chanting," this Catechism tells us,

"was first introduced in the Church of Antioch, by Flavianus, a man of loose morals, but fond of ceremonies." (P. 43.)

The inference, which young dissenters are expected to derive from this account, is, that chanting is a very immoral and wicked thing. What then will they infer, when they read, that independency was introduced into the Church in England by one Robert Brown, a man of loose morals, but fond of innovations; who besides had been in thirty-two prisons, and died with a very indifferent character?

We are repeatedly told that our Liturgy is taken in great

art from "the Mass Book;" "from the Roman Breviary;" "from the old Popish Liturgy." These assertions are not true. The Liturgy of the English Church was selected out of ancient Christian Liturgies, and framed by the Confessors and Martyrs of the Reformation. This Catechism, however, boldly advances proofs of its assertions; and doubtless they are the strongest proofs which it could advance.

These Six Canticles, are word for word from the Mass Book. *Benedicite Omnia, Benedictus Dominus, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, Quicumque vult*, (or the Athanasian Creed) and *Te Deum*." (P. 44.)

Whatever defilement *Benedicite Omnia, Quicumque vult*, and the *Te Deum*, being merely human compositions, may have contracted by use in the Popish Church, it must at least be admitted, that all these compositions existed long before the Popish Liturgy was framed. And respecting the *Benedictus, Magnificat*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, or the hallowed songs of *Zacharias*, of *Mary*, and of *Simeon*, these wonderful compositions, though used in the Popish Liturgy, are inspired portions of Scripture, and still undefiled. This charge of Popery on the Liturgy must have proceeded either from consummate ignorance, or from a deliberate design to deceive.

The Athanasian Creed," we are told again, "was taken *verbatim* from the Mass Book; and the damnatory clauses of it are particularly exceptionable." (P. 42.)

We have seen, that this Creed was *not* copied from the Mass Book; and with respect to damnatory clauses, we must contend, that there are no damnatory clauses in this famous creed. The clauses alluded to are not *damnatory* but *declaratory* clauses. These clauses strongly declare the perdition of unbelievers, but not so strongly as the awful words of our Lord:—"He that believeth not shall be damned." (Mark xvi. 16.) On this subject dissenters will perhaps attend to the decision of a dissenter. Baxter says, in his *Method of Theology*—"I embrace the creed commonly called *Athanasius's*, as the best explication of the Trinity;" and again in his *Reasonableness of the Christian Religion*—"I unfeignedly account the Doctrine of the Trinity the sum and kernel of the Christian Religion, and the creed of *Athanasius* the best explication of it that I ever read." Baxter admitted this creed into the Liturgy, which he wished to substitute for the Liturgy of the Church of England.

"Next let one of the creeds be read by the minister, saying—"I believe in God the Father," &c.—"I believe in one

God," &c.—and sometimes "*Athanasius's* creed." (Baxter's Liturgy—p. 26. 1661.)

We suspect that the objections of many Dissenter against this admirable creed, are not *verbal*, but *doctrinal* objections. We agree, however, with honest and holy Richard Baxter, that the doctrine of the Trinity is the sum and kernel of the Christian Religion; and that the creed of Athanasius is the best explication of the Trinity. But to this subject we may have another opportunity of calling attention either in this or in our next number.

The Church of England is repeatedly and offensively accused of borrowing her Liturgy from the Church of Rome, and of retaining the principles of Popery. The charge, we have shewn, is untrue; nor can any one produce a single instance, in which the Church of England retains any thing *peculiar* to the Church of Rome. But were the charge capable of being substantiated, it is yet made very ungraciously by those,* who religiously associate with heretics much farther from Scriptural truth than the Papists.

This Catechism teaches the children of dissenters, that our Liturgy is "too divided, and too minute; without order, and without connexion; full of tautology, and vain repetitions; ridiculous, superstitious." (Pp. 38, 39.) It is with unfeigned concern that we transcribe these injurious epithets as applied to the almost divine service of the Church of England. In opposition, however, to the opinion of the author and editor of this Manual, we will quote the opinion of a dissenter of taste and talent, the Rev. Robert Hall. "Though a Protestant Dissenter, I am by no means insensible to the merits of the Liturgy. I believe that the evangelical purity of its sentiments, the chastised fervour of its devotion, and the majestic simplicity of its language, have combined to place it *in the very first rank of uninspired compositions*."

We did not expect, that any liberal dissenter would *now* sneer at the gestures of the established worship, or carp at the habits of the episcopal clergy: for we have in dissenting congregations observed persons at the same time sitting and standing, kneeling and reclining; and we have seen dissenting ministers not only covered with the sinful surplice, but magnificently apparelled in cassocs, gowns, and bands.

This Catechism condemns subscription to Articles of Religion at Episcopal Ordinations; and commends public Confessions of Faith at the ordination of Dissenters. But where is the

* Dr. Newman recommends to young Dissenters the perusal of Socinian Books! (P. 85, 86.)

substantial difference? Both are tests of admission into the Church of Christ; and both are of human appointment. But subscription must be *wrong*, because preferred by the Church; confessions must be *right*, because adopted by Dissent! Yet the editor of this compendium must either be extremely ignorant, or he must know that subscription to Articles of Religion is required even among Dissenters!

Ill consequences are alleged to arise from the mode of appointing Ministers in the Church of England." (P. 63.) Do no ill consequences then arise from the *modes* of appointing, supporting, and *dismissing* Ministers among Dissenters? We appeal with confidence to all dissenting *ministers* in England for a statement of ill consequences, which flow from the caprice, and cruelty, and cabals of *independent* congregations, in appointing and dismissing their *dependent* pastors.

Dr. Newman has omitted many ignorant and silly objections which Mr. Palmer preferred against the *language* of the Liturgy; not, indeed, because Dr. N. thought them either silly or ignorant, but from the exuberance of his candour and tenderness to poor churchmen. He has, however, endeavored to compensate for the omission of these objections against the language of the Liturgy, by a fierce, and a futile attack on the Articles. Yet he tells us, very inconsistently,

"The controversy with us is not about the *sense* of the Articles, but about the authority, assumed by fallible men, to draw up articles of faith for others to subscribe, as a necessary qualification for preaching." (Pp. 58, 59.) "If the principles of dissent from the national church be of any importance, surely those Dissenters act a very inconsistent part, who are indifferent to them; many of whom seem to forget that their forefathers, whom they profess to venerate, left the national church, not on account of DOCTRINES, but those impositions on conscience, which this church still continues to practise. [To practise impositions!] And doubtless it is incumbent on those, who are convinced of the truth of those principles on which their own dissent is founded, *to take care that their children be well instructed in the knowledge of them.*" (P. 73.)

From this reasoning it appears, that *essential* things, *when imposed*, immediately become *indifferent*, and you are at liberty to reject them; and that *indifferent* things, *when imposed*, immediately become *sinful*, and it is an *incumbent* duty not to admit them. On this ground, perfect liberty of conscience, when allowed by a Christian government, is nothing but an infringement of the rights of man; and perfect toleration, when sanctioned by a Christian legislature, is nothing but perfect tyranny; while, on the other hand, young Dissenters may learn, that it is *incumbent*

upon them to depreciate the Establishment, meritorious "to speak evil of dignities," and unchristian to "submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." On this ground, the *Trinity in Unity*, the *Divinity of Christ*, the *Influence of the Eternal Spirit*, the *Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, *Justification by Faith in the Blood of Atonement*, and *Sanctification of Heart and Life by the Spirit of God*, when imposed as articles of faith, may all be conscientiously rejected; while it is a duty to dissent, and to contend, until the day of doom, about kneeling at the sacrament, or wearing a surplice! For our own part, we are thankful, when indifferent things are settled by authority, that we may be at leisure to exercise our discretion upon matters of more importance; and we contentedly leave to others the new ethical maxim, "that we must never admit the *truth*, when it is *imposed*, nor do *right* by *compulsion*!"—"What! upon compulsion? No; were I at the strappado, or all the racks in the world, I would not tell you on compulsion. Give you a reason on compulsion? If reasons were as plenty as blackberries, I would give no man a reason on compulsion."—*Henry IVth.*

We are not sure that we understand the main principle of dissent, maintained in this Catechism, respecting religious establishments. (P. 47, 48.) If we do understand it, then young persons are instructed to separate from *all* such establishments; not because they are unscriptural, but because they are established by the authority of human laws. Being *thus* established, they must be wrong. We were not aware that an act of parliament, whatever else it could effect, could convert truth into error. On this grand principle of dissent, Nonconformists must *separate from their own modes of worship*, if they were established by law. Dr. Beattie, we believe, humorously summing up the creed of the infidel, thus concludes it: "Finally, I believe in all unbelief." A Nonconformist, instructed by the Catechism, may say, "Finally, I *must separate* from all kinds of establishments; but I *may conform* to all sorts of dissent."

We next call the attention of our readers to the following perversion of fact.

"The death of Charles I. is commemorated in a manner founded on falshood, and bordering upon profaneness. But the most shocking part of the service is the reading portions of scripture relating to the sufferings of Christ, as applicable to him." (P. 41.)

This is a heavy charge, neither christianly, nor courteously expressed. But what is the truth? The 27th chapter of

St. Matthew, recording the sufferings of our blessed Lord, is unquestionably read as the 2d Lesson in the Morning Service of the 30th of January. But then this chapter was read as the *regular Calendar Lesson*, not only before Charles I. was murdered by the Dissenters, but before that unhappy monarch was born. Lloyd, in his Memoirs, has recorded an affecting circumstance concerning this memorable character. "On the fatal day, [Jan. 30.] his majesty was strengthened in his own sufferings by the sufferings of his Saviour, (the emblems of) whose body and blood he received that morning; and the *history of whose passion fell to be* THE CHAPTER OF THE DAY. After the chapter (Matt. xxvii.) was read, the king thanked the bishop [Juxon] for his seasonable choice of it; while the good man replied, that it was no choice of his, but *the church's choice for the day*; whereat his majesty was much comforted." (Lloyd, p. 217.) This false charge of profaneness, uttered in very coarse language against *the purest church in Christendom*, is, indeed, very "shocking."

We have neither time, nor space to notice all the gross perversions, illiberal insinuations, and ignorant remarks, which this Manual contains, respecting "Baptism, Sponsors, Confirmation, Ceremonies, and Altars." But we must notice its ignorant blunders, and ill-placed merriment, respecting the "Canons."

We are told, that
 "the Book of Canons was established by Parliament, in 1603." (P. 7.)
 The Book of Canons was *never* established by Parliament! We are told, (P. 62.) that clergymen are sworn to obey not only all the Canons of 1603, *but also many of the old POPISH CANONS*. Is this Editor ignorant that a clergyman *subscribes only* to the "Three Articles of the 36th Canon?" Or, knowing this, is he so malicious as to declare, that
 "the oath of Canonical obedience is not limited to the Canons of 1603,"
 but extends to "many Popish Canons," which "remain in full force?" The Editor makes himself very merry with "the licence to cast out devils, the wrought nightcaps, and the light-colored stockings," of the Canons. A little merriment may be allowed in a miscellaneous Review, but is quite out of place in a solemn Catechism. Nor do we see either candour or charity in adducing the obsolete language of obsolete Canons, to disparage the Constitution, and to belie the ministers of the Established Church. There can be only one motive for such conduct. Merely to shew, how

easy it were to retaliate, we will quote a few passages from Sermons and prayers, preached, prayed, and published by Dissenting Ministers during the *Grand Rebellion*. "O Lord," cries one preacher—"let the keys of our hearts hang at the girdle of our God! O Lord, tie our hands behind us, that we may not cut the throats of our own souls!"—Another thus expostulates with God: "O Lord, when wilt thou take a chair, and sit among the House of Peers? And when? when, I say, when wilt thou vote among the honorable House of Commons, who are so zealous for thine honour?" A third, noted for great fervency in prayer, thus addressed the Almighty. "O Lord, thou hast not given us a victory for a long while, for all our frequent fastings! Dost thou mean, O Lord, to fling us into a ditch, and there to leave us?" A fourth, having, we presume, dried his throat by his extraordinary fervour, and being at a loss for words, begged of God "to give him some Syrup of Barberries!"

On the whole, we are grieved at the re-appearance of this Dissenting Catechism. The new edition is not less ignorant and bigoted, than the old ones; but it is more insidious, and more malignant, and therefore more likely to be mischievous. It would have been well, if the Editor had yielded to the remonstrance of his own conscience, recorded in his own Preface;

"Why disturb the harmony which now subsists between Churchmen and Dissenters?" (P. 5.)

But he searches out the faults of the church with diligence: he views her divisions with complacency: he anticipates her ruin with confidence! (Preface vi. viii. 58.) We neither envy his labours, nor covet his feelings, nor dread his anticipations. But may God remove all error and imperfection from those, who *conscientiously* separate from the Church of England! May God heal the divisions of their congregations; and bless the labours of their *orthodox* and holy ministers!

Candid and well-informed Dissenters, as well as candid and well-informed Churchmen, must lament and condemn this intolerant, and uncharitable production. Its *composition* is a disgrace to dissenting literature. Its *spirit* is a reproach on dissenting liberality. Its *information* is a libel on dissenting veracity. Yet will it be injurious. It will be injurious to *true religion among the Dissenters*. It will be injurious, by embittering their children, from their earliest years, against the Church: it will be injurious, by inculcating false notions

of the Establishment and of Dissent : it will be injurious, by prejudicing and closing their minds against further inquiry ; thus rendering them through life partial, and prejudiced, and sour nonconformists. When put into the hands, as we know it has been put into the hands, of sincere and humble inquirers after truth, it will be injurious to such inquirers, by filling their minds with doubts and discontent, respecting *indifferent* things, instead of leading them at once to the essential doctrines of the gospel. For we agree perfectly, not only with Bishop Horsley, that

“ This Catechism inculcates no one principle of the Christian religion, or of any religion under the sun,” (P. 79.)

but also with the eloquent Edmund Burke, that it is a

“ Catechism of misanthropy, anarchy, and confusion.” (P. vii.)

Its object is, professedly, not to make *Christians*, but to make “ *Nonconformists*,” not to increase the followers of Jesus Christ, but to enlarge

“ the numbers of Dissenters in this kingdom.” (P. vii.)

It will be *injurious to Churchmen*. The most bigoted and prejudiced Churchmen, if such there be, would have their bigotry and prejudice against Dissenters abundantly confirmed, by inspecting this compendium of dissent. They would infer, and justly infer, with the mighty Horsley, “ that it instils into the minds of dissenting youth, not the peaceful spirit of Christianity, but the turbulent spirit of sedition and rebellion.” These, surely, are lamentable effects. We sincerely wish that, when our common Christianity is so variously and so fiercely attacked, Churchmen and Dissenters, instead of publishing “ Catechisms of Cavilling,” and “ Dialogues of Discontent,” would unite their efforts against the common enemies of the Christian faith. May we not fondly hope, that Churchmen, possessing the purest form of worship in Christendom, and Dissenters, enjoying perfect toleration, and perfect protection, mutually laying aside their minor topics of dispute, will soon unite, as far as it is prudent and practicable, to disseminate the essential doctrines of the gospel ; and thus devoutly labor, in dependence on divine aid, to promote the salvation of men, and to accelerate the kingdom of God ? But we know nothing more likely to prevent so desirable an union, than the publication of this Manual of exasperation. Nor are we altogether without hope that it will be immediately expelled from every dissenting school, and from every dissenting congregation in the kingdom.

Let it not, however, be supposed that the Church of England has any thing to fear from this attack, or from all the

attacks which now rudely assail her. The more the Church is examined, the more will her soundness and excellency be known. "Her foundations are on the holy mountains." (Psa. lxxxvii.) "Her walls are the perfection of beauty." (Lam. ii. 15.) Her battlements sparkle in the skies. Her *Doctrines* are entirely scriptural. Her *Liturgy* approximates to inspiration. Her *Articles* were written in the blood of Reformers. Her *Prayers* consoled the hearts of Martyrs. Her *Service* combines the beauty of order with the charm of variety, and the fervour of zeal with the solemnity of devotion. Her *Government* is according to primitive truth: her *Discipline* is the result of practical wisdom. Her *Utility* has been proved in seasons of tribulation: her *Excellence* has been proclaimed by the voice of experience. She is, in her *Spirit*, the most tolerant church, and in her *Operations*, the best adapted to the actual state of mankind. For, while she contracts her "pastoral care," to notice the poorest individual in the smallest hamlet, she can, as occasion requires, extend it to watch over a diocese, a kingdom, a world. We would, therefore, earnestly stimulate the young members, especially the *young Ministers* of our church, to search into her nature and excellency. The search will be delightful, and the reward abundant. "Walk about Zion, and go round about her! Tell the towers thereof! Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces; that ye may tell it to the generation following! For this God is our God for ever and ever. He will be our guide unto death." (Psa. xlviii.)

We regard, therefore, without fear, though not without regret, those loud thunders, and those brilliant, but malignant lightnings, which have, of late, been so frequently launched from the North, against the Church of England. Her foundations are unshaken by those thunders; and her scriptural truth and piety, aspiring to the heavens, will convey those malignant lightnings innocuous to the ground.

ART. XIII.—*An Ecclesiastical Memoir of the first four Decades of the Reign of George the Third, or an Account of the State of Religion in the Church of England during that Period; with characteristic Sketches of distinguished Divines, Authors, and Benefactors.* By the Rev. John White Middelton, A. M. London, Seeley. 1822. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 398.

THE welfare of our church is so deeply involved in the conduct of its ministers, that we hail, as a public benefit,

the publication of any authentic memoir, from which some judgment may be formed, on the one hand, of their character during a preceding age, and some instruction gained, on the other, for the guidance of their future proceedings. The author, whose name stands at the head of this article, has judged well in selecting for that purpose a period, which is fast passing into oblivion, though still there are many living, who can recollect even its earlier history; while the fact of its not having been yet historically commemorated, renders some faithful account of it desirable. His object is to furnish a brief record of those individuals, especially of those prelates and ministers in the Church of England, who, during the last forty years of the eighteenth century, rendered signal service to the cause of religion, together with such occasional notice of other matters, as was necessary to throw light on the narrative.

The volume thus affords another example of the application of that principle, which was first introduced by Milner, in his history of the Church of Christ; the principle, we mean, which looks for the history of any church not in the annals of heresy and disorder, but in the faithful and zealous labours of those, who drank deep into the spirit of christianity. In prosecution of this principle the author gives a brief record of the life and transactions of many of those ministers, who were most distinguished for faithful zeal during the period in question, referring to original authorities in justification of the facts detailed; and he has thus supplied us with a convenient outline and valuable index of the ecclesiastical condition of Britain, during an important portion of our national history.

The period, which he has chosen for illustration, was indeed fearfully distinguished by the activity of the enemies of revelation, as well as by remarkable aberrations and differences among its friends. In the midst of all these difficulties, however, it pleased Providence to place upon the throne of Britain a sovereign, whose personal character was itself a barrier against the encroachments of a rampant infidelity, as well as an object of regard and veneration to Christians of every name. The following anecdote, is happily illustrative of the plain, honest religion, with which his late majesty habitually acknowledged the sovereignty of the only ruler of princes.

“Public Meetings of persons, calling themselves ‘The London Corresponding Society,’ were held in different places. On the 26th of October, 1795, forty thousand were collected in the fields between Islington and Copenhagen House, and harangued by their favorite orators in an inflammatory style. An awful proof of their seditious

tendency was afforded on the 29th, when the King went to open the session of Parliament. On this occasion a great crowd was assembled in the Park, who for the most part observed a sullen silence as the state-carriage passed. Instead of huzzaing they hissed, and some cried 'Bread'—'No war'—'No King!' Opposite the Ordnance-office, a bullet, probably discharged from an air-gun, perforated the glass, without, through a merciful Providence, doing further injury. His Majesty was remarkably composed, and read his speech with peculiar correctness. At his unrobing afterwards, it became the theme of general discourse, in which the King joined with less agitation than his nobles. On resuming his seat in the carriage with the Earls of Westmoreland and Onslow, George the Third displayed a magnanimity and piety which were very edifying. 'Well, my Lords,' said the Monarch, 'one person is proposing this, and another is supposing that, forgetting that there is One above us all, who disposes of every thing, and on whom alone we depend.'" (Pp. 315, 316.)

The piety of the monarch was well seconded by that of many of the individuals, whose services are here brought forward into notice; and this catalogue of able and zealous ministers of the Church of England may consequently be regarded as no unapt sequel to the reply given in the foregoing article, to captious objections and persevering hostility. The navy and army have their heroes, and the law its ornaments, whose names are handed down with appropriate honour. We are indebted to our author for a list of less renowned, but not less useful contributors to the stock of our national glory.

The work itself is well arranged and impartially executed. At the same time we recommend the author to avoid in future that affectation of peculiar phraseology on ordinary occasions, which, like every other species of false ornament, is shewn to be in bad taste, by its tendency to draw observation to the indifferent or secondary parts of a subject. We allude to such phrases, as when he calls faithful clergymen trusty rowers, p. 158, a fellow-member of parliament a brother of St. Stephen's, p. 302, the antagonist of a Jacobite a Georgian, p. 191, or a soiled waistcoat a vest, covered with the relics of frequent application to the snuff-box, p. 352. In much the same style he denounces that worldly spirit, incidental to unconverted adolescence, p. 252; and speaks of clergymen, who have too rashly tied on the ephod, p. 250. So too, he writes about the task of hebdomadal composition, p. 250, and tells us, that a catalogue of pastors will not sustain invidious preterition in his volume, p. 369. We object also to the use of the word *maugre* out of poetry; and cannot refrain, now we are upon this subject, from referring, though it shall be in the last place, to the quaint parallel, which is drawn between the spiritual and scientific attainments

of the late dean Milner; which is conceived in a style, much in vogue among the divines of the century before the last, but happily rejected now by the advancing refinement of the age.

“Skilful to trace chemical affinities, he was solicitous to find in his own spiritual elements an elective attraction to the different members in the Church of Christ. Versed in optical experiment, he esteemed it his privilege to apply the telescope of faith to his mental eye, as one who now saw through a glass darkly, but hoped soon to see face to face. Gratified with chromatic phenomena, he regarded the bow in the cloud as the token of the everlasting covenant, and desired to walk in that fair composite light of truth, in which he might have fellowship with believers without undue attachment to his own division of her celestial rays. Studious of mechanical power, he rejoiced to have been made the subject of a force that could overcome the inertness of human apostasy. Acquainted with the hydraulic laws, he felt the need of an internal fountain, springing up into everlasting life.” (Pp. 341, 342.)

Besides these faults in manner, which must strike every one, there will necessarily be some difference of opinion both in the estimate of individual character, and also in the determination of the particular standard, by which ministerial usefulness should be measured. But on this subject (we conceive) the author stands on safer ground, having, like the historian of the church of Christ, fixed his attention chiefly on that devotedness to the cause of the Redeemer, wherever it is found, which indicates the ardour of a Christian's love; and, since as that love must needs be alloyed by some earthly admixture, commonly directing our admiration to those qualities only, which are excellent, in whatever measure they are exhibited. It is interesting to look back from amidst that wider diffusion of Christian zeal, which is manifested in the formation and support of the many religious institutions, which are the glory of the nineteenth century, upon those more heroic, because solitary struggles, which were made in behalf of the same cause, during the latter part of the eighteenth: and the most fastidious censor of character ought to stand disarmed of his severity, when he recollects, that each ardent minister of the truth and power of the gospel had then more frequently to sustain his holy combat, single-handed, and was therefore more exposed to be betrayed into singularity, extravagance, conceit, or error, than in a day when evangelical principles are better understood, and exemplified in a greater variety of characters.

Those ministers, indeed, and such as those, (it cannot now be denied,) were the persons to whom, under God, the Church of England is most deeply indebted. There are many, who with great respectability of character, discharge their appointed task

with regularity and propriety, and with a certain degree of zeal, but yet look with unkind suspicion upon the more vigorous attempts of others to do justice to their sacred calling, and to watch with real earnestness for the conversion of sinners. We will quote from the book before us one humble instance of that true devotion to the work itself of the ministry, of which the Apostles set the most splendid example, but which in them, and in others, even in the most quiet and retired of their followers, always excites the opposition of the worldly.

“James Rouquett was ordained priest by Dr. Willes, Bishop of Bath and Wells. Being appointed by that prelate to preach the ordination sermon, he spoke faithfully from the charge of Messiah to his Apostle, “Feed my sheep.” The Bishop was prompted by the clamour raised against the discourse to request its perusal; when his Lordship discovered his discrimination by returning it to the author with his full approbation. He was now nominated Lecturer of St. Nicholas, in Bristol, and Chaplain to St. Peter’s Hospital in the same city. He felt so much for the captives in the gaol, and the poor in the alleys of this populous city, that he exchanged his vicarage for the curacy of St. Werberg. Here he did the work of an evangelist, and made full proof of his ministry, commending himself to every man’s conscience in the sight of God, while numbers found that the word of the Lord in his mouth was truth.” (Pp. 161, 162.)

It is deeply to be lamented, when respectable persons lend their countenance to a sentiment, so destructive of all improvement, as that which must be presumed, from the bishop’s judgment upon the occasion, to have caused the clamour against the ordination sermon just referred to. There may, possibly, notwithstanding that honorable acquittal, have been something in its style or manner, to which a nice and delicate taste might object. But we have reason certainly to suspect ourselves, when we perceive our minds fasten readily on the bad taste, or irregular habits, or what some of our contemporaries would call the methodistic delirium of persons, who are laboring to do good in their generation, rather than on the positive benefit, likely to result from their exertions. What would be thought of a minister of state, who should confine himself to the routine-duty of his particular department, without ever originating any measure for the public welfare? Nothing, but degeneracy and decline, can be expected from a body, in which each member confines himself so exclusively to his own sphere of action, as to lend no help beyond it to the general cause. No extensive good was ever done by routine.

It is true, indeed, that numerous imperfections and irregularities mixed themselves with the zeal and fidelity of many

of the excellent ministers, whose names are recorded in this volume, particularly of the early Methodists, who yet were permitted, by a gracious Providence, to kindle a flame in this country, by the light of which we still rejoice to walk. But, when human minds are the instruments to be employed, we must not expect to direct them with the exactness of inanimate mechanism. Such an expectation was hardly found, in the long run, to answer, even in the Prussian Frederic's government of his soldiers, although their employment (it will be allowed) was more allied to brute force than is the work of the Christian ministry. A liberal allowance must always be made for the varying eccentricities and peculiarities of different minds, by those who would wisely direct their energies: for men act not only with greater freedom and vigour, but with more circumspection also, and a juster respect for public opinion, when they feel that something is left to their discretion.

We are led into these remarks by considering, that the trammels are too exact, within which a parish-priest in the Church of England is confined in the present day. For order, decorum, and good discipline (we trust) we shall be always decided advocates. We see much to censure and deplore, in that disregard of government and subordination, into which an indiscreet zeal sometimes betrays its possessors. But, when it is considered, who and what the clergy of the English church at the present day really are, by what system of education they have been trained, and what pledges they have afforded for the consistency of their deportment, as well as what is the errand which they have to discharge, it does seem to us a sort of Prussian *régimé*, to direct, as it were, by the authority of irresistible prescription, whether their sermons shall be written or unwritten, whether they shall exceed a certain number of minutes, whether they shall use action in their delivery, whether they shall instruct any portion of their parishioners in their own houses during the week, or whether they shall be restrained from rebuking immorality, except within authorized enclosures. These are points, the expediency of which may be more prudently and safely referred to the judgment of individuals, than determined by the authority of the state, or the dictation of ecclesiastical superiors.

In the Church of England (we believe) the best provision upon earth is made, for the instruction and edification of those who will come to partake of its ordinances. But little help or encouragement is given systematically, to the exertions of such ministers as would labor to bring into it either

those who differ, or those who are indifferent. We should like to see the acts of a minister unfettered, within his own parish. We should wish to see him at liberty to adopt any other measures, that he might judge profitable for his people, in addition to his stated duties, and unless his diocesan should, in any particular case, interfere to restrain him. His canonical obedience would still remain due. His ecclesiastical functions would still be required : and it would only be optional for him, if he saw occasion, and acknowledged a constraining motive, to address his people in any other way that circumstances might warrant, or occasion suggest. It will be observed, that we do not seek to impose new duties upon him, or to substitute others for those at present enforced. For any thing we have written, he may do as little as he pleases, provided he conform to the rules of the church. Only, if he should be willing to do more, we wish him not to be prohibited. We contend for what Taylor calls the liberty of prophesying in the hands of the legitimate priesthood. We discern no good reason, for example, why a parish-priest, on seeing a congregation of sabbath-breakers, or a party of gypsies, within the bounds of his parish, should not have a recognised right to address them, if he should see fit to do so, at a time when his presence was not required in the church, without being subjected to the penalties of a field preacher ; or why he might not collect any number of his parishioners, in his own house, for the purpose of imparting to them a more familiar mode of instruction, than would be suitable to what our author denominates, the art of concination. (P. 243.) It does not seem reasonable, that a responsible public functionary should be tied up within the same rules, which bind others, or that he should have no more discretion entrusted to him, than an unlettered itinerant, or a licensed home-missionary.

A habit of looking with unfriendly suspicion, upon every indication of ministerial zeal, whether tinctured or not with a little extravagance, cannot but lead to divisions : for a zealous minister, who feels the importance of his office, will not omit to do what his conscience directs, in consequence of the injurious surmises to which he may be subjected : and yet it is impossible, but the distrust with which he is regarded, must engender distrust in return, and lead to consequences which every friend to ecclesiastical unity must deprecate.

We look forward to witness, in due time, a cordial co-operation among all classes of the clergy, to banish irreligion and vice from the land. There will then remain only the indolent, to be distinguished from the active. But cor-

lial co-operation cannot be secured without mutual respect, nor can mutual respect be conciliated without reciprocal concession. For one zealous minister, such as those recorded in the memoir, as having adorned the last century, the church can at the present day produce many; and (we cannot but think) the very diffusion of this zeal affords a moral security for the discreet use of any greater latitude, which might be given to it. Indeed, a want of confidence in its own ministers, is the most miserable policy that can be pursued by any church: for, after all, much must be entrusted to them; and the difference between confiding in them reluctantly and readily, may be judged of from this single consideration, that confidence has a natural tendency to increase attachment, while distrust produces alienation.

We therefore express our fervent hope, that every restraint, which is admitted to be unnecessary, may soon be removed from the efficiency of the national clergy; and that the advance, which has been made, during the last half-century, in pure sentiment and religious principle, may, through the divine blessing on their faithful exertions, continue to be progressive. In respect to the venerable prelates, who preside over that reverend body, it would ill become us to obtrude upon them our humble advice; nor will we do more than recommend to their attention the following just delineation of their office, condition, and opportunities in the church.

“The circle of human dignities cannot perhaps produce a more weighty or honorable charge, than that of an Anglican prelate. Lifting his mitred head in parliaments, and taking his place among the hereditary legislators of the realm, and counsellors of the sovereign, his exalted station entitles him to watch over the interest, advocate the doctrine, preserve the discipline, regulate the worship, and defend the revenue, of the fairest and discreetest of the daughters of the Reformation; to enter his protest with gravity and firmness against the highest patrician, who shall attempt to corrupt her principles or destroy her privileges; to speak of the divine testimonies before kings, and not to be ashamed, knowing his immense responsibility to that Providence who hath constituted him a chief servant in the household of faith; while his diocesan, judicial, and academical authority or connexion, enables him in a variety of ways, to consult the spiritual good of his cotemporaries, and affords many facilities for advancing the cause of godliness, by favouring the faithful reporters of the message of Heaven, or discountenancing the secular and heterodox among the subordinate pastors.” (P. 9.)

ART. XIV.—DAVIES'S RELIGIOUS ESSAYS.

1. *The Influences of the Holy Spirit: considered with special reference to the circumstances of the present times.* Seeley. 1823. 8vo. pp. 47.
2. *An Inquiry into the just Limits of Reason, in the Investigation of Divine Truth: being an Essay, to which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Church Union, in the Diocese of St. David's, adjudged a Premium of 50l. for the year 1822.* By the Rev. J. Davies, of Queen's College, Cambridge. Seeley. pp. 70.

LORD BACON has observed, that a treatise, soberly and carefully composed, which should point out the legitimate use of human reason in Divine things, was a great desideratum. (De Augm. Scient. L. ix.) Since his time, many and able pens have been employed in the important undertaking. They have shewn, that Religion is the best and truest philosophy; that Christianity is capable of proof, with such clear and full evidence, as to render opposition to its doctrines absurd as well as impious; and that it is the part of sound wisdom to receive a true revelation, though involving insuperable difficulties.

To the same task our present author has been drawn forth, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Church Union, in the Diocese of St. David's. This has given rise to the first of the two pamphlets, which stand at the head of this article. But, although the two essays are not written as parts of a connected plan, the subjects, of which they treat, are yet plainly connected together: for, if the province of human reason, or, to speak more conformably to the nature of things, if the province of the human mind, in the investigation and acceptance of divine truth, can be shewn to be limited, an opening is thus made for demonstrating the necessity, and examining the nature and extent, of those influences of the Holy Spirit, which must be called in to supply the deficiency. We shall, therefore, briefly consider the subject in this view, availing ourselves of those aids, in point of arrangement, which our author has furnished, for the examination of it; and making such remarks on his execution of the task he has undertaken, as the occasion may admit or require.

Now, in the first place, it is important to maintain, that the book of revelation is offered to our acceptance, in the same way as any other object of belief is proposed to us; that is to say, its claim to our acceptance depends on the kind and degree of evidence, with which it is accompanied. The first office, therefore, which human reason has to discharge with regard to it, is, to determine, whether there be sufficient proof of its having come from God: and, for this purpose, no supernatural aid is necessary. The ordinary powers, with which God has gifted us, for ascertaining the weight and sufficiency of moral evidence, are all that is wanting, to enable us to judge aright on this question, provided we do not suffer them to be diverted by prejudice, by the love of pleasure, by a calculation of consequences, or by some other misleading influence, from coming to a right conclusion. Men differ indeed in their powers and opportunities, even in this respect; and many are necessarily obliged to lean upon the judgment of others, (indeed we all do it to a greater extent than we are aware of) even in the most important transactions, in which we engage. Yet still the question is always determined ultimately, and, in fact, can only be determined, by the ordinary powers of the human mind, possessed and exercised in some degree, by every individual, and collectively forming that agreement of many minds in one conclusion, which constitutes what is called, the weight of authority.

But, besides determining whether the volume, which pretends to inspiration, be really inspired or no, human reason is further competent to inform us, what particular works belong to that volume, and thus to settle the canon of scripture.

Whether unassisted reason is a sufficient guide in deciding, that this or that particular doctrine, as for instance the Personality of the Holy Ghost, the Trinity in Unity of the Godhead, or the necessity of a Divine influence to produce repentance, faith, and a holy love and fear of God, are contained in that revelation, is a further question: and the scripture itself appears to determine it in the negative, when it asserts, that the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. However, we are inclined to believe, that the Apostle, by the phrase of receiving the things of the Spirit of God, meant the practical application and experimental perception of them, and are persuaded, that the mere theoretical recep-

tion of them, as part of the contents of the sacred volume, is within the province of natural reason, and is as much a matter of mere evidence as any other that can be referred to it. To observe that it requires honesty of intention as well as sagacity of research, is only saying that, which is true of every investigation, that relates to subjects of a moral nature, and is not capable of being conducted on principles of mathematical demonstration.

When we have added one more particular, and stated, that the human mind is competent to pronounce concerning any particular tenet, that it is at variance with universal experience, or with the laws of nature, and therefore ought not to be received as a doctrine, inculcated in a revelation, that comes from God, we believe that we have enumerated all the acts which lie within its peculiar department, and demand no assistance from preternatural illumination. This last office, indeed, requires to be managed with peculiar discretion, lest we should be tempted to confound the sublime mysteries which transcend our capacity, with the reveries that contradict the plain conclusions of sense. It was by appealing to this exercise of reason, that our reformers got rid of the absurdities of transubstantiation. It is by the same process that unitarians seek to overthrow the doctrine of a trinity. We have therefore need to deal with it discreetly, and to point out, for example, the important and decisive distinction between maintaining the ubiquity of a human body, which is a property of matter, the truth or falshood of which is cognizable to our senses, and believing a trinity of persons in the divine nature, which we have no means of bringing to the test of experience or observation. The latter therefore is true, if revealed. The former cannot have been revealed, because it is physically impossible.

On the other hand it is obvious, that human reason is utterly incompetent to propound articles of faith. They must be exclusively derived from revelation; and though they are addressed to our understanding, and call into exercise the powers of the human mind, for the purpose of determining upon a fair view of the text of scripture, what is and what is not revealed to us, it follows, as an undeniable consequence,

“That Reason ought not to proceed so far as to reject a doctrine conveyed in a professed communication from Heaven, on the mere ground of its being undiscoverable without supernatural and divine assistance.” (Inquiry. P. 27.)

“Neither ought a doctrine clearly asserted in that heavenly communication to be refused our firm and decided assent, because we may

be unable to comprehend *the exact mode in which the facts that it affirms or involves may subsist.* (Inquiry. P. 41.)

We cannot refrain while we are upon this topic, from introducing to our readers a beautiful passage from Horne's Apology for the Hutchinsonians, written with all the point and happiness of illustration, peculiar to that writer.—'Reason (says he) was made to learn and not to teach: and therefore to set her up for a teacher, when she was never designed for that office, is certainly wrong. What the eye is to the body, reason or understanding is to the soul, as says the apostle—“Having the eyes of your understanding, *της διανοας*, the faculty of discernment, enlightened.” The eye then is framed in such a manner as to be capable of seeing, reason in such a manner as to be capable of knowing. But the eyes, though ever so good, cannot see without light. Reason, though ever so perfect, cannot know without instruction. The eye indeed is that, which sees. But the light is the cause of its seeing. Reason is that, which knows. But instruction is the cause of its knowing: and it would be as absurd to make the eye give itself light, because it sees by the light, as to make reason instruct itself, because it knows by instruction. The phrase therefore, light of reason, seems to be an improper one; since reason is not the light, but an organ for the light of instruction to act upon; and a man may as well take a view of things upon earth in a dark night by the light of his own eye, as pretend to discover the things of heaven in the night of nature by the light of his own reason: nor do we any more derogate from the perfection of reason, when we affirm it cannot know without instruction, than we derogate from the perfection of the eye, when we deny it has a power of seeing in the dark. Christ only, who is the Sun of righteousness, has in him the perfection of light, even all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. The perfection of reason is to be able to receive of his fulness, to receive the instruction of wisdom.'

The question, how we can be required to believe a statement, when we do not understand the nature or comprehend all the particulars of the truth it inculcates, is aptly and ingeniously illustrated by the following analogies.

“Let us suppose a philosophical lecturer to lay the following truth before his pupil, in a language which he did not understand, or previously to his learning the meaning of the terms employed: ‘A ray of light is formed by the combination of the seven primitive colours.’ In this case there could be no exercise of assent, because no distinct ideas were conveyed to the mind. But let the pupil have a tolerably

clear notion of the objects respectively specified by the terms of the proposition, and there is no difficulty in his firmly acquiescing in the general truth, that a ray of light is formed by the union of the seven distinct colours, although he may have never seen the experiment, nor have it in his power to form the most distant conception of the mode by which that union is effected, and the final result produced. His assent rests upon the mere testimony of his instructor."

"Where is the difficulty of believing, provided it be affirmed on credible authority, that the three interior angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, with a total ignorance of the properties in these figures, which render such an equality necessary?"

"Few things appear at first sight more strange and incredible, than that an astronomer should have it in his power to measure the magnitude and the distances of the sun, moon, and planets, in his study chair, or on the top of his observatory. Suppose the philosopher, Newton for instance, were to have taken a person wholly unacquainted with the principles of mensuration, and given him a cursory account of the process, by which the ultimate points in question were attained! Would it not be to such a person a mystery as incomprehensible as any that is proposed to our faith in the whole compass of the Old and New Testament? And yet could he not, ought he not, upon the mere testimony of his more knowing instructor, to give credit to the simple fact, that the sun, the moon, and the planets actually have been measured, and that their respective dimensions amounted to such a number of miles? Would not the opposite conduct be considered extremely obstinate and unbecoming? Would it not be the plain dictate of ingenuous and unpervverted reason, that unimpeachable veracity was to be implicitly depended upon, and that whatever of obscurity the several cases involved or appeared to involve, was to be attributed rather to narrowness of intellect and imperfection of knowledge than to any thing really incomprehensible or impossible in themselves?" (Inquiry, pp. 43, 44.)

It will be seen, that in each of these supposed cases, the conditions of our belief are the possibility of the facts asserted, a possibility (be it observed!) not to be denied without a competent knowledge of the subject, and of the credibility of the narrator. A scepticism, which continues, when these two conditions have been complied with, savors more of ignorant perverseness than of philosophical hesitation. A sceptic under such circumstances, in matters of religion, may be fitly described in the language of St. Paul, as intruding into those things, which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind.

"Finally," says our author, "the jurisdiction of Reason in matters of faith and of divine revelation does *not* extend so far as that a Doctrine should be rejected, merely because it may be attended *with difficulties, which Reason cannot solve.*" (P. 55.)

Such difficulties are met with in other subjects, besides religion, and arise not only from the limited powers of our minds, but from defect of information, without which the powers we possess cannot be brought into action. When, for instance, the inhabitant of the torrid zone is told of water being converted into a solid, his ignorance of natural philosophy, combined with his want of experience, constitutes as real a difficulty in the way of receiving the testimony of a credible witness to that effect, as our ignorance of the nature of God and of the other world, and our natural incapacity to apprehend the ideas of eternity and infinitude, do in respect to many subjects of divine revelation: and yet it would be a hardy system of scepticism, which would affirm, that the Abyssinian or Malay ought to reject such testimony, because he sees difficulties in the way of receiving it; although it is plain, that in the instance referred to, he may be imposed upon by a faithless witness, or mistaken in the confidence he reposes in his fidelity; whereas, in matters of religion, our only informant is one, who cannot lie. Indeed, how many things are possible, which a savage or an ill informed mind would be slow to believe! Magnetism, galvanism, electricity, the whole subject of chemical affinities, and the wonderful processes of crystallization, present a series of facts, all of which would probably be excluded by such laws of matter, as a philosopher would be disposed to lay down, if he were unacquainted with those *magnalia naturæ*: and we ought to learn from these considerations, with which every smatterer in science must be familiar, that there is no subject, on which we have less reason to dogmatize, than the possibilities of nature. How indispensable, therefore, is humility in arguing concerning the nature of God, the operations of the spirit, and the mystery of predestination! On these subjects we should do well to copy the cautious diffidence of Bishop Ridley, whose words ought to be a bit in the mouth of all spiritual dogmatism—‘Sir, in these matters I am so fearful, that I dare not speak further, yea, almost none otherwise than the very text doth, as it were, lead me by the hand.’

The province of human reason, therefore, in the investigation of divine truth, may be defined to be that of determining, whether this or that particular doctrine be or be not a part of revelation: in deciding which question we are authorized to reject any interpretation, which would represent one statement in scripture as really contradicting another, or which would teach, as truth, a physical impossibility; although in the examination of it, we are bound to proceed

with that humility and diffidence, which becomes creatures, whose observations of nature are at best extremely confined, and the improvement of whose faculties by continual exercise only makes us better acquainted with the infirmity, which belongs even to the best understandings.

Knowledge is proud, that he has learned so much.

Wisdom is humble, that he knows no more.

But it must be acknowledged by those, who are acquainted with themselves, that the human mind has something more than mere infirmity to contend with. Scepticism does not arise from insufficiency of illumination, but from preference of darkness to light. A latent wish that the Bible may be false, a spirit of pride, a love of contradiction, and an affectation of singularity, have been the prolific sources of unbelief. With respect to those mysteries which are adorable, because inscrutable to man, we would observe, that it may be a moral excellence in Faith itself, as it confessedly is its peculiar province, to receive that, on divine testimony alone, the reason of which it cannot at present discover. There must be also an entire submission of the understanding and heart to the revealed Will of God. That Will is the first cause of all moral obligation; and his creatures have the highest reason to love and adore him, because he acts according to his all-perfect Will. But unhappily, we continually perceive in ourselves and others, first a reluctance to enter upon the investigation of divine truth, and secondly, a still further reluctance to bow to its decisions, and to be guided by its authority. Eternal things do not lay hold on the mind, even when they are admitted, with that power, which is exercised over us by the impressions of sense; which implies not only infirmity, but corruption, not only dulness, but dislike.

The divine volume affords us several examples of this unreadiness to follow the dictates even of our own conviction, in matters that concern the authority of God. Pharaoh, being convinced by the miracles of Moses, said to him—'The Lord is righteous; and I and my people are wicked. I will let you go; and ye shall stay no longer.' Yet afterwards he pursued the Israelites even into the midst of the Red sea. Saul also said to David—'I know well, that thou shalt surely be king, and that the kingdom of Israel shall be established in thine hand.' Yet he never afterwards desisted from seeking the life of David.

Without attempting to account for this unwillingness to enter upon the consideration of divine truth, or after considering it to conform our conduct to the conclusions, at which we have

arrived, in regard to it, which is not to our present purpose, it is obvious, that in order to dispose the mind to view the truth in the first instance, and to obey it afterwards, something more than reasoning or argument must be necessary : and it is for these precise purposes, that the influences of the holy spirit are offered.

First, to dispose the mind to view the truth, as it is represented to us in scripture, to regard it with complacency, and desire a nearer acquaintance with it, the work of the Holy Spirit is necessary. This is evident from a single maxim of our Saviour, coupled with the consciousness of human depravity ; ‘for every one, that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved.’ The principle, which is necessary to overcome this reluctance, is faith in the divine forgiveness : and that principle is of divine origin, presupposing a conviction of sin, and a desire to return to God, no part of which is natural, but all must be produced by a gracious influence from above.

On this subject the author says—

“ The natural state of man is that of death in trespasses and sins, without holiness, without grace, without the least spiritual feeling ; at the fall he received a shock which paralysed and numbed every limb, every nerve of the internal man, and left him a blasted withered form of humanity without so much as a power to feel his misery. While he remains in this condition, the simple application of external means is incapable of imparting the least degree of salutary influence. The feelings of his nature may, indeed, in some measure, be wrought upon—as the fibres of once animated but now lifeless matter may be put in motion by the operations of Galvanism ; but a sensation truly vital and spiritual it cannot awaken. He must be spiritually revived, before he can spiritually feel : he must be endued with a celestial principle, which will act as a *soul within a soul*, before he can experience the emotions and perform the functions of a living being.” (Influences, p. 26.)

But secondly, in order to dispose the mind to obey the truth, when it has been received, a spiritual influence is equally needed : for there is not originally a greater reluctance to receive the light, than there is to obey it afterwards ; the first of which vices may be called spiritual blindness, and the last spiritual corruption ; and both can only be cured by power from on high. The natural progress of this disease of our nature, as exhibited in these two symptoms, is thus traced by St. Paul, in his fourth chapter to the Ephesians.—He describes the gentiles, as alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the *blindness of their heart*, who, being past feeling, have *given themselves over* to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness.

Thus clearly is a divine influence needed in every part of a Christian life: and it is offered as clearly as it is required; for, as the same high authority declares to us, we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained, that we should walk in them, not so as to supersede, but to renovate our natural faculties, and to impart a heavenly direction to those views and hopes, which otherwise were fixed on earth.

In speaking to this point, Mr. Davies brings forward some pertinent and well-digested remarks, addressed to those who would impugn the reasonableness of the doctrine of divine influence, because they cannot comprehend the mode of its operation, or its compatibility with that freedom of action implied in the accountableness of human beings.

“The whole process of mental agency and especially the mysterious source, whence the exercises of the faculty of volition take their rise, are so little known and so very imperfectly understood by us, that when we attempt to follow them beyond the mere surface, and to trace them to their original and remote spring, we find ourselves involved in utter obscurity, and baffled in our most vigorous efforts. That man is accountable and free, we know with the utmost certainty, but after what mode and to what extent it is necessary that he should be exempt from external influence, in order to retain this character, is what we are wholly unable to determine. Much thought has been expended—much has been written and confidently written on this subject, but it never *has* been, and we have reason to suppose that in the present state of existence it never *will* be satisfactorily explained. Theories may be formed and successively refuted. One hypothesis may be demolished, and another equally vague and visionary may be established in its stead. But amidst all this jar and collision of human opinions, the real truth lies concealed in profound and inexplicable mystery. It is obvious therefore that while all the springs of thought, of affection, and of volition, are so remote from our view, there is no presumptive evidence against the fact of a spiritual influence. Although we cannot, and do not pretend to say *how* the divine Spirit operates upon the several faculties of the soul so as to impress it with an entirely new character, yet surely it will not be contended that this affords the shadow of a proof against the reality of his agency. To us every thing is apt to appear strange and incredible if not utterly impossible, which does not fall under the immediate cognisance of our senses. What is matter of daily and hourly experience we never think of denying: but if we take the trouble to reflect, we shall find that the things are indeed exceedingly few, if there be any, which we may be said fully to comprehend. Where is the man, who can undertake to give a satisfactory explanation of the mutual operation, the reciprocal influences of the human body and spirit upon each other? Who has ever been found to understand the secret mechanism, by which mind acts upon matter, and accurately to describe the me-

thod, by which a never-ceasing interchange of affection is carried on between the corporeal and intellectual systems? Who has ever had the sagacity to discover how the mere utterance of an articulate sound by one man should raise in the mind of another a train of images precisely similar to those, which were present to his own, and by that means perhaps fill his soul with the most delightful or the most melancholy, the most sublime or the most degrading sensations? Upon these and a variety of other topics of the most ordinary occurrence a child might start a thousand difficulties, which it would baffle the skill of the profoundest philosopher to solve. The fact is, that while our knowledge of these matters, if duly cultivated and improved, is sufficient for the general purposes of life and conduct, we have a perfect understanding of scarcely any of them. How, then, are we to proceed? Are we to believe nothing, because we are unable to comprehend every thing? Are we to reject the clearest testimony of experience, because it does not, at the same time, supply us with a complete solution of every problem? Are we to renounce the character of percipient and reasonable beings, because we are not omniscient? Shall we deny that our souls have a real influence upon our bodies, because we cannot exactly perceive *how* that influence is exerted? The part of wisdom is obviously to adapt our views to that state in which we find ourselves placed; to regulate our assent by that measure of evidence, and by that degree of light and capacity, which God has been pleased to afford us, to steer a course equally remote from the credulity which believes every thing, and the scepticism, which believes or affects to believe nothing." (*Influences*, pp. 18—20.)

The author, therefore, considers practically the work of the Spirit in the formation of the general character. He maintains that the nature of the qualities which are superinduced upon the subject of divine grace, will correspond with the nature of the vital principle imparted to him; and that the influence of the Spirit as surely creates the soul anew after the divine image, as fire converts every element with which it comes in contact, and upon which it acts, into a congeniality with itself. He illustrates this change, by adverting to that sensibility to the realities of religion which takes place of obtuseness; to that clearness of spiritual vision which succeeds to delusion and indistinctness; to that altered condition of the affections of the heart, and that change in the conduct of the life, which make the renewed man as remarkable for the "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, faith, meekness, temperance," which are the fruits of the Spirit, as he was before for those carnal, depraved, and malignant passions, which are their hateful opposites, and the certain indications of a depravity as hopeless in itself as pernicious in its consequences.

Notwithstanding this, if we were required to point out the chapter in ecclesiastical history furnishing the most copious

subject of regret, we should perhaps lay our finger on that, headed "Spiritual Influence." What varied forms of error might not there be traced? What extremes of doctrine has not heresy broached on this particular theme?

At the time when that revered friend to religion and good order, Mr. Wilberforce, sent out his "Practical View of the prevailing religious system of professed Christians," he considered that inadequate conceptions concerning the Holy Spirit were so general, as to justify the following statement, after having spoken of the too common disregard of the person and work of the Saviour: "The doctrine of the sanctifying operations of the Holy Spirit, appears to have met with still worse treatment. It would be to convey a very inadequate idea of the scantiness of the conceptions on this head, of the bulk of the Christian world to affirm merely, that they are too little conscious of the inefficacy of their own unassisted endeavours after holiness of heart and life, and that they are not daily employed in humbly and diligently using the appointed means for the reception and cultivation of the divine assistance. We should hardly go beyond the truth in asserting, that for the most part their notions on this subject are so confused and faint, that they can scarcely be said in any fair sense to believe the doctrine at all." (Chap. 3. sect. 1.)—This was undeniably a lamentable state of things. Since that period the public mind has been much better informed on the momentous subject of spiritual influence. Not only has the doctrine itself been better understood, but we would hope a great body of professors have become experimentally acquainted with its truth. At the great anniversaries of religious institutions, the speakers and managers feel more and more the duty of discountenancing that commendation, which is sometimes as painful to the receiver as injudicious in the bestower, and of imploring the blessing of the Father of Lights. Courses of lectures are preaching by ministers of various denominations, on the deity, offices, and gracious operations of the Holy Ghost, with especial reference to the conversion of the world; and we desire to notice with approbation, the manner in which the quakers handled the topic, in their last yearly epistle.

The concise and elementary view which we have thus given of the interesting and important subject into which Mr. Davies has led us, is in substance the same with that in his pamphlets; and it goes to show, that while our reasoning powers remain entire, except so far as fear, and consciousness of sin, or desire of ease, and love of evil may paralyse them, our spiritual affections are through the same evil in-

fluence dead, till they are roused into a renewed existence, by the power of the Holy Ghost.

Some questions, however, are started in the course of the two pamphlets under review, to which no satisfactory answer is afforded by them.

Thus the author states in form and order—

“There are two questions which it appears necessary previously to settle, *the distinct and personal existence of the Holy Ghost, and the reality of his agency.*” (Influences, p. 15.)

Yet the former of these two questions is thus summarily disposed of without a discussion.

“It is difficult to suppose any man of unprejudiced mind could rise from the perusal of these records and persuade himself that the active Power, to which in a separate and independent character so much had been attributed, was nothing but a quality or an attribute; which it was deemed convenient to personify in order to convey a livelier idea of its operations. Without therefore referring to particular passages, which would be endless, and for those who are acquainted with their Bibles unnecessary, we may consider this question sufficiently determined.” (Influences, p. 16.)

Again there is an apparent inconsequence in the author's reasoning, where he infers from the uniformity of effect which results from physical causes in the material creation, that the effect of moral suasion upon mind ought to be equally uniform, and that consequently, if one man is dead to an impression, to which another yields, there must have been some unseen and preternatural influence exercised in the one instance, which was not exerted in the other.

“It is the primary basis of all reasoning and philosophy, that similar causes produce similar effects, or, to exhibit the same idea in a modified and somewhat expanded form, that a similar agency, operating upon similar subjects, will result in the display of the same general phenomena. In the application of this principle to the point under consideration, we remark, that the agency generally employed consists of the various modes of instruction, by providential occurrences, by written records, and more especially by ministerial labours. The subjects to which this agency is directed, are human beings, all by nature equally corrupt, equally degraded, equally destitute of life and holiness. But what is the effect? On a supposition of the identity or perfect similarity of the influence exerted, we must have inevitably expected an uniformity of result, either invariably successful, or invariably abortive. But the fact is totally otherwise. While the great majority of mankind remains untouched, unaffected, unrenewed; some discover no uncertain or equivocal symptoms of an almost entire transformation of character having been wrought in them. Assuming it as an allowed and established point, that all the individuals of the human species, are, by nature, equally tainted with

the stain of pollution, and present equal impediments to the renovating operations of divine grace, the circumstance of *some* being awakened from their fatal slumbers, and of the rest continuing to sleep in perilous indifference upon the brink of everlasting ruin, seems capable of no other mode of explanation, than the supposition of an influence being made to operate upon the one class which does not reach to the other." (Influences, pp. 27, 28.)

"While the one exhibit a fatal indifference to all the interests of futurity—an indifference, spiritually considered, analogous to an utter destitution of life and sensible perception in material beings—the other evince upon every subject, connected with the service of God, and their prospects beyond the grave, the liveliest and most earnest concern; they respectively walk in a different path, and breathe in a different element. The fact of such a difference existing is unquestionable, but for the solution of the difficulty which it involves, we must look to a divine source of information. The dissimilarity in question, as we are plainly taught in the volume of inspiration, arises from the circumstance of a spiritual and supernatural influence to accompany the external means being withheld, as a just punishment for ingratitude and rebellion in the one case, and of its being graciously vouchsafed in the other. It is to the want of this powerful aid we are to attribute all the inefficiency of the divine word itself, and of the human ministrations of that word—all the deadness and lifeless insensibility to the concerns of an eternal world, which so lamentably prevails among mankind. And it is to the gracious communication of the same mighty agency, that we are to ascribe the whole success of every species of outward instrumentality, as well in the case of distinct individuals as in that of the Christian community at large." (Influences, pp. 12, 13.)

In the former of these two extracts the existence of an element, in one of the subjects compared, which does not belong to the other, namely, free agency, vitiates the inference. In the other, the statement, that a spiritual and supernatural influence is always withheld, where the effect of it does not appear, unwarrantably reduces the amount of human responsibility. The language of the best divines and of scripture is, that obedience to the faith is always a work of grace, and disobedience to it a work of nature. But we are no where authorized to assert, that a supernatural influence is always withheld, where, in the language of the New Testament, it is quenched, resisted, or neglected.

We have also noticed many incorrectnesses in style and statement. Thus the declaration, that

"Neither ought a doctrine clearly asserted in that heavenly communication to be refused our firm and decided assent." (Inquiry, p. 41.)

ought to have been expressed, 'Neither ought our firm and decided assent to be refused to a doctrine, clearly asserted

in that heavenly communication.' In a passage, lately quoted by us, material beings are mentioned, where only animals are intended. Again, he speaks of the clear evidence of intuitive belief, a phrase, which (we confess) we do not understand, and evidently prefers that phrase to another, which every one understands, but which he chooses to call the language of the northern metaphysicians, namely, the principles of common sense. (Inquiry, p. 23.) We own we are not yet prepared to abandon the principles of common sense, either in name or in fact, exclusively to the metaphysicians of the north. There is likewise a strange confusion of language in the position,

"That truth, as an object of belief, is *the mere agreement of things, or of ideas as the representatives of things.*" (Inquiry, p. 44.)

for truth is a quality of propositions only, not of the things spoken of in them; and the doctrine, which it was for his purpose to inculcate, was simply this, that a proposition may be true, even though we may not be able to explain, or to account for it. To these, and other inaccuracies, Mr. Davies has subjected himself, by unnecessarily and frequently deviating from the plain subject before him, into metaphysical disquisition.

We have also been struck with some occasional involutions, that interfere with the natural order, and easy flow of a sentence, as, for instance, 'There are persons, not a few;' (Influences, p. 15.) where an ordinary writer would have said, 'There are not a few persons,' which we think no improvement upon the ordinary structure of English prose.

On the whole, we think Mr. Davies has, in these pamphlets, propounded some sound and useful principles, on two very important subjects, and illustrated them by some happy allusions; though we cannot much commend him for classical simplicity, or logical precision.

ART. XV.—*For the Oracles of God, Four Orationes. For Judgment to come, an Argument in Nine Parts.* By the Rev. Edward Irving, M. A., Minister of the Caledonian Church, Hatton Garden. London. T. Hamilton. 1823. Pp. xii. and 548.

If we had sat down to the perusal of the volume before us with no other knowledge of its author but that derived from common report, we should have expected to find in it something very extraordinary in the way either of novelty, information,

reasoning, or fine writing. Such an expectation would have been the natural result of Mr. Irving's celebrity as a preacher. But we must in candour acknowledge that we labour under no such disadvantage. A previous acquaintance with Mr. Irving as an author has had the effect of so repressing the ardour of our expectations, as to leave us in the state of mind most favorable for the equitable discharge of our critical labours. It so happened that some year or two ago, we met with a sermon published by Mr. Irving, on the occasion of his retiring from Glasgow, the former scene of his labours. We have not that sermon by us at present; but we have a distinct recollection, that the impression, with which we rose from the perusal of it, was very far from being favorable either to the talents or judgment of the author. The topics, which were those ordinarily introduced on occasions of leave-taking, were not discussed in a superior manner. The deviations from the beaten track were chiefly remarkable as indicating a deficiency both in good taste and modesty. There was more about Mr. Irving himself in the sermon than even such an occasion warranted; and what struck us as equally unnecessary and injudicious, was a jump which Mr. Irving took from Glasgow to Canterbury, for the purpose of making an attack on the clergy and establishment of that country, in which he was about to seek his friends and fortune. We cannot but consider this our previous knowledge of Mr. Irving as, under the circumstances of the case, particularly fortunate. But for this we should have expected on opening his volume to find this giant in stature a giant also in mental powers and attainments, and a very Goliath in theology. While a very high performance could scarcely satisfy such lofty expectations, merit of a less imposing kind would either not be discerned, or not duly appreciated, whereas our more chastened and moderate state of mind is better fitted to do justice to whatever degree of talent our author may present to us. It has also been attended with this further advantage, as respects Mr. Irving. Aware how easy and how common the transition is from having a low opinion of a person to the entertainment of a prejudice against him, we have carefully, and (we will venture to say) successfully guarded against every such feeling. We offer, as decisive proof of this, our avowal, that our respect for Mr. Irving's powers and acquirements has been considerably raised by the examination of the work before us; and that, while we have found in it much to blame, we have also discovered evident traces of genius and research, and, what is better than either, a most commendable earnestness and ardour in behalf of true

religion. Such authors as Mr. Irving, and such works as his, great and numerous as may be their blemishes and defects, must command respect, and are entitled to commendation, were it only on account of their aim and object. In this day, when Infidelity raises a bold front, and when Vice is surrounded with all the graces which eloquence and poetry can impart, a work which combats the one, and strips and exposes the other, is not to be cried down, nor even slighted, because, in the execution, it may not be so masterly and complete as the high-sounding praises of the author's ill-judging admirers might have led us to expect. If we are unable to render to this gentleman the tribute which his friends demand for him, we cannot, on the other hand, withhold the praise of faithfulness and intrepidity, in his statements of truth, and in his reproofs and condemnation of false doctrine and vice. If popularity and eminence have been his aim, he has not sought to purchase them by any compromise of truth or principle. This price, at which they are so often dearly bought, our author disdains to pay for them. Whatever he considers as the doctrine of scripture, that he boldly avows, regardless, as it appears, of all consequences: and with the same manly decision, he makes his attacks on false doctrine, and its various attendant evils. If the discourses which Mr. Irving delivers to such overflowing audiences, be similar in this respect to those before us, the fact of his popularity furnishes distinct proof, that the public ear is given, not to the timid, mincing, softly-going prophet, who opens his mouth only to let out smooth things, but to him who boldly speaks the truth, without stopping to calculate whether men will hear or whether they will forbear. Yes. A decided and uncompromising annunciation of truth, provided he from whom it proceeds appears to be hearty and sincere, never fails to command attention and respect; and that, in various instances, even from those who continue to resist its evidences, and refuse to be swayed by its authority.

It is not our intention to give any thing like a distinct analysis of Mr. Irving's work. It may be expedient, however, to furnish our readers with an outline of his plan, and mode of treating his subject. The following paragraph develops his mode of discussing "The Oracles of God;" describing at once the manner in which he has divided the subject, and his reasons for adopting such a division.

"Before the Almighty made his appearance upon Sinai, there were awful precursors sent to prepare his way: while he abode in sight there were solemn ceremonies, and a strict ritual of attendance; when he departed, the whole camp set itself to conform unto his re-

vealed will. Likewise, before the Saviour appeared, with his better law, there was a noble procession of seers and prophets, who desired and warned the world of his coming: when he came, there were solemn announcements in the hearers and on the earth: he did not depart without due honours: and there followed on his departure, succession of changes and alterations, which are still in progress: and shall continue in progress till the world end. This may serve to teach us that a revelation of the Almighty's will makes demand for these three things on the part of those to whom it is revealed. DUE PREPARATION FOR RECEIVING IT. A DILIGENT ATTENTION TO IT, WHILE IT IS DISCLOSING. A STRICT OBSERVANCE OF IT WHEN IT IS DELIVERED." (P. 7.)

Whether or not the analogy suggested in this passage be a just one, may be doubtful. To us it appears rather fanciful: but as to the proposed plan of discussion, we pronounce it, without hesitation, to be a good and judicious one, subserving, as it does, the various purposes of distinctness, perspicuity, and impressiveness. At first view, it may have appeared expedient that Mr. Irving should have laid down, as a preliminary subject of inquiry, the evidences, by which what purports to be "The Oracles of God," comes to us authenticated as a Divine revelation; and the absence of such an inquiry may, by some, be considered as a defect in the plan. But to this objection it may be fairly answered, that such an inquiry did not come within the scope of the subject which our author proposed to discuss. His object was, not to prove the Scriptures to be the Oracles of God, but, assuming them to be so, to describe the reception we ought to give them; a subject surely, of such importance, as to entitle it to a distinct and separate consideration.

The second part of the work, that entitled "Judgment to come," is examined under the following heads:

"1. The Plan of the Argument, with an Inquiry into Responsibility in general, and God's right to place the world under responsibility. 2. and 3. The Constitution under which it hath pleased God to place the World. 4. The good effects of the above Constitution, both upon the Individual and upon Political Society. 5. Preliminaries of the solemn Judgment. 6. The last Judgment. 7. The Issues of the Judgment. 8. The only way to escape Condemnation and Wrath to come. 9. The review of the whole Argument, with an endeavour to bring it home to the sons of men." (P. iii.)

This part of the work comprises more than three-fourths of the volume; and as our author proceeds on the plan of "indulging without restraint in disquisitions and digressions," and, whatever order or method he may have proposed to himself in each of the discourses, furnishes no clue to his readers by which they may follow him in it, there is more of complexity

and confusion, than ought to be found in an *Argument*, where every point should be distinctly laid down and plainly reasoned, and its connexion with other points, as well as its bearing on the conclusion, made to appear. So far from proceeding in this, the only legitimate course in an *Argument*, and discussing merely what his subject fairly brings before him, Mr. Irving has followed the example of some of the old worthies of his own country, who were accustomed to preach for several hours on a single text, and that often a text, which contained little or nothing in it. This they could do with great facility, because they drew the sermon, not *from* the text, but *to* the text. In like manner, our author in his "Judgment to come," has considered himself at liberty to marshal before him all the men and all the things, about which that judgment will be conversant: in consequence of which, amidst such a multiplicity of persons and subjects, the reader often finds himself perplexed and confused.

We shall now select a few detached passages from different parts of the volume, for the purpose of furnishing a specimen of Mr. Irving's manner of writing, and of shewing at the same time, in what a striking light he is capable of presenting the subjects, which he wishes to illustrate.

Our first quotation relates to a fearfully prevalent evil, that of neglecting the Holy Scriptures.

"Oh ! if books had but tongues to speak their wrongs, then might this book well exclaim, Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth ! I came from the love and embrace of God ; and mute Nature, to whom I brought no boon, did me rightful homage. To man I came, and my words were to the children of men, I disclosed to you the mysteries of hereafter, and the secrets of the throne of God. I set open to you the gates of salvation, and the way of eternal life, heretofore unknown. Nothing in heaven did I withhold from your hope and ambition ; and upon your earthly lot I poured the full horn of Divine providence and consolation. But ye requited me with no welcome ; ye held no festivity on my arrival : ye sequester me from happiness and heroism, closeting me with sickness and infirmity ; ye make not of me, nor use me for your guide to wisdom and prudence, but press me into your last of duties, and withdraw me to a mere corner of your time ; and most of ye set me at nought, and utterly disregard me. I came, the fulness of the knowledge of God ; angels delighted in my company, and desired to dive into my secrets. But ye mortals place masters over me, subjecting me to the discipline and dogmatism of men, and tutoring me in your schools of learning. I came, not to be silent in your dwellings, but to speak welfare to you and your children. I came to rule, and my throne to set up in the hearts of men. Mine ancient residence was the bosom of God ; no residence will I have but the soul of an immortal ; and if you had

entertained me, I should have possessed you of the peace which I have with God, 'when I was with him, and was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him. Because I have called and you refused, I have stretched out my hand and no man regarded, but ye have set a nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh; when your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon you. Then shall they cry unto me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me.'" (Pp. 5, 6.)

In the following passage he sets forth the merciful procedure of Almighty God.

"Nay, the closer to bring you into fellowship, he hath dispatched from his highest sphere the image of himself, to act the Divine part among earthly scenes, and seeing we had fallen from his neighbourhood, and could not regain our lost estate, hath he sent forth his own son, made of a woman, made under the law, down to our sphere, to bind the link between earth and heaven, which seemed for ever to have been broken. He clothes himself in the raiment of flesh, he puts on like passions and affections, and presents himself to be beheld, talked with, and handled of the sons of men. He opens up the heart of God, and shews it to be wonderfully tender to his fallen creatures. He opens up his own heart, and shews it devoted to death for their restoration. He stretches out his hand, and disease and death flee away. He opens his lips, and lovingkindness drops upon the most sinful of men. He opens a school of discipline for heaven, and none is hindered. Whosoever comes, he cherishes with food, fetched from the storehouse of his creating word. The elements he stilleth over their heads, and maketh a calm. He brings hope from beyond the dark grave, where she lay shrouded in mortality. Peace he conjures from the troubles of the most guilty breast. The mourner he anoints with the oil of joy. The mourner in sackcloth and ashes he clothes with the garments of praise. He comforts all that mourn. And what more can we say? but that, if the knowledge of death averted from your heads be joy, and the knowledge of offences forgiven be contentment, and the knowledge reconciled be peace, and of heaven offered be glory, and the fountain of wisdom streaming forth be light, and strength ministered be life to the soul,—then verily this peace, contentment, honor, and life is yours, Christian believers, through the revelation of Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of God."

The following is a forcible appeal.

"But, if you rather prefer the fortune of the brutes that perish, to look upon the light of the sun, and eat the provision of the day, to vegetate, like a plant, through the stages of life, and, like a plant, to drop, where ye grew, and perish from the memory of earth, having done nothing, desired nothing, expected nothing beyond; if this you prefer to the other, then have you heard what you lose in the present. Hear now, what you lose through eternity!

"You lose God's presence, in which all creation rejoiceth. You

lose God's capacity to bless you with his manifold blessings, which the cherubim and seraphim can speak of better than a fallen man. You lose the peace and perfect blessedness of heaven, which from this earth we can hardly catch the vision of. Have you suffered spiritual oppression and drowning from fleshly appetites? Freedom from this you lose. Have you groaned under the general bondage of the creature, and called for deliverance? This deliverance you lose. Have you conceived pictures of quiet and peaceful enjoyment, amidst beautiful and refreshing scenes? The realities of these ye lose. Have you felt the ravishment of Divine communion, when the conscious soul breathes its raptures, but cannot utter them? The eternal enjoyment of these you lose. What Adam and Eve enjoyed within the unblemished paradise of Eden, with the presence of God, you lose. What Peter and John felt upon the Mount of Transfiguration, where they would have built tabernacles, and dwelt for ever, you lose. Can you, brethren, think of this world's fare with contentment? If you are wicked, how do your sins find you out, or overhang you with detection! If you are holy, how your desires outrun your performance, and your knowledge your power! How you fall, are faint, backsliding, are in darkness, are in doubt, are in dismay! You are not content with this world's fare, you long after something higher and better: hence the perpetual cheering of hope, and instigation of ambition, and thirst after novelty, and restlessness to better your condition. When man cometh to wish, to expect, to labour or care for, nothing higher or better than his present condition, he is supremely miserable. God hath left these witnesses within our breasts, out of whose mouths to convict us. He will say,—“Ye strive after something happier. ’Twas the labour of your life to reach it. I let down heaven's glory to your eager eyes. You put it away. Therefore be it put away from your habitation for ever! O ye, who labor by toil and trouble to exalt your condition, will ye not exalt it far above the level of thrones, or principalities, or any name that is named upon the earth.?” (Pp. 86—88.)

On the subject of pardon through our Saviour Christ, we have the following striking remarks:—

“If there had been any condition attached to this boon of forgiveness, we should have been in no better case than before. If it had been required that, anterior to any hope of pardon for past offences, we should be so far advanced in obedience, as to be of a reputable character for honesty, or charity, or truth, or to be doing our best to attain it, then verily things would have been marred at the very commencement. For it would have been left to self to determine the measure of attainment upon which we could found a claim to the benefit; and the question would have been perplexed anew with that uncertain element of self-adjudication, which we have already shewn is enough to shake the stability of any system. Besides, from the nature of man, which always founds a claims of right when a condition is present, it would have soon lost the character of a boon, and failed to make the impression of a free unmerited gift. But above all, it would

have opened the door to self-esteem and partiality, and every kind of palliation, to juggle us into the conceit of having reached the mark at which all is safe. And being persuaded that we were there arrived, all inducement to further efforts would have been taken away when there was no further advantage to be gained." (Pp. 177, 178.)

Our author thus recommends Jesus Christ as the best teacher :

"Only one man, of the myriads who passed the darksome veil, returned ; he passed into the obscure, in the obscure he tarried, and, like the rest, was given up for lost. But forth he came in the greatness of his strength, having conquered the powers beyond. He came not for his own sake, but for ours ; to give us note and warning of what was doing upon the other side, and of what fare we were to expect for ever. And he hath laid down the simplest rules to guide us to happiness and honour, and the amplest warning to keep us from degradation and ruin. In the name of reason and consistency, then, to whom should we apply but unto him who knows so well, and was never known, in all he said, to deceive, in all he did, to injure ?—To him, then, let us go for tuition ! And most surely he is the kindest, most affectionate, most considerate teacher that ever breathed the breath of knowledge over helpless ignorance. Away then with our own conjectures, away with the conjectures of other men, however wise in this life ! they know nothing of the life within the veil which shrouds us in. Up then, go to the Scriptures, which he uttered of himself, or by the inspiration of his Spirit ; there let us be stripped of all our fancied knowledge of things which we know not in the least. Under them let us commence a new childhood, a new scholarship for eternity, and we shall arrive at length at that manhood of strength and knowledge, which shall never fall away into the dotage or seariness of age, and shall survive death, and convey us safe through the unknown, to the mansion of our heavenly Father, which our great forerunner hath gone to prepare for our reception." (Pp. 515, 516.)

Such impressive appeals as these deserve high praise. We record them to the honour of Mr. Irving. That they are addressed to crowded audiences, comprising many but little accustomed to such plain dealing on the subject of their best interests, affords us high gratification. What a pity that there should be any drawback where there is so much to commend, that such sterling excellence should be mixed up with so large a portion of alloy ! We turn with reluctance and pain from this induction of passages, which shew at once what decided scriptural truth the work contains, and how favorably it has impressed us, to the discharge of a duty no less important both to the reader and to the author, that of exposing some of its various defects and errors ; defects and errors which affect not merely the style, structure, and subject matter of the work, but, in some degree also, the frame and temper of the author's mind.

We must commence this class of our remarks at the very title page of Mr. Irvine's book. When we read the advertisement in the public papers, announcing, "FOR THE ORACLES OF GOD; FOUR ORATIONS. FOR JUDGMENT TO COME; AN ARGUMENT IN NINE PARTS, we could not forbear a smile at the pedantic absurdity of such a title. But when we opened the book, and found that these "Four Orations," and this "Argument in Nine Parts," were neither more nor less than so many ordinary sermons, we felt real concern; because we were satisfied that if it had been the author's object to cover himself and his work with ridicule, he could scarcely have devised a more apt expedient for the purpose. What might be Mr. Irvine's motives for choosing such a title, or what end he expected to answer by it, we are at a loss to conjecture. If, indeed, he designed that his book, on its annunciation, should be regarded as one of large pretensions, and that it should excite a corresponding lofty expectation, his title is not an unsuitable one for such a purpose. But, putting every thing like modesty out of the question, what, on this supposition, we may ask, had become of the gentleman's judgment and common sense? We had always understood that to be moderate in pretension and promise, even where we hope to be ample in performance, is not only the dictate of modesty but of discretion. But here, in a title of such magnificent promise, as scarcely any performance could justify, this wise principle is reversed. Perhaps, however, Mr. Irving only meant by the adoption of the high-sounding epithets, "Orations and argument," to procure more readers for his sermons, than they would be likely to have, if sent forth under their proper name. This may be considered by some as a justifiable *Ruse de Guerre*. But, while we are bold to say, no such end has been answered by it, we must, for our own part, protest against every thing like puff or trick in what is connected with the Christian ministry. The office is degraded by it; and the mighty theme to be held forth disdains such aid.

We proceed from the title page to the preface, which opens with the following paragraph:

"It hath appeared to the Author of this book, from more than ten years' meditation on the subject, that the chief obstacle to the progress of divine truth over the minds of men, is the want of its being properly presented to them. In this Christian country there are, perhaps, nine-tenths of every class, who know nothing at all about the applications and advantages of the single truths of revelation, or of revelation taken as a whole: and what they do not know, they cannot be expected to reverence or obey. This ignorance, in both the higher and the lower orders, of Religion, as a discernor of the thoughts and

intentions of the heart, is not so much due to the want of inquisitiveness on their part, as to the want of a sedulous and skilful ministry on the part of those to whom it is entrusted."

Of the three sentences, of which this paragraph consists, one only, the intermediate one, contains what is true. When Mr. Irving says, "In this Christian country, there are, perhaps, nine-tenths of every class who know nothing at all about the applications and advantages of the single truths of revelation, or of revelation taken as a whole," we go with him in the assertion: but when he tells us, that after ten years' meditation on the subject, it appears to him that the chief obstacle to the progress of divine truth over the minds of men, is the want of its being properly presented to them; we beg leave to assure him, that he has meditated, at least as it respects this subject, to very little purpose. Mark, it is of this "Christian country," in which every one has access to the Holy Scriptures, that Mr. Irving is speaking. Does he mean to assert, that divine truth is not properly presented in *them*? No, he can mean no such thing; because, in his orations, he has over and over again stated the contrary. But it has happened to Mr. Irving, as it almost uniformly does to those who dogmatize like him, he has asserted a great deal more than he himself intended. This rash assertion cannot therefore be too broadly contradicted. Divine truth, as Mr. Irving has himself admitted, is no where presented in so accurate, luminous, and affecting a manner, as in the Word of God. It is therefore properly presented to all who have access to that word. We must consequently look elsewhere for the chief obstacle to its progress over the minds of men. It is our author's mistake, as to this *chief obstacle* to the progress of divine truth, that we desire particularly to expose. The nature and magnitude of that mistake are rendered more apparent by the concluding sentence of this paragraph. "This ignorance, both in the higher and the lower orders, of religion, as a discernor of the thoughts and intentions of the heart, is not so much due to the want of inquisitiveness on their part, as to the want of a sedulous and skilful ministry on the part of those to whom it is entrusted." In these passages, Mr. Irving's assertion is two-fold; first, that to which we have already adverted, relative to the chief obstacle to the progress of divine truth over the mind; and secondly, that the ignorance of men is not (as he awkwardly expresses it) so much due to the want of inquisitiveness on their part, as to the want of a sedulous and skilful ministry. Now what is the obvious state of things around us, as bearing on these assertions? Are men inquisitive, anxious and sedulous to examine

into divine truth, as to its nature, import, evidences, bearings, and applications to their own case? No, they are not. Thousands and tens of thousands around us, live and die without ever exhibiting any anxiety or interest on the subject; nay, manifesting an utter repugnance to all such studies and inquiries; and when divine truth is forced on the attention (as in the case of some, from various causes, it happens to be) it immediately appears that the chief obstacle to its progress over their mind lies, not in the want of clearness and strength of statement, but in the very state, disposition, and tendency of the mind itself: it immediately appears that man is under the domineering influence of a principle, as opposite to divine truth, as darkness is to light, or as evil is to good. Exactly corresponding to this state of things, and satisfactorily explanatory of it, is the language of Scripture. "The carnal mind is enmity against God." Rom. viii. 7. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness to him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." 1 Cor. ii. 14. "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil." John iii. 19. These passages of Scripture, and more especially the words of our Saviour in the last quoted text, distinctly aver that men are in darkness, while light and knowledge beam around them, from an inherent preference and love of that darkness, and that this sinister bias on the affections, is connected with and strengthened by the habitual evil course of the life. Mr. Irving's representation of the subject, besides being unscriptural and erroneous, is also highly pernicious. It furnishes men with an excuse for their ignorance. It teaches them to plead, "we are willing to hear, nay, inquisitive and anxious to be instructed. Only let truth be fairly presented to us, and its attractions will win their way to our hearts. That we are ignorant is our misfortune, and not our fault. The fault lies at the door of our teachers." The scriptural account of this matter, on the contrary, charges our ignorance on ourselves, as the result of our own choice, as constituting, therefore, a part of our guilt; and, unless dissipated by our speedily coming to the light, as leading to our inevitable condemnation.

Our author is aware that, in the paragraph which we have been examining, he has conveyed a reflection on the clerical order; and therefore in the following sentence he disclaims any intention of doing so. With what face he could pen this disclaimer we cannot understand; inasmuch as in various parts of his work (all of which, may of course be presumed

to have been written before the Preface) he had assailed not only different classes of the clergy, but the clergy as a body; nay, in this very Preface he tells them (softening the matter, however, by including himself) that until they act on the principle which he lays down, they will be without excuse. As we may have occasion to advert to this subject again, we now proceed to the examination of the new rule or principle which Mr. Irving has prescribed, and which he has endeavoured to enforce and recommend by his own example. He lays it down in the following passage:

“ —Until the servants and ministers of the living God do pass the limits of pulpit theology and pulpit exhortation, and take weapons in their hand, gathered out of every region in which the life of man or his faculties are interested, they shall never have religion triumph, and domineer in a country, as becometh her high original, her native majesty, and her eternity of freely-bestowed well-being. To this the ministers of religion should bear their attention to be called, for until they thus acquire the pass-word which is to convey them into every man's encampment, they speak to that man from a distance and at disadvantage. It is but a parley; it is no conference nor treaty, nor harmonious communication. To this end, they must discover new vehicles for conveying the truth as it is in Jesus into the minds of the people; poetical, historical, scientific, political, and sentimental vehicles. For in all these regions some of the population are domesticated with all their affections; who are as dear in God's sight as are others; and why they should not be come at, why means should not be taken to come at them, can any good reason be assigned? They prepare men for teaching gipsies, for teaching bargemen, for teaching miners; men who understand their ways of conceiving and estimating truth; why not train ourselves for teaching imaginative men, and political men, and legal men, and medical men! and, having got the key to their several chambers of delusion and resistance, why not enter in and debate the matter with their souls! Then they shall be left without excuse; meanwhile, I think, we ministers are without excuse. Moved by these feelings, I have set the example of two new methods of handling religious truth—the *Oration*, and the *Argument*.—”

If by all this Mr. Irving only meant that the ministers of religion should be careful to cultivate their minds, to acquire various knowledge and information, to exert their talents and industry, to study the state of mind of their hearers, and apply with ardour to the high duties of their profession,—his exhortation would be unexceptionable, nay highly important, and such as those concerned would do well to attend to. But it is obvious that this is not what he means. All this is old and hackneyed; and no man of common sense could think of presenting himself with all the airs of one who had

made a discovery, and then hold up this to us as a novelty. Our author's expressions shew that he intends something beside and beyond all this. "The limits of pulpit theology and pulpit exhortation," he says, "must be passed, and weapons taken, gathered out of every region in which the life of man or his faculties are interested." The clergy are "to train themselves for teaching imaginative, political, legal, and medical men:" and thus are they to be prepared for imitating the example which Mr. Irving has set in his "two new methods of handling religious truth." Now, while it is evident that our author intends to inculcate something quite new both in the training of ministers, and in the mode of their ministrations, we must confess that we are unable to find out exactly wherein this novelty is to consist. But, so far as we do understand this new rule, we deprecate the introduction of it: and we warn the ministers of religion against it. Mr. Irving is himself, we presume, an example of one formed on his own rule. No doubt he has trained himself, as he conceives, for teaching imaginative, political, legal, and medical men. He has our best wishes for his success in this course. No class of persons require more to be imbued with that kind of religious knowledge which is connected with feeling, than those professional men; and we sincerely hope that Mr. Irving's efforts may have the effect of impressing the Christian character on many of them. But sure we are that he will never do this, by abandoning his own proper region and going into theirs. Sure we are that if any imaginative man be made a real Christian by Mr. Irving's preaching, it will not be by his poetical criticisms, or by his wild flights of imagination: and we are no less sure that the cause of religion will not be advanced among judicious, political, and legal men, by idle vapourings about liberty and the puritans, or an unmeaning panegyric on Mr. Jeremy Bentham, as "the shrewdest jurisconsult of the day."

We should therefore condemn this new principle, even though we had no other test by which to try it, than its working and effects on Mr. Irving himself. But we have a still more serious objection to it: one which, we should hope, will have weight with our author himself, and lead him to regard it with less partiality, if not entirely to abandon it. It appears to us directly opposed to the rule authoritatively laid down by St. Paul, and recommended by his example and success. We are presented with that rule, and with the example of this great apostle, in his own account of his preaching and doctrine, in the Epistle to the Corinthians. We

refer particularly to the First Epistle, from the 17th verse of the 1st chapter, to the 7th verse of the 2d chapter. Now let us take Mr. Irving's words as we have quoted them, and place them in juxtaposition with those of the apostle, and they will present, if not a complete contrast, at least two things with great and striking differences between them. And here let it be noted, that the apostle's ministry was exercised among various classes of persons, differing in religious profession, rank of life, mental attainments, disposition, and conduct; and yet he employed one and the same means with all those various classes; *viz.* the preaching of "Christ crucified;" or in other words, as he explains it elsewhere, the doctrine that Christ died for our sins, and was raised again for our justification; by which resurrection from the dead, he was "declared to be the Son of God with power." Whether he addressed the barbarian or the polished citizen of Corinth, the bondman or the freeman, the Jew or the Gentile, the philosopher or the ruler, this was his theme. Nay, this was his theme, to the exclusion of every other, not involved in, and connected with it. "I determined," says he, "to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." He marshals before him the *professional* men of his day: "Where," says he, "is the wise, where is the scribe, where is the disputer of this world?" and he tells them—that God has made foolish all their wisdom—that his preaching to them should not be on the topics which their wisdom would approve, nor in the words which their wisdom taught. He knew what they approved and sought after. "The Jews," says he, "require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom." But he mentions these things only to renounce them. "We preach," says this faithful servant of the cross, "Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness;" and that, "not in the enticing words of man's wisdom." Is there, we ask, in all this, any thing of an example for the ministers of religion to imitate? Is there here any thing authoritative and binding? Was it by this simple, but mighty and overpowering doctrine of the cross, that St. Paul, and the other servants of Christ, in that and the following age, subdued all opposition, and "turned the world upside down?" Was it, on the contrary, by a departure from this simplicity of doctrine and preaching, and by an admixture of the philosophy of the day, and by affecting the eloquence, and imitating the arts of the teachers of that philosophy,—that, in a succeeding age, Christianity was corrupted and debased into a mere secular system? Let these questions be weighed and

answered. Let the apostle's language and example be seriously meditated on; and then let the conscientious minister of religion decide whether he can adopt Mr. Irving's "new method of handling religious truth."

The ambition of novelty, if we may so express it, has been a snare to Mr. Irving, throughout the whole of his work. We may trace to it many of the blots and errors of his production. It has led him, for example, to find fault with that in others, which, immediately after, only in different words, he inculcates himself; to condemn things which good men have been accustomed to approve and recommend; and also to refine in such a way upon some of the plainest subjects, as to render his statements concerning them unintelligible, and, not unfrequently, even ridiculous. We shall furnish a few instances of this.

In his first oration, he says,

"Having no taste whatever for the mean estimates which are made, and the coarse invectives that are vented against human nature, which though true in the main, are often in the manner so unfeeling and triumphant, as to reveal hot zeal, rather than tender and deep sorrow, we will not give into this popular strain."

Now whatever may be our views of human nature, we have no more taste for coarse invective than Mr. Irving himself; and we agree with him, that it is with tender and deep sorrow, and, we will add, with deep humility also, that the corruptions and evils of human nature should be exposed. But now let us hear Mr. Irving himself in the very next sentence.

"It is a truth by experience revealed, that though there be in man most noble faculties, and a nature restless after the knowledge and truth of things—there are, towards God and his revealed will, an indisposition and a regardlessness. It is most true, that nature is unwilling to the subject of the Scriptures. The soul is previously possessed with adverse interests: the world hath laid an embargo on her faculties, and monopolized them to herself; old habit hath perhaps added his almost incurable callousness: and the enemy of God and man is skilful to defend what he hath already won. So circumstanced, and every man is so circumstanced, we come to the audience of the word of God, and listen in worse tune than a wanton to a sermon, or a hardened knave to a judicial address."

Now it is rather with a bad grace that the writer of all this finds fault with others for making a mean estimate of human nature; and it strikes us that there is something very like coarseness here, in Mr. Irving's own language.

Again, in his oration "on the manner of consulting the oracles of God," he says,

"Holding of the same superstition, is the practice of drawing nigh to the word, in sickness, affliction, and approaching dissolution, as if a charm against the present evil, or an invocation of the future good."—"And for studying his will, it is of no importance, save to perform it in the face of all opposition from within and without; therefore, of all seasons, sickness and affliction—when we are disabled from action, and in part also from thought—is, it seems to me, the season least proper for the perusal of the word."

In our former quotation we found our author throwing out a disparaging insinuation against his brethren in the ministry, for doing what he proceeds himself to do in the very next sentence, *i. e.* making a mean estimate of human nature. In the passage before us he condemns what good men have united in recommending, *viz.* drawing nigh to the word of God, in affliction, and sickness, and approaching dissolution. No doubt they are deeply criminal who draw nigh to it only at such seasons, that is, who neglect it at other times; so are they also who read it at those times, as if it were "a charm against present evil, or an invocation of the future good." But the reading at any time with such a feeling in view, is no less bad, than in sickness or affliction: and to say, that of all seasons, sickness and affliction is the one least proper for the perusal of it, is to make an assertion in the very teeth of all experience, as well as directly contradictory of the word of God itself. We stop not to prove this: but we hasten to ask Mr. Irving how he should act if summoned to the house of mourning, or to the bed of sickness or death to visit an anxious but ignorant fellow-sinner? Would he refuse to attend? or if he gave his attendance, we should be glad to know, for what purpose it would be? Would it be to tell the enquiring, dying sinner, to shut up his Bible, inasmuch as that, "of all seasons, was the least proper one for examining it?" Would it be to tell him that "his concern about the name and word of God was a symptom only of his weakness?" No: we are persuaded, that in such awful, trying circumstances, he would act a better part: he would turn his back on his unscriptural theory, and in his practice identify himself with his brethren, the ministers of good tidings and peace.

We subjoin the following curious specimen of the uncommon phraseology which our author sometimes employs, as well as of the nice distinctions and subtle refinements by which he too often obscures his subject:

"You will be alarmed, when we carry our censure against the common spirit of dealing with it (*i. e.* the Word of God) as a duty. Not that but it is a duty to peruse the Word of God, but that it is some-

thing infinitely higher. Duty means a verdict of conscience in its behalf. Now conscience is not an independent power, at the bidding of which the word abides to be opened, and at its forbidding to continue sealed; but the word, let conscience bid or forbid, stands forth dressed in its own awful sanctions—Believe and live—Believe not and die. If conscience have added her voice also, that is another sanction, but a sanction which is not needful to be superadded..”

Again, he says—

“To bind this tie (*i. e.* the relation between the Creator and the creature) nothing will suffice but strong and stubborn necessity. Duty, in truth, is the very lowest conception of it—privilege is a higher—honour higher, happiness and delight a higher still. But duty may be suspended by more pressing duty—privilege may be foregone and honour forgot, and the sense of happiness grow dull; but this of listening to his voice who plants the sense of duty, bestows privilege, honour, and happiness, and our every other faculty, is before all these, and is equalled by nothing but the stubbornest necessity. We should hear his voice as the sun and stars do in their courses, as the restful element of earth doth in its settled habitation. His voice is our law, which it is sacrilege, worse than rebellion, to disobey. He keeps the bands of our being together. His voice is the charter of our existence, which being disobeyed, we should run to annihilation, as our great father would have done, had not God in mercy given us a second chance, by erecting the platform of our being upon the new condition of probation, different from that of all known existences.”

In conclusion, he adds—

“Necessity, therefore, I say, strong and eternal necessity, is that which joins the link between the creature and the Creator, and makes man incumbent to the voice of God.”

Perhaps it would be difficult to find, in the same compass, in any author, more of what is absurd and ridiculous, than Mr. Irving has contrived to crowd into these few sentences. He commences by levelling his censure against dealing with the Word of God as a duty. He then acknowledges that it is a duty to read it; but admonishes us that we are not to read it on account of its being a duty. Duty means, he tells us, a verdict of conscience in its behalf. If so, we might conclude, that if this verdict be in behalf of the Word, we should read it. But this, it seems, would be an erroneous conclusion; because conscience is not an independent power, and the Word does not “abide to be opened at its bidding, nor at its forbidding, to continue sealed; but the word, let conscience bid or forbid, stands forth, dressed in its own awful sanction—Believe and live—Believe not and die.” Now this means, if it mean any thing at all, that we are to read the word, whether it be our duty to read it or not. Next comes the binding of the tie between our Creator and us; for which, we are told, no-

thing will suffice but strong and stubborn necessity. "Then we should hear his voice, as the sun and stars do in their courses—as the restful element of earth doth in its settled habitation." How is that, do we ask? Our author throws no light on the subject; but hastens to inform us, that "His voice is our charter;" that he has given us "a second chance, that we may escape running into annihilation;" and that he has done this, "by erecting the platform of our being, upon the condition of our probation;" and subjoins the following luminous and very consolatory assurance of the whole matter: "Necessity, therefore, I say, strong and eternal necessity is that which joins the link between the creature and the Creator, and makes man incumbent to the voice of God." Unquestionably Mr. Irving deserves the praise of originality in all this, as well as that of being faithful to his own principle, that of "passing the limits of pulpit theology and pulpit exhortation." But we are disposed to think that a large portion of his readers will be of opinion with us, that, in this instance at least, it would have been better if he had "abided" within them.

That part of Mr. Irving's argument on judgment to come, entitled, "Preliminaries to solemn Judgment," requires special notice. It opens by stating the fact, that

"God has appointed a day in which he will call an account of the good and the evil, and make a grand and notable decision between those who regarded him, and those who regarded him not."

Of this solemn account he remarks—

"That though it be a subject of pure revelation, it is one which may be handled with great deference to human reason, and to our natural sentiments of justice; and therefore he solicits from his reader a lively exercise of all his faculties, and a ready proposal of all his doubts; his object being, not to overawe him with terrific descriptions of things unseen, in which imagination may at liberty disport, but to convince him how consonant things revealed are to the best sentiments and interests of mankind."

That things revealed are consonant to what ought to be the sentiments, and to what actually are the best interests of mankind, is unquestionable. But it occurs, that Mr. Irving set himself a very difficult and trying, as well as unnecessary task, when he undertook to handle this subject of "pure revelation" with "great deference to human reason, and to our natural sentiments of justice." In a matter of pure revelation, the province of human reason, after having ascertained that it is really a revelation, lies simply in investigating its true and proper meaning, bearing, and application. When it has done this, nothing more remains, than implicitly and cordially to

acquiesce in it, as what is wisest and best. There is no point of divine revelation in which it is of more consequence to keep this principle constantly in view, than in that of a judgment to come. Unhappily our author has frequently lost sight of it in the course of this chapter. It contains, however, some things which are excellent and striking, which it will be a grateful office to render prominent, before we enter on the disagreeable task of exposing what is erroneous and mischievous. The manner in which he proposes to treat the subject is explained as follows :

“ In order, therefore, to carry the reason of men along with us into this solemn subject of judgment to come, we shall consider the doubts and difficulties which the mind hath in meditating the transactions of the great day, and endeavour to render the best resolution of them in our power, before entering upon the very article of the judgment, and the principle upon which it proceeds. These preliminary doubts and hesitations are of two classes ; one arising from the difficulties of conception, and the other arising from our apprehensions, lest justice should be violated.” (P. 269.)

Of the first class of doubts he says—

“ They spring from ruminating upon the magnitude of the work to be performed, and the incredible multitude to be judged. When we would grapple with the subject, conception is stunned, and calculation confounded, and a most unpleasant incertitude induced upon the mind. Our slow moving faculties cannot reckon the countless multitudes, and our subdivisions of time cannot find moments for the execution of the mighty work. The details of each case reaching to the inmost thought, the discrimination of their various merit and demerit, with the proportionate award of justice to each, seem a weary work, for which infinite time, as well as Almighty faculties are required. Taking advantage of this confusion of the faculties of conception, many evil suggestions enter into the mind, and destroy the great effect which the revelation of judgment to come is designed to produce. One thinks he will pass muster in such a crowd, and that he need not take the matter to heart; another, that he will find a sort of countenance in the multitudes that are worse than he; a third, that if he be condemned, it will be in the company of those whose company he preferred on earth, and will continue to prefer, so long as he continues to be himself: and thus the whole power of the revelation is laid prostrate.” (Pp. 270, 271.)

Our author obviates all objections of this kind, in the usual and only proper way of doing it, by a reference to the infinite intelligence and almighty power of God; shewing at the same time, that similar objections may be urged against almost every other part of divine revelation, if we attempt to dive into the method by which they are to be carried into effect; and “ thus out of all the good which there is in the revelation

of creation and providence, it were easy to escape." Thus, for example, as it respects creation. It is stated in Scripture that God created man of the dust of the earth, and that he formed Eve of a rib from Adam's side. This, he justly remarks, as it stands in the divine word, is a sublime lesson of God's power and our humble origin, and of the common incorporate nature of man and woman; but if we come to task our powers of comprehension, we are punished for our presumption by the avid scepticism and barrenness of heart which comes over us. In like manner it happens, he shews, that out of the comforts of Providence, the wisest of men have been beguiled by the nicety and importunateness of their research.

"They have reasoned of the multitude of God's avocations throughout the peopled universe, in every star imagining the centre of some revolving system, in every system the dwelling place of various tribes of beings, until they had the Almighty so occupied as neither to have time nor care for our paltry earth. And with respect to the earth itself, they are overwhelmed by the consideration of the myriads who dwell therein, and their own insignificant place among so many; and thus they escape into a heartless indifference and a wreckless independence towards their Creator."

All this he truly observes,

"Ariseth from their subdividing, by active calculation, the great work which God hath to do, without, at the same time, multiplying the power of the Almighty, to discharge it all, untroubled and undisturbed."

And he adds,

"That equally fatal results are wrought by the same unrestrained appetite for speculation in the great work of redemption."

He treats next of the forms with which Judgment is presented to us in Scripture, *viz.*

"The ushering in of the solemn day, by the archangel and the trump of God; the white throne of judgment, with the Judge that sitteth thereon; the glorious company of angels; the opening of the books; in which stands recorded every man's account of good and ill; the solemn separation to the right and to the left, of the two great divisions of men, and their separate verdicts of blessing and cursing."

Of these, he says,

"They are no more to be understood by the letter, than others of the works of God, but to be taken as an image or device of the transactions, done with the best similitude that the earth contains. It were, therefore, he intimates, a vain thing to puzzle imagination, and perplex conception with the details thereof, with the array of a human assize, or the bustle of a judgment-seat, where all the world was to appear, and to be taken successively under cognizance of the judge; for, instantly, immensity overwhelms the thought, and stupifies the feeling, the crowd forms a shelter to the fears, and the company, the

innumerable companions of our fate, gives a cheer to the misgiving heart. We throw ourselves loose, therefore, he says, from the details of the ritual, and aim at nothing but to preserve the spirit of the transaction; not but that these details are highly useful, and in the very best keeping with the majesty and terror of the scene, serving to convey ideas and imaginations of the great event, and to embody it to the mind."

He then gives his view of the Judgment in the following words ;

"If I were to venture an opinion, it would be this : that the action will take place, not by a successive summons of each individual, and a successive inquisition of his case, but by an instantaneous separation of the classes, the one from the other. Nor do I fancy to myself the bodily presence of any judge, or the utterance by his lips of vocal sounds, although it be so written, any more than I fancy a loud voice to have been uttered by the Eternal for the light to come forth, or any other part of the material universe to arise into being. But I rather think it to be more congenial to the other works of God, when it is imagined that these souls, and the bodies recreated for their use, will be planted, without knowing how, each class in the abodes prepared for them ; and that they will not be consulted about the equity of the measure. God will leave them to find out the rectitude of the proceeding, as he left us to find out the rectitude of his proceeding at the fall."

Now this is a mode of treating the plain statements of Scripture, to which we have a decided objection. We perceive no difficulty in conducting the last judgment on the precise plan laid down in the sacred volume, taking into account whose power is to be employed in that great transaction. If Mr. Irving be allowed to exercise his fancy on the events of the creation, and of the judgment, we see no reason why a similar liberty should not be granted with respect to the fall of our first parents, and the events with which it is connected. We have been accustomed, in common with those who regard the Bible as a book which is not to be trifled with, to reprobate that system which represents the account of Adam's transgression and its consequences, as a figure or allegory. But, if the account of creation (connected as it is with that transgression) and of judgment, (resulting as it does from that transgression,) be clothed in figure, we cannot understand how the idea of figure can be excluded from the fall. We have, besides this, another objection to Mr. Irving's mode of interpretation, grounded on a principle of his own. He regards the description of Judgment in the Scriptures, as a form of expression, used to meet the various faculties of human nature ; as fancy, fear, hope, pain, or pleasure. Now this would be a good reason for leaving

such form of expression just as we find it : but it is certainly a very bad reason for endeavouring to set it aside, or to detract from its force and meaning. On Mr. Irving's own shewing, Almighty God designed, by a certain form of speech, to convey to the human mind, and to impress deeply upon it, certain truths which could not be so effectually imparted in any other way. Surely, then, he rather injures than serves the cause of religion, who would substitute his own glosses and conjectures, instead of that expressive language which it seemed best to the Divine wisdom to adopt.

Our author proceeds, in the next place, to remark, that there still remain two previous questions for examination : one, as to "God's ability to have in mind all that every creature has thought, said, and done, so as to divide destiny with such dexterous arbitration among them all ;" (by the way, it is by no means from admiration of this phraseology, that we quote it,) the other, as to our satisfaction with, and acquiescence in, the verdict.

As to the first of these questions, that which respects God's ability, we are utterly at a loss how Mr. Irving could make any question about it ; or think it necessary to enter into any explanation or proof of it. It is a thing involved in the very idea of God ; so completely so, that omniscience has been uniformly regarded as an essential attribute of Deity, by all those who have acknowledged that there is "one living and true God." We cannot, therefore, but consider our author's disquisition on this point, as so many words thrown away, or as mere trifling ; but it becomes more than trifling, when he proceeds gravely to move the question, as to whether the Divine Being "can ever forget !!" Passing over, however, his elaborate proof that "God can never forget," we come to his second preliminary question, which he states thus ;

"How we ourselves shall be conscious of the justice of the decision, which God hath the knowledge and the wisdom to discern?"

To this question we should, without hesitation, give the following plain and obvious answer : we should say, that when we enter into that state, where the mists of ignorance shall be cleared away, where interest, prejudice, and passion, shall no longer exert their darkening and perverting influence, where we shall "see even as we are seen, and know even as we are known," every thing will appear to us in its naked truth and reality. What we have done, what we have been, what we are, will all at once flash on our minds, with an overwhelming conviction. The excuses, palliations, pleas, and justifications, with which we now impose on each other,

and, alas ! too often on ourselves, will no longer be thought of, except as constituting a part of our guilt. Such is, we conceive, the rational, as well as scriptural answer to Mr. Irving's second preliminary question. His answer to it is of a very different kind. Before we proceed to examine it, we must apply ourselves to the following extraordinary principle which he lays down, in order to evince the importance of his question :

"It is of the essence of justice, that the various offences of which one is accused, should be brought home to his consciousness and conviction, before he can be fairly condemned."

We should be curious to know, from what "shrewd jurisconsult," Mr. Irving learned this notion, about "the essence of justice." Wherever he got it, we suspect its soundness : we doubt that it would work well ; and we invite him to bring it to the test of the following matter of fact. It happened to us to have witnessed, in another part of the empire, the last moments of a highly-talented, and, in many respects, amiable young man ; who, though gifted with various advantages of education, fortune, and station, engaged in treasonable practices, headed an insurrection, in which the murder of a high and venerated judicial character, and many other enormities, were perpetrated ; and, in consequence, was arrested, tried, and, on the clearest evidence, convicted, and condemned to die. To the last moment (while he unfeignedly deplored the murder, which he represented as unpremeditated, and contingent,) he justified the treason, gloried in his principles and design, and, regarding himself a martyr in the cause of liberty, died with a mild composure and fortitude, which drew tears from many an eye. Now, according to our author's principle, this young man was neither more nor less than murdered ; for, that which is of the essence of justice was wanting in his case : his crime was never brought home to his consciousness and conviction, and therefore he could not be fairly condemned. It matters not that every one else was satisfied of his guilt ; that which is "of the essence of justice," was wanting in his case. Mr. Irving is possessed of less acuteness than we give him credit for, or, after trying his principle by some such test as the above, he will be disposed to give it back to the shrewd jurisconsult, from whom he learned it.

We come now to our author's direct statements, in answer to this his second preliminary question.

"It is a nice question," he says, "requiring a nice solution ;" and he adds, "Into this difficult inquiry I enter, not without hopes of casting light upon a subject hitherto dark and intricate, which will

need no small investigation, and will reward it with most impressive results, most necessary to the understanding of the issues after death."

His first position is, that there must pass upon the soul when disembodied, various changes, of which it is not impossible, though difficult, to discern the nature and the effects; for, though none have returned to tell, we all suffer partial deaths, from the effect of which it is possible to reason as to the effect of dissolution itself.

"The first thing," he says, "I perceive in death, is the great change that it will make in enhancing the past and future over the present. I think it will go hard to annihilate the present altogether. In our present condition, things that are past are spoken of as dead or out of existence, and things that are to come are spoken of as unborn, and things present alone as being in real existence.—Present things hit the sense, and our senses carry such a weight in the empire of the mind, being its five great intelligencers with the outward world, that they have deluded her into the notion that they are the five elements of her existence. Now that she hath an existence independent of them, is manifested by her occupation in silence and solitude, when she will close her senses, and have a glad or gloomy season of active cogitation; nay, she will grow into such absorption with her inward being, as to lose the consciousness of things passing around; she will sit in bustling places, yet hear no noise: move along the crowded streets, yet behold no spectacles; consume her meals, yet taste no savours; and though you surround the body with discomforts, and sting the senses with acutest pain, the soul which hath past heroism or virtue to reflect on, or future triumphs to anticipate, will smile in the midst of torture, and grow insensible to torment.—In all which cases, the life of the past and future, is triumphant over the life of the present."

Now we venture to affirm that much of this is quite new to our readers. We question, for instance, whether any of them have happened to light upon the description of person for which this picture has been drawn;—a gentleman in his "glad or gloomy season of active cogitation;" so lost to the consciousness of things passing around him, that he can sit in bustling places, the Stock Exchange, for example, but hear no noise; or move along Cheapside, yet behold no spectacles; or eat his dinner without tasting the savour of it.—In a word, so absorbed in heroism, virtue, and triumphs, as to continue quite insensible, though you were to give him a good horsewhipping, or duck him in a horse-pond. For our part, it has never been our good fortune to meet any one in such a "gay or glad season of active cogitation," with the single exception of one gentleman on his way to Bethlem hospital, and therefore we hope to be excused from building

much on the theory which this description is adduced to support.

But our author presents us with still more curious matter about past, present, and future.

"In truth," he says, "the present, both for its briefness, and the briefness of all its sentiments, is incomparably the least significant part of human existence, and it approximates a man to the lower animals according as his affections are set thereon. With a true man, the present is prizable only as it cometh out of the womb of past anticipation, bringing things hoped for to hand, and as it may be wrought up into the issue of our schemes for well developing the future. Seeing, therefore, that the present would fall altogether out of sight, were it not for this constant conversation which the soul is forced by the senses to maintain with outward things, and even by that necessity scarcely keeps its ground in wise and enlightened spirits; it is manifest that when that necessity ceaseth, as it doth at death, the past and the future will come to all in all to man. In proof of which, behold the existence of one who is immured in a solitary dungeon, and shut in from the invasion of the outward world—his present existence is nothing, his past is all; he goeth over and over the days of his life, the accidents and actions of which come forth as out of twilight. He remembers, and recalls, and recovers from the wastes of oblivion, until he wonders at the strength of his memory. Set open to him a hope of deliverance, and consuming the gloomy days and weary months between, he already lives with the future yet unborn." And the present is used only to consume his food, which he almost nauseated, and he notches upon his tally or makes upon the wall one solitary mark, its only memorial."

This also is new, and passing strange. We have been taught, and hitherto we have been simple enough to remember the lesson, that the present is, of all other periods, the most important. The past, we have been told, though it is gone for ever, has left behind its errors and its evils, the cure for which the present is to supply: and, as for the future, it is the present which is to give to it a form and a complexion, either of happiness or misery. Accordingly, "*Carpe diem*," is the maxim of a shrewd heathen poet, and "Redeeming the time," is the exhortation of an inspired apostle. Mr. Irving, on the contrary, tells us that "the present is incomparably the least significant part of human existence;" so much so, that "it scarcely keeps its ground in wise and enlightened spirits." And he has given us a proof or illustration of this. He has presented us with a prisoner, immured in a solitary dungeon. Unhappy mortal! some one is ready to exclaim,—In what slow and lingering wretchedness does he count the tedious moments as they pass! In the misery of the present, all that was joyous in the past is

forgotten; while the future is overspread with blackness and night! Surely the iron hath entered into his soul! Stop, gentle reader, you are wasting your compassion. This solitary prisoner in his dungeon feels nothing of iron or woe. "The present is nothing to him. The past is all; and he runs over its accidents and actions with wonder at the strength of his memory." Nay, the past is not all to him: for already he lives with the future yet unborn: and between the joys of the past, and the bright visions of the future, he can scarcely snatch a moment of the present to scratch a mark on his tally or his wall.

"Now," says our author, with an air of becoming triumph, "Now you are prepared to understand how it will be with man, when he is disembodied. We shall proceed to give the substance of his information on the subject, as nearly as possible in his own words.

"The body, which contained the senses, lies mouldering in the grave. The link is broken or wasted away, which joined the soul to the enjoyments or troubles of the present world. No new material investments are given to her, whereby to move again amidst these material things. 'Till the resurrection she shall be disunited; and then, being rejoined by her former companion, they shall be submitted to material scenes, again to suffer or enjoy. What is there now to occupy the soul? There are no sensations nor pursuits to take her off from self-knowledge and self-examination. Now seeing it is the fact, that when the soul is delivered from surrounding and disturbing objects, and occupying sensations, she recovereth with wonderful rapidity the lost impressions of the past, and ascertaineth with much judgment her present condition, it is not to be doubted, that when she hath suffered her great separation, she will be busily occupied with recovering from the past all her experience, and observing all her condition. Indeed I can see no other occupation to which she can devote herself in her purely spiritual existence, save of this of revoking from oblivion all the past, and calling up from the future all things dreaded or hoped for. Therefore she will doat and dream over her condition, live all the past over again, and float away into the future. One thing is certain, that whatever she doth recover will stand out before her in a light altogether new, and that she will pass upon herself other judgments than those with which she is at present content. Witness when you are laid on a bed of sickness, how you ruminate, and reflect, and turn the eye inward, upon the state of your soul; how offended conscience raiseth up her voice, and future fears come trooping up, like spirits from the realms of night. What then shall be the nature of our reflections, when we are disembodied in very truth, and the world is escaped into the land of visions? Then I truly ween there will be a scrutiny and a self-arraignment more severe than hath ever passed in monkish cell or hermit's cave. The soul will unfold the leaves of her experience, which since they were engraven, had never before been

turned out to her inspection. The glorious colours which illumine them are gone; the pomp, the vanity, the applause, the sensual joy, and there is nothing left but the blank and bare engraving upon the tablet; and conscience is its severe interpreter, not worldly interest, ambition, or folly; and there is no companionship of fellows or masters in wickedness to keep us in heart; and there is no hope of amendment to chase self-accusation, no voice of consolation, no preaching of recovery, no sound of salvation; all is blank solitude, spiritual nakedness, stark necessity, and changeless fate. The soul must have an irksome time of it, if so be that it hath lent no ear to the admonitions of its better part, and to the counsels of God which sustaineth these. It affrights me while I write to think of it. Such is the light upon this difficult subject of the wicked soul's condition, till judgment, which I can derive from the simple consideration of her being separated from her former companion, and driven upon her spiritual resources of reflection and hope. But as this is an enquiry which concerns an important portion of human destiny, and decides the question of the soul's preparation for and acquiescence in the judgment, I count it worth the while to push this enquiry into the change brought about by death, as far as our faculties can go with clear discernment." (Pp. 292, 293, 294, &c.)

It would have been well for our Author's character and usefulness as a religious teacher, had he checked his inquiries at the point where "clear discernment" failed him. Unhappily he has pushed them far beyond the utmost stretch of the "human faculties;" and thus has brought discredit on himself, and, which is worse, on that cause which we really believe it is his main object to advance. We shall not follow him in his reveries; but that our readers may have some idea of what he is aiming at, in this long disquisition, we subjoin the conclusion of it in his own words.

"In short (for we wander without bounds in this sea of discourse) from all these considerations which have been mentioned, and many more, it seemeth to me that death hath no sooner planted his pale signet upon the cold brow of our body, than a first initiatory judgment hath us in its hold; a first paradise, or a first hell instantly ensueth. All the past comes floating down, and all the future comes bearing up; they near us, they possess us, and the soul is engirdled, as it were, in a ring of events touching her on every side, and communicating each one a stound of pain or a relish of joy." (P. 310.)

Again,

"During the long intervals, therefore, from the stroke of death, till the trump of God shall ring in death's astonished ear, the soul is, as it were, by the necessity of her existence, forced to engage herself with the work of self-examination and self-trial, according to the best standard which during life she knew. If she was enlightened upon the divine constitution, then, according to the rule thereof, she will examine herself, and soon ascertain whether she held it in reverence, and

took the appointed measures to obey it, or whether she cast it behind her back or trod it under foot. If, again, she had no revelation of God, but had to depend on the light of nature alone, then she will try herself according to that light, and discover whether she made virtue or vice her delight, good or evil her God."

In fine, as far as we can discover our Author's meaning in this chapter, amidst the heap of words and figures with which it is overspread, it is this, that the soul at death is cast into some solitary place, where it dwells alone, and is set hard at work to discover whether it has been good or wicked, while united with the body, and thus to prepare itself for the sentence which the judge will pronounce upon it at the resurrection; during which process, it seems, it will work itself into intolerable torture, or unspeakable delight, according as its state may have been while in the body. Nay, this is not all, for from a hint thrown out, that in this state, "some perception of a Saviour may possibly be revealed to the virtuous of other communions," (*i. e.* we presume, to the heathen to whom a Saviour had not in this life been unfolded) a very important and arduous piece of work is reserved for the soul to engage in immediately after death, which will afford it abundant occupation till the judgment, if, even then, it shall be completed.

All this is very absurd, and it is deeply to be deplored that a man of Mr. Irving's powers and good intentions, should preach and publish it. But it is infinitely worse that he should have the hardihood, after telling us, in the outset, that this is a discovery of his own, that it is a "casting of light upon a subject hitherto dark and untreated," to attempt at last to impose it as a thing taught and sanctioned by the Bible. Our readers will scarcely believe that Mr. Irving has found authority for all this preparative purgatorial process which the soul is to undergo after death, in "the parable of Lazarus and the rich man, the promise to the penitent thief on the cross, the entrancing of St. Paul, the visions of St. John, and the constant allusions in the New Testament to the judgment and coming of Christ, as immediately at hand."

The necessity of bringing this article to an immediate close, in consequence of the length to which it has run, prevents our noticing several other parts of the work to which we had intended to advert. We cannot conclude, however, without a word or two on Mr. Irving's style, which, in common with most of his readers, we consider as superlatively, and in many places, ridiculously, unnatural and affected. There is scarcely a single sentence in the volume simply and naturally expressed. He would do well, if he means to appear again as an author, to take the same pains to get rid of his style, which it must

have cost him to acquire it. Frequently have we been ready to exclaim, as we toiled through his heavy sentences, what labour has been bestowed in fabricating this cumbrous and unnatural mass.

We had intended to animadvert on the self-sufficiency and arrogance which Mr. Irving betrays in too many parts of his work; and also on his attack on a certain class of the established clergy. But on the first of these subjects, we feel disposed, on further consideration, to exercise lenity. Considering the infirmity of human nature, it is not surprising, that our Author's success as a preacher should have the effect of making him forget himself. And, in this respect, we confidently look for amendment. On the other point it appears to us, on mature reflection, that the merits of the party attacked must be very questionable indeed, if that attack can injure them. Their religious sentiments and their character are before the public. The judicious part of that public will decide for themselves.

ART. XVI.—GREECE.

1. *Histoire des Evénemens de la Grece.* Par C. D. Raffenet. Paris. 1822.
2. *Provisional Constitution of Greece.* London. 1823.
3. *Annuaire Universel Historique.* 1821 & 1822. Paris.
4. *Report on the present state of the Greek Confederation.* By E. Blaquiere, Esq. London. 1823.
5. *Address in the cause of the Greeks.* By Rev. T. S. Hughes. London. 1822.
6. *Thoughts on the Greek Revolution.* By C. B. Sheridan, Esq. London. 1822.
7. *A Letter to the Earl of Liverpool.* By Thomas, Lord Erskine. London. 1823.
8. *Letter to the Rev. T. S. Hughes.* By E. H. Barker, Esq. London. 1823.
9. *Journey in the Morea.* By Sir W. Gell. London. 1823.

THERE are doubtless few of our readers but have done homage to the exquisite beauty and feeling of the comparison with which Lord Byron has described the impressions that excited, till of late, in the traveller on the classic land of Greece: its sky still as blue, its valleys as lovely, its mountain-scenery as sublime and grand as in better times; but the principle of life, as it were, extinct, and its beauty like the beauty of a fair corpse from which the spirit has just de-

parted. The period when its last spark of life became extinct has been illustrated with admirable eloquence by the author of the decline and fall of the Roman empire. He had traced that empire from its era of proudest glory through its successive stages of increasing weakness, disunion, and dismemberment; had painted with unrivalled warmth and glow of coloring the causes of the disease—the vices of the court, the licentiousness of the soldiery, the undermining of the people's energies by immoral luxury, and debasement of their religion by the bigotry and vain formalities of superstition;—an historical picture in which beyond all others perhaps is displayed the grand truth of the inseparable connexion between national greatness and national virtue;—but, when arrived at the closing scene of its existence, he lays aside the language of indignation as no longer to be suffered, summons to the canvass all that yet remained of virtue, and heroism, and patriotic devotion, to shed lustre on its dying struggle; and hard must be his heart who can read without emotion, of the night-conflict, and the memorable speech of Palæologus that preceded it—"the funeral oration of the Roman empire," or without an indignant anticipation of the time of retribution, when the sword of the infidel invaders may be broken, and the Greeks be again supreme in the city of their forefathers.

Among the provinces which fell successively under the yoke of the Moslems, those of Hellas and the Peloponnesus excite by their ancient glory and present promise incomparably the greatest interest. Naturally connected with it by language and situation they had been attached to the Eastern empire at the division of the Roman world; and out of 116 provinces enjoyed the honour of forming one of the five *proconsular* governments. From the silence of history it would appear that with the exception of the Sclavonian invasion in the 8th century, (an invasion by which, says the royal narrator, *εσκλαβωθη πασα η χωρα και γεγονε βαρβαρος*) they enjoyed, amidst the distractions and tumults of the more exposed parts of the empire, a long period of comparative calm, and specious though unsound prosperity. The landed property had gradually passed into the hands of a few large proprietors; (the tenure whether with individuals or with convents, requiring personal service or payment for a substitute;) but commerce and manufactures, especially of silk, had at the same time imparted wealth to the towns, and in the *Theme* (province) of Peloponnesus alone 40 cities could be enumerated in the 10th Century, and besides them, the noble race of *ελευθεροι Λακωνες*, descendants of the persecuted Helots, and already at that time known by the

name *Mainots*, that has since made the Moslem tyrants to tremble. About the time of the crusades successive bands of adventurers, Norman, French, and Spanish, seized on these provinces; and for 250 years their various and obscure dynasties rose and fell on the continent and the islands; but as the victorious armies of Mahomet swept along the shores of Macedonia, resistance hushed before them, and every existing land mark of society was at once washed away in the absorbing tide of Turkish despotism.

The Turkish Government has been often described. The evils that weighed upon its Christian provinces were the effects in part of its political, in part of its religious system. By the one all public officers, by the other every individual Mussulman became an oppressor. And the result was what might have been anticipated: no gradual amalgamation or softening of the hostile feeling, but slavery perpetuated from father to son in undiminished rigour; the dispeopling of villages, the crippling of industry, the annihilation of domestic happiness, and degradation of all the moral energies of the mind marking its continuance; and ignorance still brooding over its victims at a time (and this should never be left out of consideration) when all the neighbouring states of Christendom had waked from their long torpor to run the career of knowledge and honorable ambition. We had intended to make some quotations from Thornton, and Eton, and other writers on the Turkish empire, in illustration of this part of our subject; but the general picture of Turkish oppression is given with so much fulness, and effect, and feeling by the author of the preface to the Provisional Constitution, himself a Greek, that we feel there is no need of our doing more than introducing it to our readers; premising only, that in all its most important statements it might be corroborated, were there need, by endless testimony.

“Meanwhile, what was the condition of the Greek nation, in the depth of the Provinces? How were personal liberty, property, honour, and industry secured? How was commerce protected? How was justice administered? What encouragement was given to public instruction, and religious establishments?

“There was neither property, nor safety, nor industry throughout Greece. The most fertile land was possessed by the Turks. A devouring swarm of great and small imperial farmers and rich proprietors inflicted upon the Greeks, mere labourers, as it were, tied down to the soil, all the rigours of an insatiable tyranny. Perpetual compulsory labours, inexorably enforced, exhausted whole families. No man was master of his own plough, or his team, or his mule. If he made a piece of poor soil produce, or succeeded in rearing a wretched flock, in the hope of thus supporting his family, he was compelled to

share with his tyrants all the fruits of his labours. If the taxes proved too heavy for his means, he was forced to borrow from these very farmers at an usurious interest of from 20 to 30 per cent. If on the day fixed for repayment he was found in default, he gave up his property if he had any, or he pledged all, even to his wife and children, or else he was thrown into a dungeon to rot there. As an addition to the horrors of such a system, an appeal to justice was a measure completely illusory. Before the Cadi, a creature at once coarse and ignorant who had purchased his judicial situation, our powerful adversaries, by means of some presents and of three false witnesses, were sure to crush us. The Turks, too, were all firmly united against those whom they called infidel dogs.* The inferior collector, the governor of the spot, and the pasha, had but one year to accumulate riches. The frequent change of rulers, occasioned by the gloomy and suspicious despotism, and by the rapacity of the present Sultan, and his favourite Haled, leaving no chance of habitual benevolence, has turned entirely against the repose of the provinces. A fact difficult to believe, but which is not therefore a bit the less true, is that the pashas, in their progresses, after having all the expenses of their suite completely paid by the country, received in addition a considerable present of money, called '*The remuneration for teeth*,' inasmuch as their teeth had been fatigued by masticating the provisions of the whole province. In short, all recourse to the capital against the governors, besides requiring a heavy expenditure, generally remained without any result, if it did not bring upon the appellants vexations and indignities worse than those of which they complained. The inhabitants of several hamlets in the Morea have assured me, that, wearied out by their sufferings, they were on the point of embracing Mahometanism, when the revolution broke out. If a part of the Albanese and Candiot population have abandoned Christianity, this deplorable necessity was produced by despair. Thus the fanatical Mahmoud had only to plunge deeper and deeper into this labyrinth of oppression, in order gradually, in the pride of his legitimacy, and before the eyes of the Holy Alliance, to effect the conversion of all his Christian subjects.

"A Turk might strike, or even kill a Greek, without his violence occasioning any serious judicial proceeding. In Candia, fathers have been stabbed for hiding their children from the brutal passions of ravishers. And elsewhere the most cruel persecution was the chastisement of a noble resistance. In other places, a Greek, suspected of being in easy circumstances, was forced, by the threat of losing his life, to lend to the first comer an appointed sum which he was sure of never receiving again. When seated in his shop, he was obliged to rise with folded hands before any armed Turk who might pass, and respectfully salute him with the title of 'master.' If on horseback, he had to dis-

* The answer returned by the Vizir Kiuperli, when informed by the French Ambassador of the victories of Louis XIV. over the Spaniards, is very characteristic of the general feelings of the Turks towards Christians: "What care I whether the dog eat the hog, or the hog eat the dog, so that the interests of the Sultan prosper!"—(Eton, p. 117.)

mount on any similar occasion. Even the form and colour of our clothes were the object or rather the pretext of prohibitions, of fines, and of severe penalties. The most innocent actions of life were shackled with endless restraints. In short, we groaned under a thousand humiliations, equally absurd, tyrannical, and disgusting.

“The system pursued with respect to commerce and the table of duties was not less unfavourable to the Greeks. An injudicious hospitality showered upon strangers privileges, which were most detrimental to the industry of the subjects and natives. The Greeks had no means of eluding this inconceivable injustice and folly, except by seeking protection under some foreign flag. But wealth acquired by a praiseworthy industry was no less exposed to official rapacity, than riches squeezed out of the national plunder. Accordingly the flower of our merchants, abandoning their native country, found safety on a foreign soil. There, beneath the Ægis of Christianity, they sought consolation, for being parted, frequently for ever, from their families, by creating to themselves a new existence; and Greece was left desert. It is to these emigrations that Trieste and several cities of Italy, Austria, and Russia, owe a material part of their population.

“Casting our eyes on foundations for religion or for education, foundations solely owing to the voluntary taxation of individuals, we shall find them everywhere subject to similar shackles, and exposed to the same caprice. Leave was to be purchased for its weight in gold to lay the foundation of a church or a college. Permission must be bought before they could be even repaired. Frequently in the midst of the holy work came an order to stop it; then the hymns and prayers of religion were chaunted within a roofless enclosure. No sciences could be taught but with exceeding reserve, and their practical application was to be left half in shade; for the herd of informers were on the watch to make the professors and students their prey. I will not dwell on a variety of details, which may easily be deduced from the general facts which I have stated. I will only say, that, notwithstanding the many volumes written upon that subject, Europe as yet knows but little of the frightful oppression under which Greece was groaning, and that no one could fully appreciate it, who had not been its victim.

“This however is the political system, anti-social and impious, and guarded by the horrid train of torture, profligacy, and pestilence; this is the system which venal pens have dared to hold out as *legitimate*, while they called our resistance *revolt*!”

The question as to the lawfulness of revolt in a subject people is a question we are well aware, on Christian grounds of peculiar difficulty and delicacy. How difficult is at once perceived on the perusal of Grotius' admirable and cautious chapter respecting it. With those who altogether deny the lawfulness,—and the Emperor Alexander, who, as he told M. de Chateaubriand, discovered the revolutionary mark in the Greek insurrection, is one of them,—we shall not stop to discuss the general argument. Suffice it to say, that their

principles are precisely the exploded principles of passive obedience and non-resistance carried to their extreme in the annihilation of the rights of nature, and to refer them to the full discussion of those principles in the treatise of Bishop Hoadly. But there are a few remarks which, to shew the strength of the Greek case, it is due to that interesting people not to omit; and when they have perused them separately, we would wish our readers to remember what Paley says of the strength of the argument *cumulative* from the aggregate of the whole together. In the first place then we may observe, that on *historical* grounds they deny that the Turks could be considered as entitled to the rights of legitimate rulers. To be so considered, they say, it is necessary in case of a conquest that their subjugation should have been entire, and "all traces of usurpation have disappeared." But in Greece this was not the case. "It never signed its own sentence of slavery." It was not left finally in the hands of the Turks till a century ago at the Peace of Passarowitz; and before and after that time continual revolts continually quelled were the voice, as it were, of their protestations against the usurper. In Epirus the spirit of Scanderbeg was never altogether extinguished: and above all in the recesses of Taygetus the unsubdued mountaineers might as justly be considered the true representatives of the Greek Christians, as the bands of Pelagius in the Asturian mountains of the Spanish Christians; and their descent from those mountains to replant the cross above the crescent as just and lawful in the one case as in the other. We are glad to strengthen this position by a quotation from Grotius. "Si bello injusto et cui juris gentium requisita non adsint imperium arripuerit (invasor), neque pactio ulla sequuta sit, aut fides illi data, sed solâ vi retineatur possessio, videtur manere belli jus." Grot. de J. B. ac P. l. iv. 16.—A second quotation from the same chapter of Grotius will justify the Greek revolt on other grounds. "Si rex verè hostili animo in totius populi exitium feratur, amittitur ab eo regnum, et post in eum omnia quæ in privatis licent. Consistere enim simul non possunt voluntas imperandi ac voluntas perdendi. Quare qui se hostem populi totius profitetur in eo ipso abdicat regnum. Sed vix videtur id accidere posse in rege mentis compote qui uni populo imperat. Quod si pluribus populis imperat accidere potest ut unius populi in gratiam alterum velit perditum." l. iv. 11. And in reference to the same principle it was an observation of Burke, that he never knew a writer on the theories of government so partial to authority as not to allow that the hostile mind of rulers towards their people did fully justify a change of government. In apply-

ing this to the case before us we shall only allude *en passant* to the undoubted and most important fact that the extermination of the Greek Christians has been often a matter of serious discussion in the Divan, and only rejected from considerations of the loss of revenue involved in such a step. (Eton, p. 356.) Our business is more particularly with the period of the present revolt. And in reference to this we are assured by Mr. Blaquier (p. 10,) that irresistible as was the call of Ipsilanti, yet the general rising in the Morea did not take place till the massacre of the patriarch and thousand others of unoffending Greeks, the incarceration of the Greek primates at Tripolizza as hostages, and the order for disarming the people seemed to indicate no alternative between resistance and extermination. The same account is given in the *Annuaire Universel* for 1821, p. 403, and certainly makes out the case supposed by Grotius: and in the famous note of the 18th July, 1821, (inserted among the *Pieces Historiques* of the *Annuaire*, p. 655.) the application of the principle to the case of the Greek insurgents is in fact strongly and expressly made by the Baron Strogonoff.—Once more, in looking to the nature of the Turkish tyranny itself, a tyranny affecting not only the property, and civil rights, and domestic happiness, but the mental and spiritual energies also of the oppressed Christians; polluting in morals, and in religion fearfully proselyting by its intolerable severities to the impostures of Mahomet, and thus spreading its malignant influence over both worlds, and blasting the interests of the people eternal as well as temporal,—we feel that if ever there was a case where revolt was justifiable it was the case of the Greek rayahs. What compared with this was the tyranny which forced the Swiss confederates from their allegiance to the house of Hapsburgh? or the introduction of the Inquisition and antiprottestant measures of Philip II. into the Netherlands? or the taxing of our American colonies without their consent? or, to come still nearer home, the gradual advances by James II, towards the revival of popery and absolute monarchy. In all of these instances of revolution the general voice of history has sanctioned the principle: but the case of the Christian subjects of Turkey is incomparably stronger than any; and we subscribe with heart and judgment to the burst of manly sentiment in the address by the Congress of Epidaurus. “No! a thousand ages of prescription would not bar those sacred rights, whose creation was the work of nature herself!”

After the abandonment of the Greek patriots by the Empress Catherine at the peace of Kainargi, and the terrible vengeance of the Turkish armies, the mournful silence of slavery again

settled on the land, and to a superficial eye the cause of freedom might seem more than ever hopeless. But the seeds of more successful resistance were in that silence being sown; the general advance of education and knowledge during the twenty years that succeeded the French Revolution was unprecedented in the annals of modern Greece; and occasion only was wanting to kindle the prepared spark into a flame, and rouse the nation to another and more determined struggle for independence. It was, as we shall see, not long wanting.

The first accounts of the Greek insurrection were so confused and contradictory, that it was difficult to form any correct judgment respecting it. But time has dispersed most of the obscuring clouds; and we have headed our article with the titles of three different memoirs, more or less full, that unite to give their readers an insight into its origin, character, and progress. The *Histoire des Evénemens*, by M. Raffenel, has the faults of want of continuity from its perpetual transitions, of occasional tediousness, (especially when descending on the comparatively unimportant agitations at Smyrna, and other Asiatic ports of the Levant;) of some little bombast also, and not a little sprinkling of national vanity. It is, however, often graphic, and always impartial.* The sketch prefixed to the Provisional Constitution is evidently drawn up by a more masterly hand; but it is too brief fully to satisfy the mind. On the whole we would recommend to every reader who takes an interest in the subject to peruse the memoir in the consecutive numbers of the *Annuaire Universel* for 1821 and 1822. In length it steers the just medium, its descriptions are clear and comprehensive, it has digested all the information of importance, and bears throughout an air of perfect truth and impartiality. It is from this that we shall chiefly extract the following summary of the rise and progress of the insurrection.

In the spring of 1820 the Ottoman empire presented the appearance of unusual tranquillity. Revolt was unheard of in the European provinces; in the south, the leader of the Wechabites had been taken, and his sect apparently extinguished; and by sea and land the comparatively vigorous police of the Sultan Mahmoud had swept away the pirates and banditti that under the reign of Selim had materially im-

* There is at p. 25 a most extraordinary mistake of *εταγισται* or Associates for *αἰθερισται*; on which M. R. grounds the following ludicrous note. "Il seroit assez difficile de rendre exactement le sens que les Moldaves attachaient à ce mot. Ils voulaient exprimer par-la toute la pureté de leurs vues, tout le sublime de leur entreprise, si je puis m'exprimer ainsi. C'est le mot Grec *Æther* dans toute sa force"!!!

peded the commerce of the Levant. Yet symptoms were not wanting to show the want of union and strength in the imperial colossus. The Pasha of Egypt was virtually independent of the Porte; the same was evidently the case with Ali Pasha of Joannina; and the Greek rayahs had by the diffusion of education, and increase of commerce and intercourse with the Christian nations of Europe acquired at once a clearer understanding of their rights, and increased ability to assert them. A Society of Phil-Hellenists had at the Congress of Vienna in 1816 formed itself under the title of the Φιλομυσος Ἑταιρεία; and entered a subscription, (the treasury was to be at Munich,) with the object of promoting education in Greece. Its numbers gave it importance; they soon amounted to above 80,000, including both the wealthiest of the Greeks, and many of the most distinguished individuals among the several European nations; and, under its patronage, professors, educated at the universities of Italy, or France, or Germany, had raised the standard of knowledge through Greece, and education, of a higher order been rendered more generally accessible. But the amelioration by education alone began now to be regarded by the Association as slow and uncertain: political views opened upon it; and the overthrow of the Turkish tyranny from being its ultimate became its primary object. It was at this time, that Ali Pasha threw off the mask, and broke into open rebellion. Ismael Pasha in the first instance, and then Chourschid Pasha, of the Morea, were sent to besiege and reduce him in his castles at Joannina: and when the winter had worn away, and the weakness of the Porte been made evident by Ali's continued resistance, the standard of the Ἑταιρεία was suddenly raised in Moldavia by Ipsilanti, a member of one of the most illustrious families of the Fanar; and his connection with the Russian Emperor on the one hand, and on the other with Theodore, the cotemporary insurgent in Wallachia, seemed to insure to those who joined him present support, and ultimately complete triumph. It was, however, on this point alone that the insurrection was put down, and the Turks triumphant. The promised assistance of Russia was soon known to be a delusion: among the chiefs under Ipsilanti there was a want of union, and among the soldiers, of courage. Theodore was the first of a multitude of traitors; and, after two unfortunate battles chiefly illustrious by his own bravery, and the admirable devotion of the Sacred Greek Battalion, the cause became desperate, Ipsilanti a fugitive, and the Provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia a prey to the dreadful retributions of Mussulman vengeance.

Meanwhile the news of the insurrection had kindled all the fanatic fury of the Turks at Constantinople, and roused the more ardent of the patriots of the Peloponnesus to follow in the steps of Ipsilanti. The noble Bey of Maina descended with his invincible mountaineers from the defiles of Taygetus; the Arcadian bands answered to the call of Colocotroni; and, on the northern side of the peninsula, the Archbishop Germano raised the standard of the Cross, and planted it victoriously on the battlements of Patras. But their measures were premature; the minds of the mass of the population were not made up to the risk; the priesthood hung back in particular; and it was not, as we have before stated on the authority of Mr. Blaquiere and others, it was not till the news of the murder of their Patriarch, and the incarceration of their primates at Tripolizza, and the order for a general disarming of the province, that the insurrection became general. Then it was felt to be a question of resistance or extermination: and though armed, for the greater part, with no better weapons than sticks, numbers and fury supplied the place of better equipment: the Turks were soon driven from the open country and less defensible towns and castles, and by the summer of 1821, confined to a few of the larger and stronger fortresses; to Navarin, and Coron, and Modon to the south; the two Napolis on the east; Tripolizza in the centre; and on the north Patras and Corinth. The Suliots at the same time, restored by Ali Pasha to their Acherontian fastnesses, had risen around the besieging camp of Chourschid, and the peasantry of Thessaly, and Livadia, and Attica, in their plains and mountains; and, what was in fact the strength and connecting bond of the patriot confederacy, the commercial islands of Hydra, and Spezzia, and Ipsara had from the first devoted themselves to the cause, and equipped and dispersed their small but gallant navies over the waters of the Archipelago.

There was now occupation enough for every Turkish officer in that part of the empire. The reader of Turkish history will remember that the government of the territories of Greece Proper was chiefly distributed among five Pashas of highest dignity; the Pasha of the Morea at Tripolizza; of Eubœa, Livadia, and Attica at the Negropont; of Epirus, at Joannina; Thessaly, at Larissa; and, crossing the mountain-range of Olympus, of Macedonia and Western Thrace at Salonica. Of the then holders of these Pashalics the most distinguished were *Chourschid*, of the Morea, and *Omer Bey Vrioni*, a deserter from Ali Pasha, and, at Ali's death, in the February of 1822, his successor to the Pashalic of Joannina.

The Pasha of the Negropont was Jussuf Selim, and of Salonica, Ahmet, and soon after Abdoul : and, while Chourschid was detained in Albania, Mahomed Pasha was appointed his deputy, and sub-governor of the Morea. In the plan of operations dictated by Chourschid as Roumelian Begler-Bey, (and, by consequence, generalissimo,) from his besieging camp before Joannina, each of these had to bear his part. To Jussuf Selim, who had in April retaken Patras from the Archbishop Germano, it was appointed from that city as a centre to scour the north and centre of the Morea, while Mahomet watched the provinces of Attica and Livadia : to Hassan Pasha of Berat, and Omer Bey Vrioni, to defend respectively Acarnania against the Suliots, and Thessaly against the collecting bands of Armatolis ; while Ahmet, and afterwards Abdoul kept down the insurgents in Macedonia, and effected the reduction of the three peninsulas of Cassandra and Mount Athos. In the execution of this plan Abdoul alone could boast complete success, having forced the intrenchments of the Isthmus, and butchered, or reduced to slavery its defenders : Jussuf Selim too succeeded so far as to retain Patras, and hold the insurgents at bay : but Hassan was defeated and shut up in Arta by the Suliots ; the mountain clans of Thessaly had, in spite of Omer's exertions, swelled their numbers, and, under the command of Odysseus, ravaged the plain, shut up the Pasha in Larissa, and afterwards on the 5th of Sept. completely defeated a Turkish army at Thermopylæ ; and, returning south, of the besieged Moreot fortresses, Navarin and Monemvasia, were taken in the course of the autumn, and, soon after, Tripolizza, the capital and chief dépôt of the Turks in that province. Samos, meanwhile, and Crète, and other islands, had raised the holy standard ; and the Capitan Pasha, after losing a seventy-four by the skill and enterprize of the Greek fleet, and vainly attempting to intimidate the maritime confederates, as he sailed down the coast of Asia, and across the belt of the Cyclades, had simply re-victualled Modon, and Coron, and Patras, and then returned ingloriously to the Dardanelles, pursued by the Hydriots, and leaving them masters of the Ægean.

Such was the result of the campaign of 1821. A year's warfare had been sufficient to shew the nature of the service, and the character both of the guerillas and their generals. Of the latter, the most distinguished were Mavro-Michaeli, Bey of Maina ; Odysseus, a favourite young Albanian officer of Ali Pasha ; and Colocotroni, and Nikitas, and Bozzaris,*

* We regret to say that by the last intelligence from Greece, this intrepid warrior appears to have fallen at Agrapha in the arms of Victory.

who had held commissions in the Albanian regiment of General Church. The name of the latter designates him as a Suliot; and the former had, before his connexion with General Church, been captain of one of the predatory bands in the Morea, that, under the name of Kleptes or Armatolis, harassed the Turks, and more than compensated for the disorders they caused the country, by preserving to the enslaved people the use and the spirit of arms. It was this class of warriors that formed the general theme of those wild war-songs of which Lord Byron has given us so spirited a specimen in the 2nd Canto of his *Childe Harold*. As to the nature of the warfare,

“On ne doit pas,” says the narrator in the *Annuaire*, “on ne doit pas s’attendre à trouver des opérations militaires faites sur un plan suivi, ni des batailles rangées, ni des sièges régulières. Il ne s’agit ici que de soulèvemens de peuplades réunies par l’ardeur de la vengeance, armées de mauvais fusils, de sabres, de frondes, de batons ferrés, ou de piques grossièrement fabriquées : leurs combats ne sont que des rencontres où celui qui disparaît le premier du champ de bataille est censé vaincu jusqu’à ce qu’il reparaisse en vainqueur : leurs sièges ne sont guère que des blocus entrepris, quittés, et repris ; c’est une guerre faite sans ordre, sans discipline, sans aucun moyen de l’art militaire.” (P. 402.)

And Mr. Blaquiere, in the following interesting sketch of the *present* state of the Greek troops, gives us a lively impression at once of the difficulties of the service, especially at their first rising, the hardy spirit of the soldiery, and the nature of the connexion that binds them to their chiefs.

“Although nearly the whole male population of the Morea, capable of carrying arms, is provided with pistols and attaghans, the number which can take the field is comparatively limited, depending almost entirely on the means possessed by the leaders, each of whom has hitherto been unable to employ more followers than he could provide for out of his personal resources, and the scanty and precarious aid of Government. These troops are also supplied with muskets, and are led by several chiefs or Capitani. The wants and privations of the Greek army are of a nature the most discouraging. When I state that there is not more than a third of the number, thus employed in saving a whole people from extermination, supplied with sufficient clothing to shelter them from the inclemencies of a mountain warfare, that they often march forty miles a day, almost invariably sleep in the open air, and frequently pass two or three days without any other food than the herbs of the field, the astonishment of your Committee at the bravery and perseverance of the Greek soldiery will not, I am sure, be diminished.

“From the above facts, I need hardly add, that the Greek army receives no pay whatever. The general mode adopted by the Chiefs

is to advance a small sum to each soldier previous to entering the field. With this he provides himself with bread, tobacco, and whatever other necessities he may require, as far as the supply will go; for it very seldom exceeds two Spanish dollars." (2nd Report, p. 3.)

We must add what he says of the navy.

"The naval efforts of the Confederacy, like those of the army, have been principally, if not altogether supported by the patriotism and public spirit of a few individuals at Hydra, Spezzia, Ipsara, and Samos. There have not been less than 100 ships and vessels of various sizes employed at the expence of about 30 ship-owners ever since the commencement of the struggle; and the number has on more than one occasion extended to 130. Their seamen, who amount to about 20,000 of the most expert in Europe, receive no regular pay; all they require for their services is the means of subsistence for their families." (Ibid.)

Such were the energies, and devotion, and patriotism exhibited by the Greeks in the first year's campaign. The campaign of 1822 was opened by them with many comparative advantages. They had acquired not only towns and fortresses, but confidence also, and experience, and some degree of organization. By the conciliatory influence too of Prince Mavrocordato,—formerly Secretary to one of the Hospodars of Wallachia, and who had instantly flown to his country at the news of the insurrection,—the several Capitani or leaders of the Guerilla bands had been induced to renounce their individual claims, and to accede to the Constitution adopted on the 1st of January, O. S. by a solemn Congress of the nation at Epidaurus. But on the other hand the old rebel Ali had about this time surrendered, and by it the whole besieging forces of Chourschid were rendered disposable to act against the Christian insurgents. His plan of operations in consequence was made on a larger scale and with higher expectations than in the year preceding. Having entered into negociations with the Suliotes, it was thought that a pretty strong corps under Omer Vrioni would be sufficient to keep in check the insurgents of Epirus and Acarnania. The focus of the insurrection was evidently the Morea; and his grand object was to quench it there. With this view, as the summer came on, the remnant of all the Turkish corps in Thessaly was collected and reinforced at Larissa; and a division of 25,000 was destined to advance by the defiles of Thermopylæ and Helicon to the isthmus of Corinth, while a corps from Patras co-operated on the west, and on the east the Capitan Pasha was to relieve Napoli, and swell the forces of the invaders to an overwhelming superiority. Various circumstances promised success. The enthusiasm of the Turkish troops was at its height from the recent surrender of Ali; among the

Greeks divisions, in consequence of disaffection to the Constitutional law of Epidaurus, had separated the guerilla chieftains from the Legislative and Executive bodies; and the President of the Executive, Prince Mavro-Cordato, having been commissioned to the defence of Acarnania, and the assistance of Suli, then besieged by Omer, had already on the 16th June suffered a complete defeat at Peta. But a kind Providence watched over the protection of Greece: the failure of the important co-operation of the Capitan Pasha deranged the Turkish plan:—blown up by some fireships of the Ipsariots, he had suffered a dreadful retribution for the massacres he had been committing on the once beautiful but now ruined Scio. The invading army, however, swept like a hurricane from Larissa to the isthmus: at Thermopylæ, whether from pique or nobler motives,* Odysseus offered no opposition to their passage. Corinth was both by Senate and the Executive precipitately deserted; and not an obstacle was found to check the progress of the Turks, till they had encamped in the plain of Argos, and opened communications with the garrison of Nauplia. It was then that the effectiveness of the Greek guerillas, under their brave Captains Colocotroni, Nikitas, and Mavro-Michalis, became fearfully manifest. Bivouacked on the mountains to the north and west of the Turks with the peasantry that had flocked to their standards, they harrassed them night and day, intercepting convoys, and cutting off detachments; till too late aware of his error, Hadji Ali proposed in the month of August a capitulation on condition of free passage to Corinth; and when refused only survived to see his army slaughtered, and almost annihilated, in the deep defiles of Tretum. From this moment success forsook the crescent: in Cætolia, the Pashas Hassan and Omer Vrioni having in December attacked its chief town Missolonghi, met with a total discomfiture from its defender, the Prince Mavro-Cordato; and by sea, the new Capitan Pasha, after cruizing ineffectually among the islands, narrowly escaped the same fate as his predecessors; and re-entered the Dardanelles like them as a fugitive, and with the loss of his second ship from the fire of the Ipsariots.

We shall not attempt to give any details respecting the campaign of the present year. Suffice it to say, that by land various partial engagements in Thessaly, Negropont, and the isle of Crete, appear to have been decidedly in favour of the

* Un témoin digne de foi nous assure qu' Odysse écrivit alors a Colocotroni ces mots dignes d'un ancien Spartiate; "Je vous envoie 30,000 Turcs; vous en ferez ce que vous voudrez: Je n'en laisserai pas passer d'avantage." *Ann. Univ.* 1822. P. 358.

Greek patriots ; and that by sea, the Capitan Pasha, after landing troops in the Negropont, and re-victualling the besieged fortresses, has at length, after long inaction in the waters of Lepanto, set sail for the Dardanelles, as little likely as his predecessors, according to human probabilities, to reach them uninjured. The Turkish power is evidently broken, and their resources by this last effort much exhausted : with the exception of two or three fortresses, the whole of Greece south of Thessaly, and all the smaller islands of the Archipelago, have now asserted their freedom ; and there is no need of assuming the character of a prophet to predict that from henceforth the independence of Greece is secured, and its sacred and everloved soil safe, not indeed from the maraudings and bloody harrassings, but from the conquest and permanent occupation of its ancient oppressors.

As a conclusion to this outline of the progress of the insurrection, we shall present to our readers a few national and individual sketches, that we think at once characteristic, interesting, and highly honorable to the Greek patriots. Let us begin with the heroine Bolbina.

Il me suffira pour donner une idée complète de l'enthousiasme des insulaires, de parler d'une femme dont le nom est déjà célèbre en Europe ; de l'héroïne Bolbina.

Douée d'un grand caractère, cette dame appartenait à l'une des premières familles de Spezzia. Son époux lui avait été enlevé par les ordres du tyran de Constantinople, et elle avait eu le malheur de le voir immoler sous de vains prétextes. Cette cruauté laissa dans son ame une profonde tristesse, et une haine implacable contre le barbare qui lui avait enlevé son époux. Veuve et mère, à la tête d'une grande fortune, elle pleura pendant neuf ans la perte irréparable qu'elle avait faite. Enfin, lorsque la révolution éclata, cette explosion fut pour elle comme le signal de la vengeance. Elle s'arma, équipa à ses frais trois vaisseaux ; et, nouvelle amazone, elle se rangea parmi les capitaines de la flotte, décidée à combattre avec eux. Ni les hasards de la guerre, ni les périls de la navigation, ni les fatigues d'une campagne si rude, rien ne put la faire changer de résolution. Elle prit elle-même le commandement de l'un de ses vaisseaux, emmena avec elle ses fils encore jeunes, et leur dit en s'embarquant : ' Mes enfans, les barbares que nous allons combattre ont assassiné votre malheureux père ; vous devez comme moi venger sa mort.' (Raff. p. 161.)

But Bolbina is not the only distinguished patriot of her sex ; Sparta and Mycono may also boast their heroines. Let us hear Mr. Blaquiere.

" Amongst the recent visitors," he writes, " to the seat of government, I ought to lose no time in making you acquainted with Madelena Mavrojeni, the heroine of Mycono, whose zeal and enthusiasm in the cause of her country merits the very highest praise. Niece to

Mavrojeni, one of those early Greek patriots who fell a victim to Turkish oppression, Madelena has been most actively occupied in contributing to the defence of her native island ever since the commencement of the insurrection. Having devoted the whole of her dowry to this sacred purpose, the object of her coming here (Tripolizza) is to complete the organization of a corps to be employed at her own expense in the ensuing campaign.—Though not in the flower of life, she is still extremely handsome; her physiognomy is perfectly Grecian, and must have been uncommonly beautiful ere the toils and anxieties of her present pursuits began. She speaks French and Italian with great fluency, converses with eloquence, and seems particularly well versed in every subject connected with the political condition of her country. Having, in my second interview ventured, though as delicately as possible, to persuade her that she had already made sufficient sacrifices in the cause, and ought now to think of restoring a constitution evidently affected by such continued cares and anxieties, she replied in the mildest manner, that the impulse which first induced her to abandon the society of her own sex, family, and friends, in order to espouse the cause of freedom, was altogether irresistible; and that having in the last effort disposed of her remaining jewels, the only regret she felt was the impossibility of leading her legion to the field, and being present at one of those combats in which she might witness the valour displayed by her countrymen when opposed to their old oppressors. Madelena is accompanied by her uncle and two female attendants.

“ Having alluded to the most interesting of the Greek heroines, it would be unjust to omit the name of another, who has carried her enthusiasm still farther. Costante Zacari, of Mistras (Sparta), is the daughter of a Greek Chief who was long the terror of the Moslem tyrants of the Morea, and, from what I am told, might have furnished a fit model for Lord Byron's Corsair. Taught from infancy to detest the persecutors of Greece, no sooner had the tocsin of war roused the dormant spirit of her country, than Costante fled from her home, and assuming the Albanese costume of manhood, collected a band of fifty warriors, whom she armed and led to the der-vanachi, or passes through which the enemy had to make his way. A person who is minutely acquainted with the history of this modern Amazon assures me that her followers performed wonders, and were invariably headed by their female leader. When no longer enabled to support the expense of maintaining so many armed men, the heroine of Mistras dissolved the band, and joined an Epirote chief, whose corps was attached to the little army collected by Mavrocordato last year in Albania. Severely wounded at the battle of Peta, Costante was among the few who escaped that unfortunate day; and having accompanied the prince to Missolunghi, was present during its admirable defence. She is now at Gastouni, where my informant had an interview with her three days ago. When I add that Costante Zacari is only twenty-two, and a perfect beauty both as to shape and features, it will be for you to say, whether the poets and painters of England who want to illustrate the war of freedom and indepen-

dence here, can be any longer at a loss for a heroine? I forgot to mention, in speaking of Madelena Mavrojeni, that she put on a deep mourning when her countrymen flew to arms, and has determined not to relinquish it until the independence of Greece is firmly established. The person who has furnished the details relative to Costante, represents her as fully resolved to retain her male costume during the continuance of the war. Although I am not aware that any other female can be compared with those I have named, as to the extent of their sacrifices, the women in Greece have been in general preeminently distinguished for their patriotism, while many have even been known to join in the combats waged by their husbands, fathers, and brothers."

The account of the successful enterprise of the Ipsariots against the Capitan Pasha, when moored in the roads of desolated Scio with his sixteen ships of the line and frigates, is thus given in the *Annuaire Universel*, p. 343.

"Apris le succès de cette expedition, (against Scio) le Capitan Pasha se disposait à faire un débarquement à Ipsara, à Tine, ou à Samos. Mais de leur côté les Grecs n'avaient désespéré ni de leur cause, ni de leur vengeance. Ceux d'Ipsara ayant mis des batimens en reserve pour embarquer leur population et la conduire en Morée, allerent avec la flotte nationale composée de 70 batimens, y compris plusieurs brûlots attachés à des scampavia, croiser sous les yeux des Musulmans, et affronter leurs citadelles flottantes, en attendant un moment favorable pour les détruire.—Le dessein ayant été pris dans un conseil tenu à Ipsara d'incendier la flotte Ottomane, plus de 200 braves s'étaient offerts pour tenter cette périlleuse entreprise. On en choisit 48 qui reçurent la benediction avant de s'embarquer. Deux fois ils passerent au travers de la flotte Ottomane sans être reconnus; mais ils tenterent inutilement d'accrocher les brûlots, et faillirent être victimes de leur audace. Mais enfin dans la nuit du 18 au 19 Juin, comme la flotté étoit au mouillage devant Scio, ayant en tête de la ligne le vaisseau du Capitan Pasha à peu près à une lieue du rivage, deux brûlots Grecs parvinrent à penetrer vers minuit dans le canal sans être reconnus par les Turcs. L'un d'eux se dirige sans succès sur le Capitana Bey; l'autre atteint la proue du vaisseau amiral, et s'y accroche. Les Grecs ne perdent pas de temps, y mettent le feu, et s'élancent dans le scampavia que remorquoit le brûlot; à l'instant même le feu s'échappe de tous les sabords, file sur tous les cordages: le vaisseau amiral paraît enveloppé d'un tourbillon de flammes, et enfin brûlé jusqu'aux poudres vint à sauter avec une explosion si terrible que la ville de Scio en ressentit une commotion semblable à la plus forte secousse d'un tremblement de terre. De 2286 personnes il n'en était pas sorti 200, parmi lesquels le Pasha lui-même était écrasé par la chute d'un mât; tout le reste de l'équipage fut englouti dans les flots. Les Grecs se sauvent à toutes voiles en poussant cris de victoire. Arrivés à Ipsara ils y furent reçus comme autrefois Athènes accueillait ses fils victorieux au retour de Marathon ou de Salamine." It adds, after the success of a similar attack on the Turkish fleet in the *Dardanelles*, "ils furent reçus à leur retour au port d'Ipsara par les ephores de l'île, et toute la population:

on chanta le Te Deum, et le president plaça sur la tête de leurs chefs Canaris et Niniauly une couronne rostrale." (P. 363.)

We have selected the above as a specimen of the gallantry and devotion of the marine: but the land troops also must not be forgotten; and where shall we look for so noble a representation of them as among the freeborn mountaineers of Suli?

"Let me be allowed," says the author of the Preface to the Provisional Constitution, "to pay the due homage to these extraordinary warriors of both sexes. The ferocious attacks of a numerous and long-prepared enemy were repulsed during several successive days with an incredible loss. Assaulted and surrounded on all sides, the rocks of Suli, which had always afforded a refuge to honour and liberty, appeared to be its impregnable bulwark. This is the simple and noble language of those mountaineers, in their bulletin, published on the 11th of May, on the eve of their glorious defence against Chourschid and Omer Vrioni.—'Learn,' say the chiefs to the people, 'that at Potamia there are 7,000 Turkish cavalry and 3,000 infantry; that 15,000 have marched out of Joannina; that there are 2,000 at the Five Wells, and that their united force will be 50,000. Such, brethren, is the report. You will know it with greater certainty in a few days. As for us, we are prepared to await them without shrinking. We have met, and we have counted our forces, and our total number is 4,000. We have taken our posts in order to close our lives in defending our liberty. Noti occupies Scoura with 1,500 warriors. Nicholas Zavella,* and George Draco, have gone to Livikista with 1,000; Zigouri Zavella and George to Zivroucho with 1,000; Goussi Zavella commands 350 combatants at Scoussa, and at the mill of Dala; 500 have followed Nassi and George Photomara to Sirizana; and we learn that Lampro Veco, and Leon Padoula are arriving from Xeromero.' Might we not fancy that the souls of the companions of Leonidas have passed into the bodies of the Suliotes?"†

* "The uncle of the celebrated Marco Botzaris, the terror of Turkey."

† We take the opportunity of inviting the attention of our readers to an interesting little book just published at Edinburgh, entitled 'The History of Suli and Parga,' and containing a number of most striking traits of this extraordinary people. Let the following serve as a specimen. It is given at p. 189; and also by Mr. Hughes with somewhat more of graphic effect, as follows:—'When their citadel Kiaffa had been taken by Ali Pasha, the Suliots capitulated to give up all their fortresses on condition of being allowed to retire with their wives and families to the Ionian islands by way of Parga and Prevesa. The Prevesa party was however attacked and overpowered by the faithless Pasha near the monastery of Zalouco. About 100 women and children cut off from the rest retreated to a steep precipice, at a little distance from the convent, where the innocent babes were thrown over the rock by their despairing mothers. The women themselves, preferring death to dishonour, joined hand in hand, and raising their souls to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by the martial songs of their country, whirled themselves round and round in a species of frantic dance, like the ancient Thyades, until they arrived at the very edge of the cliff; there elevating their voices into a loud shout of defiance, and as it were by a preconcerted signal, one and all threw themselves headlong down.

We shall add no more to these interesting sketches than one parting tribute of admiration to the Sacred Battalion, formed of Greek youths that at their country's call flew with one heart from the universities where they were studying, and amidst the treacheries and hopelessness that surrounded them, fell lifeless but unsubdued at the battle of Dragachan, "a holocaust to their country's honour!"

"How sleep the brave that sink to rest

By all their country's wishes blest!

When Spring with dewy fingers cold

Returns to deck their hallow'd mould,

She there shall dress a sweeter sod

Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.

By fairy hands their knell is rung;

By forms unseen their dirge is sung:

There Honor comes, a pilgrim grey,

To bless the turf that wraps their clay;

And Freedom shall awhile repair

To dwell a weeping hermit there!"

In looking forward to the future prospects of Greece, the Constitution which they have adopted as their bond of union becomes a most important consideration. In the pamphlet, entitled "the Provisional Constitution of Greece," it has been published in the original Greek, with an accompanying translation;* and Mr. Blaquiere's letters furnish some-

* The translation is not so accurate as it might have been. We subjoin the most important inaccuracies that have struck us, and hope that in a future edition of the Provisional Constitution they will be altered.

Ch. I. 2. The word *αυτοχθονες* restricts the meaning not to every individual of the Christian faith *whether native or definitively settled* in Greece, but simply every native Christian.

— II. 22. 'Ο της Οικονομίας, is oddly rendered Secretary of *Public Economy*; it should be of *Finance*.

— III. 26. Διορίζαι τας 'ώρας, is not *marks* the hours, but *appoints* them. So it is used 36, &c.

— — 36. Επιτροπας ισαριθμους με τα οκτω 'υπεργηματα is rendered "Committees of Correspondence *for* the Secretaries of State." It should be, corresponding in number with the eight departments of Administration.

— — 41. "Which is referred to it by the Executive," is an important omission in the translation.

— VI. 52. "Accused in the *midst* of the Senate," is a curious rendering of *ενωπιον της Βουλευτικης*. What would the translator think of a criminal being accused in the midst of the Court of King's Bench? It is as bad as the Navarin Italian, *d' entro d'una tirannia*.

— VII. 55. Παράνομα is not "*felony*," but generally, breach of the law.

— — 56. Εκτελει is puts into execution; not "*presides over* the application."

— IX. 97. Δια να συνθεσωσι κωδικας νομων, is rendered "*to overlook* the system of legislation." Its meaning is *to frame a code of laws*.

— — 100. Επ' αυτοφωρω, "*in a flagrant offence*." Should not the Latin, '*in flagranti delicto*' be used, if so rendered? In English it would be more clear to general readers if translated *in the act*.

The general character of the Greek in the various state-papers will strike our

times a valuable commentary. It is distributed into nine sections on the Religion, the Rights of the Citizen, the Form of Government, and the duties of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Bodies. The following is a brief outline.

The Government is composed of the Senate, and the Executive Body;—each annual and elective.

The Senate consists of Deputies from the liberated parts of Greece; the number undetermined, but at the time of Mr. Blaquiere's visit amounting to seventy. The only condition of eligibility to the office of senator is the being a native Greek, and not less than thirty years of age:—and, if the law of December 3, 1821, (Ann. Univ. p. 367) is still in force, there is a double process in the election; each village of from ten to fifty families electing a γερον, and the γεροντες, out of their own body as we presume, a senator for every επαρχία. The Senate on meeting appoints its Speaker and Clerks. Under the present emergencies it continues its session unintermittingly throughout the year.

The Executive consists of five members, annually elected by a special college (of senators we suppose) out of the body of the senate; and by the same form of election one of the five is appointed its President, another its Vice-President.

Laws originate in the Senate, and may be proposed by any of its deputies. They may also be proposed by the Executive through the Secretary of the Department to which the law refers. When a bill has passed the Senate, the sanction of the Executive is necessary to its obtaining the force of a law, and is indicated by the signature of the President, and in his absence of the Vice-President.

The Executive watches over the execution of the laws; and with this view appoints eight Secretaries as ministers of State: viz. the Αρχιγγραμματεὺς or Secretary for foreign Affairs, Secretaries of the Interior, of Finance, of Justice, of War, of the Marine, of Police, and of Ecclesiastical Affairs,—all responsible to the Senate:—and in connexion with which departments the Senate appoints out of its own members eight committees of Correspondence, to receive from time to time their respective communications.

The Executive has the usual powers of directing the sea and land-forces, naming diplomatic agents, contracting loans,

classical readers as in general more nearly approaching to the ancient than they might have expected. There are however some singular expressions that occur here and there, and seem adopted from their Frank neighbours: such as κοινότης a Commune; να ιδεάζη, to inform; έκτακτα μέτρα, extraordinary measures; (sc. of conduct) εν γενει, in general; &c.

&c. &c. It may also *commence* negotiations; but cannot make war or peace without the ratification of the Senate.

The divisions in the Executive are by the majority of votes.

Its members are collectively inviolable, but individually liable to impeachment. In such case the Senate having acted the part of an English grand jury, and by the concurrent voice of *four-fifths* found a true bill against the accused, he is proclaimed stripped of his office, and sent for trial as a simple individual before the supreme Tribunal.

In case of the impeachment of a *Senator*, or *Secretary*, *three-fourths* of the Senate must have found the bill against him.

The Senate votes the supplies; and at the end of the year revises the expenditure and the accounts of the Executive.

The Judicial Power is independent of the two others. It is to be formed of eleven members appointed by the Government. The following is the basis of the intended Judicial organization: There will be a Supreme Court at the seat of Government; a central court at the seat of each local Government, as the *Gerousiæ*, &c.; a provincial Court in each province; and a Justice of the Peace in each town or commune, for petty civil causes involving not more than one hundred piastres. The appeal lies from the Justice to the Provincial Court, from the latter to the Central Court of the Junta, and from that to the supreme national tribunal.*

Such is an outline of the Constitution now established in Greece. There are one or two points on which we should wish for more full information; particularly on the qualifications of an elector, and on the exact office of the eleven, (*οἱ εἰσδεκά*, to borrow the old Athenian phrase,) that constitute the judicial power. As to the *National Congress* it is essential to observe, (and the omission of distinct information respecting it is evidently a defect in the law of Epidaurus,) that with it, and it alone, appears to lie the power of innovating in the constitution. It was at its first convocation Jan. 1822 at Epidaurus, that the constitution was originally adopted; and its second convocation last April was devoted very mainly to the revision of the constitution. We learn that after two years it is to meet again; and presume that when affairs have become more settled, and the constitution been finally and fully adopted, the Congress will only be convoked by the Executive on some extraordinary contingency.

On the whole, it presents us with the picture of a pure re-

* In the law of Epidaurus these four tribunals are specified; and as the local Juntas then existing have on their dissolution by the late Congress been replaced by Prefects, we suppose that the number of courts still remains the same.

public ; and hopes and fears crowd around us in nearly equal proportion (perhaps the latter preponderate) as we look to its probable effects and issue. The dangers of a republic are twofold ; its tendency to democratic license, and to the want of oneness and energy in the administration, both foreign and domestic. When we read of the annual elections, and resting the representation on the basis of population only, and constituting a body of five as the Executive, our thoughts are naturally carried back to the National Convention and Directory of revolutionary France : and we recall with some little trembling, Burke's prophetic strictures on them, and—though the difference of national character and circumstances makes a wide distinction in the two cases,—the confirmation of those strictures by the event. More especially we doubt the cohesion of the nation under such a constitution. The complete change of the governing bodies each year seems to ensure a want of unity, and continuity, and strength in the administration. The natural insulation and independence of the several provinces from their geographical character, and the want of a capital city large enough to exercise throughout them a commanding and uniting influence, makes this danger the greater, and though the various local Juntas have indeed by the late Congress been dissolved, and the provincial administrations made to depend more immediately on the Executive, yet it is not impossible but that the measure may be found in execution impracticable, and that, in the absence of other ties, the confederate provinces and islands connected only by language and religion, and common hatred of Turkish despotism, may when the fear of that despotism is past, separate like the old Greeks, into many petty and almost independent republics. But in judging of those who framed the Greek constitution we must never forget the very peculiar state at that time of parties, interests, feelings, and social and national relations ; and the paramount necessity to the salvation of the country, of some immediate center of union. “ *Les lois politiques et civiles,*” says the President Montesquieu, “ *doivent être relatives au physique du pays, à la qualité du terrain à sa situation, à sa grandeur, au genre de vie de ses peuples : elles doivent se rapporter à la religion des habitants, à leurs inclinations, à leurs richesses, à leur nombre, à leur commerce, à les mœurs, à les manières. Enfin elles doivent être tellement propres au peuple pour lequel elles sont faites, que c'est un très grand hazard si celles d'une nation peuvent convenir à une autre.*” And thus, when looking round on those republics which have stood the test of time, the Helvetic Confederacy, the United Neth-

erlands, and above all, the United States of America, we must hesitate before we condemn the Greek legislator for not making the senate permanent, or establishing an individual President or Stadtholder, for four years or for life, as the supreme executive magistrate. At the close of 1821, Mavro-Cordato found innumerable conflicting pretensions in full activity;—the chief power in the hands of the daring captains of the Armatolis,—the people alike and at once raised from slavery, and jealous of their equal rights,—and lastly, one intriguing, though petty faction, for erecting Greece into a kingdom for Alexander Ipsilanti, and thus ultimately reducing it into a province of the Russian empire. With so many dangers and difficulties, we consider the highest praise as due to his prudence, patriotism, and conciliatory spirit: and remembering how the great Franklin urged the burial of all objections against the American constitution, when once adopted, we would only wish that the constitution of Epidaurus may have its fair trial, and last long enough for the habits, and thoughts, and interests of the people to become associated with it, and twine around it with so many ties of continually closer and more endearing connection.

We have spoken of the second National Congress at Astros. The details given by Mr. Blaquiere respecting *its* proceedings, and those of the *Legislative* body immediately afterwards at Tripolizza, are so interesting, and illustrative of the national feeling and manners, that we cannot conclude this part of our subject, without two or three pretty full quotations from him.

“The assemblage of a new Congress arose rather from the desire of Government to ascertain the general views and wishes of the people than from any public emergency.

“The election of new Deputies commenced in the early part of January, being completed by the end of March. The Members of the Executive determined that the meeting should be held at Astros, a small town on the sea-coast opposite to Hydra, in order that all parties might concur in the measures about to be proposed. One of the objects suggested by Mavro-Cordato, as President of the Executive, being that of consolidating the social edifice by transferring the powers confided to the three local Juntas of Epirus, Livadia, and the Peloponnesus to the Central Government, nearly all the chiefs and their followers were invited to attend. Such was the interest taken by the people in the question about to be discussed, that most of the towns and villages sent an additional number of representatives, so as to leave no doubt on the part of Government of the anxiety felt by the public as to the result of the deliberations. When these commenced on the 15th, there were not less than fourteen thousand men collected at Astros. The Congress was held at day-

light in a garden, and under the shade of lemon trees. While the Delegates and Deputies, to the number of three hundred, were occupied in the debates within the precincts of the garden, the citizens and soldiers mixed promiscuously outside the walls, where, being shaded from the sun by a grove of olive trees, they also discussed every point connected with their interests as zealously as their representatives, and waited the close of each sitting with the utmost anxiety.

"April 15th. (preparatory.)—The Members formed into a Secret Committee, for the arrangement of various points connected with the internal administration. Petro Bey was elected as President, Theodore Negri, as Secretary. Another object of that meeting was to discuss the propriety of adopting a Criminal Code,* *pro tempore*, and recommending the Ministers to attend to the subject, without loss of time.

"Form of Oath, administered to each Member, by the Secretary:—'I swear, in the name of God, and my country, to act with a pure and unshaken patriotism; to promote a sincere union, and abjure every thought of personal interest, in all the discussions which shall take place in this Second National Congress.'

"12th and 13th.—Committee named to revise the Constitution. An abridgment of the Code Napoleon recommended *ad interim*.—15th. Committee on the appointment of Prefects, and local administration of the provinces.—16th. Examination of Public Accounts: budget; land and sea forces voted.—17th. The propriety of appointing a Patriarch and Synod discussed; referred to Government.—18th. Report on the state of religion. Papers produced from the Deputation sent to the Congress at Verona. (A false report having arrived that a Turkish army had advanced towards Larissa, the Congress decreed, that a body of Greeks, under Panorois, a popular chief, should set out the same day.) No public Sitting from the 18th to the 24th, when the Report on the Constitution was read.

"25th. Constitution discussed: various clauses modified and improved; adopted unanimously.

"Sitting of 26th. The article of the Constitution, relative to the sale of the national domains, suspended, in order that they may insure the negotiation of any loan Government shall have occasion to contract in foreign countries; and also, to prevent the loss which might attend their being disposed of under existing circumstances. The Executive merely allowed to dispose of perishable materials, such as houses, mills, shops, caravansaras, mosques, baths, public schools, oil presses, ground for building, gardens, &c. Remuneration decreed to the Hydriotes and Spezziotes, for the expenses incurred by their naval exertions during the war.

* Some substitution for the Basilican Code on criminal matters seems to have been highly important. The Basilican was framed for and under a despotism; and, had it continued in force, the same ill effects must have resulted, as proved so injurious to the Helvetic Confederacy from the adoption of the too severe Code of Charlemagne.—(Naylor's *Helv. Rep.* iv. 567.)

"27th. Budget discussed; estimates of the sums necessary for the ensuing campaign; various measures for securing the payment of the revenue. The Executive recommended to take such steps for meeting the exigencies of the moment, as are allowed by the Constitution.

"28th. Project of a law for the establishment of Provincial Governors and Local Magistracy, discussed.

"29th. Discussion of various points concerning the fleet. Report of Committee on the Penal Code discussed. The Executive allowed to organize the tribunals *pro tempore*.

"30th. Seat of Government fixed at Tripolizza *ad interim*. Propriety of establishing a paper-money circulation, discussed. Decreed that another National Congress should meet in two years, except particular circumstances should render it necessary before.

"Tripolizza, May 17th. The Legislative Body opened its sittings some days ago in a large house formerly occupied by one of the most cruel Turkish oppressors of the Morea. Nearly all the Deputies have taken their seats. They meet at seven in the morning, and adjourn about one, the dinner hour in this country. I have been a regular attendant, and need not tell you with what kind of feelings and associations I witness the resuscitation of the representative system in Greece. The first operations of the Assembly have been directed to verifying the powers of the Deputies, electing Prefects, and arranging a system of territorial division. The discussions are conducted with all possible decorum, nor would it be easy to find any public body in Europe more jealous of its privileges. There is as yet a want of that order and method in the proceedings which can only be acquired by time. The voting is, however, managed with great simplicity; black and white beans being distributed to each member by the Secretary, the votes are collected and counted before the President's chair, after which he proclaims the result of his scrutiny.

"An unusual degree of interest was created in the Chamber yesterday, by the appearance of M. Luriottis, who had been sent to England to ascertain the state of public opinion there with regard to the Greek cause, and now came to give an account of his reception. It would be difficult to describe the satisfaction that pervaded the whole Assembly on hearing that both the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the nation generally, were favourable to the independence of Greece. Having read the Resolutions of the Greek Committee, and those passed by the Society of Friends, who have so generously come forward in aid of the fugitive Greeks, M. Luriottis expressed himself in terms of the warmest gratitude for the civilities he had experienced while in London, and, after a flattering panegyric on our national character, institutions, and those philanthropists of all parties who have more particularly espoused the cause of his country, concluded a very animated address by expressing a hope that England and Greece would 'ere long be united by ties somewhat stronger than those of mere sympathy. I need scarcely add that this well-timed address was followed by the acclamations

of all present: its effects on the Assembly went to convince them that notwithstanding the conduct of a few isolated individuals, they may henceforth consider us as friends instead of enemies, in which light the people of Greece have been hitherto taught to regard the British nation. It will be a real triumph for humanity if the assurances given on this occasion are realized."

We cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of making one more extract.

"While occupied in putting the above desultory remarks together, an event occurred, which will, no doubt, be exaggerated by the enemies of the Greek cause. An old intriguer, named Negriz, and who was charged with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs last year, disappointed at losing his place, has been busily at work in fomenting a jealousy, which existed between the Members of the Provisional Government and a few of the military leaders. This person had worked so much on their feelings, that Colocotroni, Nikitas, and a minor chief, Sessina, sent in a species of remonstrance on the 30th, and retired to a neighbouring village to await the result. While the Executive declared its determination not to yield to what it could not but regard as an unconstitutional mode of proceeding on the part of the chiefs, who ought to have addressed their grievances to the Legislative Assembly, a number of patriots met to consider on the best mode of effecting a reconciliation, when it was decided, that, as in the earliest days of Grecian lore, a deputation of the citizens should proceed to the irritated chiefs, and invite them to return to their duty. Three individuals, a priest, civilian, and a military leader were accordingly selected: they went forth four days ago; and, on reaching the retreat of the generals, only found Colocotroni; the rest of his companions having departed to their respective provinces, leaving him to settle matters in the best way he could. One of the parties forming the mission, which returned the day before yesterday, informs me, that when within a few hundred yards of the general's tent, each of them provided himself with an olive branch, and thus proceeded, waving the emblem of peace, when Colocotroni was seen coming to meet them. A conference was immediately held, and ended in a promise from the general that he would come back to Tripolizza forthwith, there to convince his fellow-citizens, that he had no other object in view than the good of his country; assuring them, that whatever shades of opinion might divide the civil and military authorities, Greeks would alway unite to oppose the common enemy. Pursuant to the foregoing arrangement, the hero of Caritena made his entry this afternoon, and immediately went to the palace of the President, where every thing has been arranged on the most amicable terms. While occupied in deliberating on the best modes of reconciling all interests, Nikitas presented himself before the meeting; and, having expressed his intention to abide by the decision of Colocotroni, concluded by requesting, that he might be allowed instantly to march against the Turks, who had recently committed the atrocities in the four villages in the vicinity of Volos. With respect to Colocotroni,

am told he is to be identified with the government in such a way as to preclude all future cause of jealousy. If there has been any bias evinced by the public, during a misunderstanding which might have produced very serious consequences in any other country, it is on the side of Government; and, to judge from the sentiments of all those whom I have heard give their opinion, there is no people in Europe less imbued with the revolutionary spirit than the Greeks."

The question respecting the proper policy to be pursued towards the Greeks, by the Christian nations of Europe, is one of which the originally intense interest has, in a measure, past away. So long as the barbarities of Scio were in danger of being renewed throughout Greece, and the sword of exterminating vengeance hung by a thread over its lovely regions, no wonder that every nerve trembled with intensest feeling, and the cry from Greece was again and again re-echoed in England, calling for the interposing hand of Government to save, at whatever cost, our Christian brethren. Who could read unmoved those touching expressions in the letter, at p. viii. of Mr. Barker's publication, from one whom Greece may be proud to number among its sons; "Notre malheureuse position, Monsieur, est telle que nous pouvons dire ce que Ciceron disoit au sujet de César et de Pompée, *γινωσκω ὃν φυγω, & γινωσκων προς ὃν φυγω!*" And truly, in a case where a determined interposition was likely to save millions of our fellow Christians from butchery, to talk of the delicacy of the question, and the technicalities of international law, seemed not idle only, and heartless, but almost insulting to the common feelings of human nature. As if extreme cases were not above the technicalities of law: or the international law with Turkey and Algiers was regulated by the same principles as that with the other Christian states of Europe! The very basis of the public law of Europe, as may be seen in every page of Grotius, is the recognition of certain principles that none but Christians can recognize; and so strongly is felt the necessity of different principles for regulating the intercourse with Turkey, and other Mohammedan States, that, in every case, the capitulations, as they are called, of the European powers, stipulate that, whatever crime individuals under their protection may have committed against that state, they shall be judged, not by the tribunals of the country, but by their national ambassador or consul. And well do we remember the agitation that prevailed in the spring of 1819, among the whole *corps diplomatique* at Constantinople, and their instant and united protestations, in consequence of the Sultan's attempting to take the law into his own hands, and hang a few miserable

Franks that had been coining the coin of his realm. But the atrocities at Constantinople, and Cyprus, and Scio made out a case for interposition of *new* and *unparalleled* force; it constituted the Turks, as Lord Erskine has called them, a public nuisance; and to use the language of M. de Chateaubriand in his speech in the Chamber of Deputies last February the 25th: "Hobbes, Grotius, Puffendorf, and all the old publicists have thought that it was lawful to take arms in the name of human society against a people which violated the principles of that society, in the same way as one punishes a destroyer of social order." But we forbear to dwell on this point; the Greeks have now raised, by their own bravery, an invincible rampart against the execution of any general sentence of extermination; and our policy towards them, thanks to our Foreign Secretary, has undergone the most salutary change, and assumed the features (we trust they are not deceitful) of all that is fair, and friendly and sympathizing.

We had intended to have made some brief notices on the several appeals, &c. in behalf of the Greeks, of which the titles stand at the head of this article. But our limits forbid it; and indeed the change of circumstances renders such notice the less needful. Lord Erskine's powerful letter had an especial reference to the Verona Congress. The object of Mr. Hughes's publication was to urge a crusade against the Turks, and combined effort on the part of Christendom to drive them out of Europe; *that* of Mr. Sheridan to reprobate such a policy, and with the author of the 'Remarques Politiques,' to suggest the erection of the Greek provinces into a state financially dependent, but municipally independent of Turkey. Of these plans Mr. Hughes's is evidently one on which the European body would not consent to act; and Mr. Sheridan's one, for which we should imagine the time to be past, considering the advances of the Greeks towards the complete conquest of their independence. Mr. Barker's is an interesting collection of various detached pieces that have from time to time appeared on the subject, with a sort of running commentary upon them, often of considerable vigour and information. We trust soon to see a new and fuller edition; and would suggest to him in such case, the advantage of a little arrangement, of the specification of better authorities for his documents (he can easily give them) than the newspapers, and the weeding out of the flighty eloquence of such Irish orators as Mr. Curran, &c.

There is, however, a very different writer, whose work must not be passed over so cursorily. On finding the tide of public favour setting so strongly towards Greece, Sir. W. Gell vo-

lunteered to turn it. And as in doing so he was evidently acting contrary to those sympathies that we should suppose inherent in the breast of every freeman, we feared lest some new and fatal information had fallen into his hands, and such that with every disposition to temper justice with mercy, and give the poor oppressed the benefit of every doubt and every mitigating consideration, yet truth imperiously forced the declaration, that they were unworthy the assistance, unworthy the sympathy, unworthy any thing but the contempt and hatred of their European brethren. But if such apprehension existed before opening the book, the perusal of a very few pages was sufficient to dissipate it, and to ensure a verdict, not against the Greeks, but against Sir William himself. Amidst a strange jargon, mixed up with the narrative, of misplaced wit, egotistical stories, incorrect statements, and political and religious lucubrations abundantly foolish, there runs through, as the one connecting thread, a spirit of malignant prejudice, (we do not use too strong a term) against the Greek people, that would in any court of justice impeach the credit of a witness, and make judge and jury hesitate about receiving his testimony, were the facts he advanced as strong as those of Sir William are weak. What interest he could conceive the public to take in the kitting of the cat on his bed at Caritena, (p. 123.) in the "dreadful notes of preparation that preceded old Zanè's spitting," (279.) in his own "bursts of laughter," (287, &c.) or the "singular and frequent eructations" of the ecclesiastics of Siphnos, (291.) or such like stories, that seem suited only to companions over the bottle, we are at a loss to imagine. But these, as violations of good taste and good sense, only involve a charge comparatively trifling. The manner in which Sir William, to effect the avowed object of his publication, ekes out his slender stock of facts against the Greeks, by inuendos, and hypotheses, and abuse, and mis-statements, deserves a severer reprobation. The Spartan "*if*" is a twoedged sword in Sir William's hands; but,—with how different an object from the Spartan's,—as the champion, not of freedom, but of slavery and oppression! On introducing, for instance, a worthless, and by reputation mad Greek Cogia Bashi, he exclaims; "*Should it happen that my friend Delli George should find it convenient to massacre his Turkish neighbours, which I believe he has lately done, is it to such a patriot they look for the establishment of laws and constitutions?*" (P. 69.) a good basis of beliefs, hypotheticals, and interrogatives!—Again, at p. 213, after holding up Zanè beyond all other objects of his virulence to the deserved detestation of his readers, he adds,

"Zanè may be fairly taken as an example of that most corrupt class of men called Archons. It requires no argument to shew that the decrees of the senate of Kalamata conducted by such a man, *if* he yet exists, can only tend," &c. &c.

Yet before Sir William's work was put to press, the Greek constitution had been published, with the names of its chief supporters, (among them the Notaras of whom he is himself forced to speak so highly,) and challenged examination on its own merits.—When Sir William leaves the hypothetical for the *positive*, he is equally unhappy. To show the religious bigotry of the people, he states, (119.) that with the Greeks, "Turk or English, in matters of religion, are synonymous terms." A statement to which we might, from personal intercourse with every order of the Greek priesthood, give a direct contradiction: but suffice it to refer to such works as Mr. Jowett's *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean*, and to the notorious fact, (a fact to which we remember the Protopapas of Pergamos referring in conversation on the subject,) that in the Levantine towns, while the Roman Catholic burial grounds are shut against the English and other Protestants, the Greek are always open to them. In ridiculing the absurdity of supposing that any Greek arch-bishop will ever sincerely support a Bible Society, (304.) fact again is against Sir William, and we need only refer for proof to Mr. Jowett's work just mentioned, and to the reports of the Bible Society.* The strange and somewhat ludicrous mistake that we find in the page preceding, confounding the Vienna φιλομυσος Society with the Athenian, has been, we believe, often exposed. In another place (302) he makes a statement respecting Colonel Gordon's "discovery of the real character" of the nation, and consequent disgust and withdrawal from them; to which statement Mr. Hobhouse was authorized by Col. Gordon himself to give a direct contradiction; and as a still further falsification of it, we may add that he has been one of the most zealous contributors to the Greek committee in London, having subscribed £350, and that till very lately he cherished the intention of again returning into the patriot service. And let us ask while on the subject of the massacres of Tripolizza, (massacres we deplore as bitterly as Sir William can do) whether common fairness did not condemn the omission of all the mitigating considerations,—the lawlessness of the Guerillas—the four centuries of oppression—the previous butchery of the Greek hostages—and, what we rejoice

* See particularly the letters of Dr. Pinkerton from the Levant, in the Appendix to the Report for 1820.

to dwell on, the change, that since the establishment of the constitutional government has taken place in their conduct of the war?—But to revert to Sir William's assertions, let us add one or two that partake of the *prophetic*, and see how events have justified his predictions. At p. 218 he asserts, that "the Greeks, if not assisted, must either fly or be slain." The answer is, that they have beat and almost exterminated every Turkish army that has entered the lists with them. Witness the combats at Argos, and Thermopylæ, and Missolonghi. At p. 404, he denies that the Hydriots could offer the impediment of half an hour on the open sea to the smallest force that could be sent against them." Yet in conjunction with their comrades of Spezzia and Ipsara they have baffled and often materially crippled, one large Turkish fleet after another, and remained for the most part masters of the Archipelago. Perhaps, however, Sir William here meant the smallest *European* force. Once more, at p. 166, he declares that "if freedom were acquired, avarice would recall the oppressor for a purse of gold." During the thirty months, however, of active contest, has there been found (we speak not of Wallachia, but of Greece Proper,) a single traitor?—But we must remember our limits.

The causes why Sir William should thus groundlessly calumniate a people interesting, to say the least, from their misfortunes,—abuse individuals who have done him no injury as savages, (p. 107) barbarians, (376,) wretched bigots, (102,) old monsters (309); (for it is not to such men as Zanè and Giannetachi that such titles of opprobrium are confined); why he should be so inveterately disposed against them, that if they shew him attention, he is disgusted with their importunity, (passim) and if they leave him to himself he charges it to their "neglect or contempt" (396); why the broken language in which a poor Greek lamented the oppressions of his country should be sufficient to make it appear to him "very entertaining and ludicrous" (12); and (174) the "hunting down of the Greek kleptēs by the Turkish agas," (how the expression reminds us of the poor runaway negroes in the West Indies!) should be witnessed by him "as an interesting though not very agreeable species of pastime;"—whence we say could have originated such an inveteracy of feeling against the poor Greeks, it seems difficult to determine. The sketch which at p. 138 he gives of himself as "knocking, bawling, bullying, and swearing," throws perhaps a little light on the testiness of natural character: the comparatively unpicturesque appearance of a Greek village, (116), the probable destruction in case of success on the part of the Greeks of the existing specimens of Turkish domestic architecture, (80), the

having a religion—not of images,—Sir William could apparently well tolerate even pagan “idols if not deprived of the grace which must render them admirable,” (283)—but of *ugly* images,—are all considerations that appear from the context to have had some weight with him: and in a paper that he has published in the *Classical Journal* (48. p. 401,) on the Olympian Inscription, we find the change again rung on a similar ditty; “If the Greeks triumph, no government of theirs would permit an excavation by the Franks.” Alas, poor Sir William! !—But to be serious, the cause we fear lies deeper. Sir William, though a freeman and a Christian, sometimes reasons as if he had no very just conception of the blessings associated either with the one character or with the other. He seems to shudder at the idea of freedom when connected with poverty and hardship; and to a sketch of one of the Mainot villages on the sterile mountain-top, appends no very equivocal comment on the folly of those who could prefer a wild liberty there, to the luxurious indolence in the plains under Turkish tyranny below (269 and 256). To the same effect is the comparison much to the advantage of the latter of the “North and its free constitutions, with the despotisms and genial bounties of the South,” and confession “that the world is worth living for in chains if they be but splendid.” (36, 167). And “perhaps,” he adds, “the period is fast approaching when the upper ranks of all climates would rather be rid of the troublesome honour of a share in the government.” But have no *moral* considerations ever entered into the mind of Sir William? The connexion of freedom with moral virtue, and invariable tendency of slavery to debase the character, and darken and degrade the religion? Probably not: for such is his idea of Christianity that he regards it as by no means so incompatible with Mahometanism; asserts (118 and 279) that “the Turks do not hate Christianity for its own sake,” and according to his best knowledge, “never deny any of its precepts;” and that “were but missions conducted among them by the least ostentatious of our numerous sectaries,” (the Unitarians we suppose,) “much might be done towards a removal of existing differences.” Has Sir William forgot the essential purity of the one religion, and sensuality of the other? Has he never heard such scriptural declarations as these, “He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life!” and again, “There is no other name given under heaven whereby men can be saved save only the name of the Lord Jesus!” and, “Though an angel from heaven preach unto you any other gospel than that we have preached let him be accursed!” Among Mahometan

far less bigotted than the Turks, when the late lamented Martyn witnessed his good confession, "There is no God but God, and Jesus is the Son of God," was the spirit with which it was received at all different from that with which the Jews of old cried out against his divine master, Crucify him, crucify him, crucify him?

But enough! no wonder that with such sentiments Sir William should think and speak as he does in this publication. But let not the Greeks think that the English nation is to be judged of from him. Let them not adopting his frame-work of hypotheses say, 'if the legislators of the English be like Sir W. Gell, what must be their laws!—if their religion be like his, how far must they have advanced towards indifference about the gospel of Christ!—if such be their tendermercies how frozen must they be in heartlessness! if such their views of freedom, how unworthy the name of freemen!'—No! we will present them with a specimen of true English sentiment; and after the moral desert we have been contemplating, it is indeed refreshing to rest upon it; "it is the soft green of the soul," to use the language of Mr. Burke, "on which the eye loves to repose."

"No! Freedom has a thousand charms to show,
That slaves, howe'er contented, never know.
The mind attains beneath her happy reign
The growth that nature meant she should attain.
The varied fields of science ever new
Opening, and wider opening to her view,
She ventures onward with a prosperous force,
While no base fear impedes her in her course.
Religion, richest favour of the skies,
Stands most revealed before the freeman's eyes.
His soul emancipated, unoppressed,
Free to prove all things, and hold fast the best,
No shades of superstition blot the day;
Liberty chases all that gloom away.
Thus they that fight for Freedom undertake
The noblest cause mankind can have at stake:—
Religion, virtue, truth, whate'er we call
A blessing—freedom is the pledge of all."

Cowper's Table Talk.

In conclusion, what may be the future destinies of this interesting people is known only in the counsels of the Almighty. Yet, to judge by the rule of ordinary probabilities, if but their political bond of union prove strong enough, we should pronounce them destined to act no obscure part on the theatre of the world. The very remarkable manner in which their emancipation has been brought about by a su-

preme Providence, overruling to its accomplishment unconscious agents, and events otherwise issue-less;—its foundation in the rebellion of a powerful Pasha, whose power then instantly melted away like the frost-work of a morning;—its introduction in a province not Greek where the insurrection was quelled as soon as communicated to Greece;—the cover to its weak beginnings by the fear of a Russian war which has never taken place, and by a Persian war which has been ended without a single new result to the belligerents themselves;—are all circumstances well calculated to excite the ponderings and the expectations of the world. But we descend to considerations that come more within the scope of human reason: considerations of the natural capabilities of the country, and its elements of power and greatness. Beginning with the most important element, the *population*, we may, in the want of accurate statistical accounts, reckon it, agreeably to the best authorities,* at about two million Christians in Greece Proper and the isles, and two million more in the rest of Turkey. In case, which for the present seems probable, of Mount Olympus forming the Northern boundary of the free Greek confederacy, as it in ancient times formed the boundary of Hellas, there can be little doubt but that the population within it would be rapidly increased both by refugees from the other provinces of Turkey, and by the natural effects of freedom;—two million to forty-six thousand square miles giving but forty-one to the square mile, and indicating a disproportion of inhabitants to the extent of surface that would easily allow of augmentation to the amount of six or eight millions. The rising character of the people, their natural quickness and intelligence, the hardy bravery of their mountaineers, the commercial enterprize of their islanders, and their universal ardour for improvement, and devotion to their country and their religion, have been made abundantly evident in the events of the present contest, and the ten or fifteen years that preceded it. To aid their rising energies we see them possess of a country not only ample, as we have observed, but the most beautiful, and in parts the richest in Christendom: productive of the most important articles of export, corn, wine, oil, cotton, silk, valonia:—(the produce of Candia alone in oil, is estimated by Mr. Blaquiere at four hundred thousand barrels, bringing the average price of eight Spanish dollars in the markets of France and Italy:)—a country too indented in all its coasts

* An abstract of these is given in the article entitled GREECE in the supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica.

and islands with the finest harbours ; and as a country of *defence*, strong in defiles and mountain fastnesses beyond almost Switzerland itself. If Switzerland with its steril soil, and inland insulation, and Holland in its stagnant marshes, could acquire, the one such strength of independence, and the other such wealth and commercial greatness,—should but its Government be consolidated, and its people united,—what may we not expect from the infinitely happier climate, and richer soil, and superior capabilities, and inspiring recollections of Greece ?—for with Athens for a capital, and Sparta, and Thebes, and Marathon, and Thermopylæ, and Salamis, rising around it, recollections such as hers must be a part, and no inefficient part of a nation's wealth and greatness.

But we are well aware that to this consolidation and this union obstacles not a little formidable exist. Their former oppressors, though unable to subdue them, still occupy a few fortresses in the heart of the country ; and can still from them, and from their fleet make ferocious descents, and harass with bloody warfare the peaceful villages. And so long as this continues, it is almost impossible for the civil institutions to acquire consistency, and the civil Government authority :—without a treasury and without influence, the deference paid it by the chieftains must be owing to their personal willingness, not to the strong voice of the law ;—the effective power of the state must be with *them*. There are also *moral* obstacles to the happy settlement of Greece in no small degree formidable. Noble as have been the efforts, and great the qualities displayed in the present struggle, we must not be so dazzled by them as to suppose that *all* is virtue, and nobleness, and patriotism. Long slavery must have had its effect ; its leprous touch leaves contamination even when it has past away ; and among many of the elements of a great national character, he that has at all studied human nature must expect to find a sad mixture of self-interestedness, petty jealousies, intrigue, ignorance, superstition. The remedy under Providence is in the diffusion of the pure light of knowledge and religion. And here our hopes make their resting-place, that with the cry of Liberty has been universally mingled in Greece the cry for knowledge and education. They declare it in their proclamations to Europe,—they make it the subject of solemn deliberation in their Congress,—the universal establishment of Lancasterian schools is registered among the earliest acts of the Government ; and, on taking the capital of the Morea, its chief mosque is instantly devoted to the great objects of public education. And to this general feeling of the nation, its ecclesiastical

authorities have not been backward to respond. They have almost universally recognized the importance of the free circulation of the Bible; have co-operated with the Bible Society in the forming, revising, and printing a new translation in the Romaic; and have thus (as we have seen it elsewhere stated) admitted into their church, superstitious as it is a complete principle of renovation. We rejoice that the Gospels of this translation are issued from the patriarchal press, in time to be introduced into the nascent schools, and give them their form and moulding. We rejoice too that the subject of the education of the Greeks is under consideration with individuals and a society well known for their philanthropic exertions in all that affects the best interests of the human race. But we feel the deepest anxiety that the British nation should come forward more generally in a cause so pre-eminently interesting. England is the country which, beyond all others that the sun ever shone on, the sister graces of liberty, and knowledge, and religion have united to decorate. It is the chief fountain of moral and religious light to less favoured nations; and in proportion as a newly emancipated people take its tone of laws, and education, and morals from us, in that proportion almost may it be expected to flourish. The Greek Committee * have led the way: with

* We feel it due to the Greek Committee to notice the mis-representations respecting it in a late number of the Quarterly Review. It states that in the formation of that Committee, and in the arrangement of the public meeting, political feelings were chiefly consulted; and that many men of ministerial sentiments, though desirous of cooperating in such a cause, "could not possibly subject themselves even to an appearance of cooperation with Radicals." Is Sir J. Macintosh a radical? is Lord Milton, who took the chair, a radical? Was not connection with the radical Hunt, and his contemptible followers, carefully and expressly shunned? And if applications the most urgent to many noblemen and prelates of sentiments not anti-ministerial were unattended to, was it not owing to *them*, and not to the Committee, that there was a preponderance of whigs at that meeting? As to the formation of the *Committee*, Lord Erskine's published recommendation has been faithfully acted on; and men of zeal in the Greek cause gladly proposed, and enrolled among their numbers without regard (we state it from personal knowledge) to difference of political sentiments. But the Reviewer apparently regards the motives of politics as more important than those of humanity. Mr. Brougham's connection with the African Institution would, we should infer, be considered by him as almost a sufficient repellent, though in such a cause as that of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and cooperation with another person in saving a fellow-creature from destruction be thought beneath his dignity, ("he could not possibly subject himself to it") provided that other were a whig! We say we should *infer* so from the expressions of the Review, and yet were a similar *individual* case to be brought before the Reviewer, we should have little doubt that such flimsy objections would instantly give way, and the simple dictates of humanity have full scope with him. For ourselves, we are, as the readers of the British Review know, of sentiments generally ministerial. But in such cases, individual or national, we consider the dictates of humanity as of irresistible obligation. We cannot, moreover, in regard to the former policy of our Government, adopt the *ex post facto* strain of paucyrie in the

scanty funds and very limited support (we blush to think how limited) yet they have been able to afford the Greek patriots assistance not a little important, and so to excite their ready gratitude towards our nation as to make them desire a connection the closest with us. And how gladly, in answer to this their desire, should we regard the friendly interposition of our Bible and Missionary Societies; and how should we hail the institution of some such Phil-Hellenic Society as has been elsewhere proposed, for the establishment (if political objects must needs be excluded) of schools and colleges through those classic regions;—a Society patronized by all that is most dignified in our church and state; and thus from the ‘*ultimi Britanni*’ repaying a part of the countless debt we owe them, and fulfilling the saying of the Poet, “*Redit à nobis Aurora diemque reducit!*” Then should we look forward with warm though trembling anticipations to the future greatness of Greece. “Methinks I see her,” to use the language of the great Milton, “a noble and puissant nation, casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption, rousing herself as a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks, and entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, and destined to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her endazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam, and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance!” And in such a case, placed as she is between the darkness of Catholicism on the one hand and Mahomedanism on the other, who shall tell the part she may act in the future evangelization of that part of the world!

But the event is in the hands of an unerring Providence.

Quarterly, because having almost miraculously worked out their own emancipation the exercise and developement of their unassisted energies have left the Greeks a greater people than they would have been if indebted for it to foreign aid. What if they had not succeeded? The probability and universal expectation was that they would be overpowered, and if overpowered exterminated. On that probability must be formed our judgment of the policy pursued by the Christian states of Europe towards them; and had the event coincided with it, what would have been the voice of history on those who could look on, and stir not a hand to save them? If in our allusion to British policy we have not raised our indignant protest against the anti-Christian conduct, during the first eighteen months of the struggle, of our Levant Consuls, of our Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian islands, (see especially his answer to the remonstrances of the Greek Government, printed in the Preface to the Provisional Constitution) and of our merchants, who could offer their ships for the assistance of the Turks when besieged, or for the transportation of their Christian captives to the dungeons of Algiers or Tunis, it is because our national policy has been changed, and the principles of fair and friendly neutrality have been adopted by our ministers. That they have been we hail gladly and gratefully as a national blessing.

To that Providence have the Greeks made their appeal from the beginning; they have fought under the banner of the Cross; it has been the nerve of their strength, and victories; and surely we may humbly trust that He who has thus far watched over them will still not desert them, but support, and defend, and bless them, and make them his people. The following beautiful and touching prayer is the conclusion of the Address to the Greek nation by their first National Congress; and at this important crisis, which will probably determine the character of Greece for ages, we would recommend it to the consideration of every well-wisher to the human race.

Εἴθε ὁ κραταῖος τῷ ὕψι βραχίων ἡ ἀνύψωση, καὶ ἀρχόμενος καὶ ἀρχοντας, τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁλοκληρὸν, πρὸς τὴν παρεδρὸν αὐτῆς σοφίαν, ὥστε ἡ ἀναγνωρίσωσι τ' ἀληθῶν ἀμοίβαία συμφέροντα, καὶ οἱ μὲν διὰ τῆς προνοίας, οἱ δὲ λαοὶ διὰ τῆς εὐπειθείας νὰ στερεωσῶσι τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν Πατρίδος τὴν πολυευκτόν ευτυχίαν. εἴθε! εἴθε!

ERRATA.

At page 273, line 2 and line 13, for *Irvine*, read *Irving*.

— line 31, for *Ruse de Guere*, read *Ruse de Guerre*.

284, line 9, for *avid*, read *arid*.

293, Article XVI. line 3, *dele* "that."

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THE
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AND

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FEBRUARY, 1824.

ART. XVII.—*A Treatise on the Genius and Object of the Patriarchal, the Levitical, and the Christian Dispensations.*
By George Stanley Faber, B. D. Rector of Long Newton.
Two vols. 8vo. pp. xxiv. & 869. Rivingtons, London.

THE world is indebted to the learned labours of men of research and knowledge, for a large portion both of their entertainment and of their instruction. History, science, and biography each furnish us with abundant matter for the enlargement and enjoyment of our intellectual faculties. But the greatest of all privileges, with which learning has blessed this part of our world, is the introduction from a foreign source, and a foreign tongue, of the Word of God. To learning and piety we are indebted for a pure translation of that book into our vernacular language from the divine originals, as well as for its preservation from destruction, interpolation, or retrenchment. And to the same learned and pious industry it is due, that we can distinguish spurious from genuine productions of biblical authors. The proofs, the *external* proofs at least, of the Divine origin and inspiration of the Bible, are derived from the researches of learned divines. And many difficult passages of Holy Writ, are, through the help of their lucubrations, easily understood. Numberless other advantages, in the way of elucidating the original beauties of the Divine oracles, which are concealed from the mere English reader, are afforded us by their skill. Doubts are cleared up ; objections answered ;

obscurities made plain; and parallel truths laid in juxtaposition, so as to throw light upon one another.

We must not, however, give our confidence too implicitly to the learned. There is a consistency, a simplicity, a spiritual beauty and harmony, which the honest and humble reader will perhaps feel in the sacred pages, with greater readiness than more wise and ingenious minds. *They* lie under so great a temptation to elicit something *new*, to discover a *system* in the whole line of Divine instruction to man, and to point out correspondencies and analogies with nice shades of discrimination, between divine and heathen authors, that the less informed reader is in danger of being beguiled by their fancied illustrations, "from the simplicity that is in Christ." The two volumes of Mr. Faber, which now lie before us, urge very forcibly these reflections upon us. Bishop Warburton, whose elaborate system on the divine legation of Moses, which Mr. Faber criticizes throughout a large portion of his volumes, has endeavored to establish a system, which unquestionably, in some of its branches, militates against the obvious meaning of religious truth. Mr. Faber, in like manner, to whom we give due credit for obviating in a very masterly and satisfactory manner many of the learned prelate's misconceptions, has himself, (we are sorry to believe,) deviated, in not a few instances, from the plain and literal interpretation of the word of God.

Mr. Faber's *Treatise on the Three Covenants*, is divided into the same number of books; and each of these again is subdivided into chapters, and the chapters into sections. They are styled indeed the *Dispensations of Patriarchism, Israelitism, and Christianity*. But we shall find in them a great deal of matter which, if it cannot be called *extraneous*, is such as we might not expect to find, under a title so divided and explained. We shall examine the books in the order in which they stand.

The object of the first book, which indeed occupies the whole of the first volume, is to develop the character of the *PATRIARCHAL Dispensation*. Mr. Faber says nothing about the *primeval* state of man; nothing about the *law of works*, or the peculiarity of that *covenant*, according to which man was to be saved by his own complete obedience to the Divine will. He has indeed incidentally alluded to the impossibility of our being *now* saved by the law: but we are not sure whether the term *covenant of works* would receive admission into Mr. Faber's creed. However, as he does not introduce the discussion on this subject, it would be gratuitous and perhaps unfair, to draw any unfriendly conclusion from the omission.

In the FIRST CHAPTER the author thus introduces his remarks "on the peculiar genius of the three Dispensations, Patriarchal, Levitical, and Christian."

"From the time of the fall down to the termination of the world, man lives under one and the same system of divine grace; a system, which was rendered necessary for him by the very circumstance of the fall, and which therefore at no one period can differ essentially from itself.

"Yet, as in the natural world things do but gradually reach perfection, so likewise is it in the moral world. The scheme of God's mercy commenced indeed with the promise, that *the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent*: but it was successively developed from age to age, until that promised seed was manifested in the flesh at the day of his first advent; nor will it be absolutely consummated, until the Redeemer shall appear again in the day of his second advent to receive his saints into glory and to banish eternally from his presence his irreclaimable enemies." (P. 3.)

After giving us this summary view of the grand outline of divine mercy, Mr. Faber adverts to the *patriarchal* dispensation; the characteristic of which he considers to have been universality.

"The Patriarchal Dispensation was *meant* to be UNIVERSAL. If it failed of becoming so *effectively*, the fault was in corrupt man himself." (P. 6.)

He supposes, that Adam and Eve, when banished from Paradise after their fall, colonized in its neighbourhood; where they served God under his kind auspices, he having "*permanently* revealed himself between the cherubim at the eastern gate of Paradise." (P. 8.)

He supposes Cain and Abel to have brought their respective offerings to this spot; and that, when Cain was subsequently banished, and when he departed from the *presence of the Lord*, his departure is so described in allusion to the Almighty's presence there between the cherubim. Cain's grand primary offence is viewed as a determined *rejection* of the mode of reconciliation, through the medium of a "bloody sacrifice," which Mr. Faber considers God to have appointed and explained to our first parents, when he clothed them with coats of skins. He supposes, that

"The secession of Cain produced a marked distinction between the servants of God and the servants of the evil one. His secession, *effectively*, at least, amounted to an excommunication." (P. 9.)

Mr. Faber is not positive respecting the nature of *Cain's apostasy*: but, in opposition to Maimonides, who considered it to consist

"in worshipping the host of heaven, first conjunctively with God, and afterwards exclusively of him," (P. 10.) He believes it was

"the entire discarding of bloody piacular sacrifices, and the systematic adoption of vegetable Eucharistic offerings." (P. 11.)

He considers the descendants of Cain, soon to have become *philosophical* in their scheme of *theology*; that its speculative character quickly produced fruits of a practical nature, not unlike to those we have lately witnessed, under the anti-christian French Revolution, and that this apostasy spread its infection at length so extensively and so radically, that the posterity of *Seth* were ultimately involved in the vortex of corruption and apostasy: the result of which was, that the apostasy became one, which rejected all the essential provisions of salvation, and was consequently of an irreclaimable character. The flood was therefore sent to rid the earth of its totally incurable inhabitants: and

"With the deluge ended the first period of the Patriarchal Church." (P. 13.)

Mr. Faber admits, that the posterity of Noah after the deluge soon became UNIVERSALLY corrupt. But he thinks, that the apostasy now totally *changed its character*; and that instead of rejecting the *Atonement* through the medium of a "piacular sacrifice," they went into the opposite extreme.

"The frequent and well-remembered appearances of the Word of Jehovah in a human form soon led to hero-worship: and Adam, Enoch, Noah, and other eminent persons, were thought to have been permanent manifestations of the divine word." (Pp. 13, 14.)

Hence Mr. Faber considers, that gross idolatry, under its various modifications and forms, was generated by a *corruption of the first promise*, made by God to mankind after the fall, but that still subsequently to the deluge, the universal tenet was, that "*without shedding of blood there is no remission.*"

In page 16, Mr. Faber introduces a notion, that "an endless series of miracles," to "*compel*" men to "reject the evil and to embrace the good," is "unsuitable to creatures in a state of probation." We do not admire this mode of putting the matter. We think it is neither good as divinity, nor wise as philosophy. An *endless series* of miracles would become the regular course of Divine Providence; and, as such, would cease to be miraculous. Miracles do not, as is here supposed, when they occur, and would not, were they continued, either despoil man of his free-agency, or compel him to choose the good and refuse the evil, when he lives under the exhibition of them. How few persons who saw Christ's miracles, *believed*, in consequence of those miracles, "*to the saving of the soul!*" The agency of the *Holy Spirit* is necessary, to renew and sanctify the corrupt nature of man, to subdue his rebellion against God, and to implant

repentance and faith in his soul. But (we are sorry to observe) the enforcement of this doctrine is lamentably defective in this treatise.

To preserve the apostate sons of Noah from universal idolatry, (Mr. Faber continues,) God called Abraham, to whom he revealed, in the *scenical* intercepted *sacrifice of his son*, the character and sacrifice of the Son of God. He subsequently established the *Levitical dispensation* for the same gracious end. But the grand characteristic of the *Levitical church* was to be its PARTICULAR appropriation to a single people; in opposition to the UNIVERSALITY of the *patriarchal*. This dispensation was introductory to that of *Christianity*; which again restored and perfected the character of UNIVERSALITY which pervaded the *patriarchal*; Christianity being only the consummation and anti-typical fulfilment of every previous display of God's mercy to mankind, whether scenical, prophetical, or characteristic. Mr. Faber contemplates, as we also joyfully do, that

“Christ will be universally acknowledged as that promised seed of the woman, who has so long been traditionally remembered by the erring Gentiles.” (P. 21.)

But he (somewhat *fancifully* we think) states;

“As a present Jehovah was alike manifested between the cherubim at the gate of Paradise, and between the cherubim in the Levitical sanctuary: so there are passages, which seem not obscurely to intimate, that in the last age of the Christian church, a similar manifestation of the incarnate Word, radiant in all the divine effulgence of the Shechinah, will take place in the holy mountain of God. Here, as from a throne, there is some reason to believe, that the Man-Jehovah will preside oracularly, a visible spiritual king, over his obedient people, until the world shall be finally devastated by a deluge of fire, as it was heretofore submerged beneath a deluge of water.” (Pp. 21, 22.)

Then will be fulfilled the last grand promise of the “*new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.*”

Having here given our readers a rather copious summary of the general scheme of Mr. Faber from his first chapter, we must content ourselves with doing little more than barely to recite the title of the next. It consists of

“An Examination of the Theory of Bishop Warburton, relative to the state of man from his first creation to the promulgation of the Law.” (P. 24.)

The examination of Warburton's system, which (most of our readers well know) almost denies the ancient fathers to have cherished any hope of an hereafter, we think upon the whole very successful. Mr. Faber allows, with the Bishop, that the great and peculiar sanctions of the Levitical dispensation

were *temporal rewards and punishments*; but he contends very justly, that the *patriarchal* dispensation contained many great and precious promises; and that the *Levitical* dispensation did not *supersede*, but became *additional* to that previous dispensation of grace and mercy.

The third CHAPTER respects

"The length of the six demiurgic days, in the course of which God is said to have fashioned the material world out of chaos:" (P. 111.) and we wish we could give our opinion as favorably; and with as little reserve upon it, as we did upon the last. But this we cannot do, in consistency with our conviction, that it is both erroneous and dangerous. With the system of *geology*, upon which Mr. Faber builds his hypothesis, we shall not now meddle. We cannot, however, forbear from declaring it, as our most decided conviction, that *physiological researches*, however greatly cultivated in the present day, are in *infinitely too incipient and raw a state* to warrant us, for a moment, in using their discoveries as a *criterion of scripture truth*, or as a *corrective of its literal and obvious meaning*. We cannot conceive what should make it necessary for Mr. Faber thus to step out of the legitimate path of Biblical discussion. Bishop Warburton's theory, founded upon the supposition, that the six creative days mean six *natural* days, could surely never require such a step. We should strongly suspect the soundness of that theory, which demanded, as its fundamental principle, so bold an admission, as that of correcting the Bible by physiology. Mr. Faber, however, fancies, that the *analogy of language*, in the first place, demands an *extension of the period, from six natural days, to SIX TIMES SIX THOUSAND YEARS AT LEAST*. He very properly takes, as his gauge of each creative day, the seventh or Sabbath-day, which succeeded: and he rightly argues, that if the *seventh day* can be proved to be a period of vast length, we may, from the homogeneity of language, apply that *same period* to each of the days of creation. But Mr. Faber contends, that

"If God labored six natural days, and rested on the seventh natural day, the very turn of the statement will unavoidably imply that he resumed his labours on the eighth natural day." (P. 114.)

Here we must remind Mr. Faber, that the argument is a mere sophism, and cannot have the least bearing upon the subject, except on a supposition, which is not true; namely, that the Almighty's works were of such a nature that they *admitted* of being *resumed*; but what relates to a thing as perfected and *finished*, can surely have no *future recurrence*.

Mr. Faber extends the sabbath or *divine rest* to the *end of*

this world, a period of at least six thousand years; and he expects, that God will *resume* his creative labours at its consummation, when he will make a "*new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.*" This is surely too visionary and gratuitous to need a moment's refutation. If Mr. Faber would bring his analogy to bear on the subject, he should produce some passage or passages of scripture wherein the *sabbath day* is used for the period supposed; or at least for a vast and indefinite period. But in every parallel text of scripture where the *seventh* or *sabbath day* is mentioned in allusion to the *creation*; (as Exodus xx. 10, 11. and in Deut. v. 14.) the natural day and the *natural day only*, is unquestionably intended. "SIX DAYS shalt thou labour and do all thy work; But the SEVENTH DAY IS THE SABBATH OF THE LORD THY GOD:—For in SIX DAYS THE LORD MADE HEAVEN AND EARTH, THE SEA AND ALL THAT IN THEM IS, AND RESTED ON THE SEVENTH DAY: Wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it."—We are persuaded that no ingenuity can torture this language to mean any thing but what it says, namely, that a *natural day* is the *seventh day* of the Lord our God. The inference then demonstrably is, even upon Mr. Faber's own ground of homogeneity, (*viz.* that if *one day* means a natural day, *all* the creative days must mean natural days) that the *six demiurgic days mean six natural days and nothing more*. As the whole of what the learned author builds upon this argument of extended periods must necessarily fall with their demolished foundation, we need not stop longer to examine its heterogeneous and unwise, however ingenious, construction. We however cannot but observe, that though Mr. Faber declines the collation of the *seventh day* with other passages of scripture, where the *same seventh day* is expressly spoken of, and by which it is positively restricted to the usual period of a *natural day*, he suffers himself to be led from *scriptural* to *heathen* authority, and that upon a subject where the *scripture* alone can afford us any light. He quotes several passages from the Hindoo Laws, the writers of which (he assures us) were rightly informed about this matter, to prove, that the six demiurgic days mean periods of vast extent; and that the periods of creation involve various *revolutions* and *destructions* of the works of God.

"During his day of energy (according to the Hindoo Institutes) he creates the world: *his night of repose endures as long as his day: and at the close of his night, having long reposed, he awakes; and awaking, exerts intellect, whose property it is to exist unperceived by sense. Intellect, called into action by his will to create worlds, performs again the work of creation: for numberless are the creations and*

destructions of worlds. The Being supremely exalted performs all this, as if in sport, again and again." (P. 119.)

Were we to spend time in discussing the argument supposed to be involved in this Mythos, our readers would with reason think that we were in *sport* too. We could almost weep to see St. Paul's words, so strictly verified in a case like the present. "*They shall turn away their ears FROM THE TRUTH, and shall be TURNED UNTO FABLES.*" 2 Tim. iv. 4. It is, however, but due to Mr. Faber to notice, that he does not consider his fundamental points to turn upon the length of the six demiurgic periods.

In the fourth CHAPTER it is shewn, *that the object of the patriarchal dispensation was to inculcate the doctrine of redemption.* Mr. Faber argues that the object of this dispensation could not be to convey the doctrine of the divine unity, nor to teach the duties of morality, nor to propound the divine attributes of wisdom, power, and justice, nor to communicate any knowledge which man would attain while resident in Paradise. It is obvious then that it was *a knowledge which affected his miserably altered condition*, and taught him whether and how he might hope for a reconciliation with his offended maker. The knowledge of REDEMPTION therefore was the only desideratum; and this knowledge Mr. Faber, we are assured, rightly supposes to have been conveyed by the promise of the *woman's seed*.

The fifth CHAPTER discusses more at large the *knowledge* of redemption attained by the righteous servants of God under the patriarchal dispensation. Here Mr. Faber strenuously contends against Bishop Warburton for the point, which he announced in the first chapter; and here he answers "affirmatively the important question, *whether the drift of the first prophecy was AT ALL understood by the early race of mortals*: the next question is, *TO WHAT EXTENT they understood it.*" (P. 182.)

It is certainly a subject of no unimportant nature whether the primitive race of men had or had not an adequate knowledge of the *way of salvation*. We think it deserves to be regarded not as a matter of speculation and curiosity, but as a thing nearly affecting the nature of man's return to God; whether it can be effected without a Mediator, or without an acknowledgment and reception of that Mediator. Bishop Warburton is not the only powerful advocate who has espoused the opposite side. Our own day has exhibited *one*,* possessed of gigantic powers of mind, of extensive information, and excursive genius, inferior only, if inferior they

* Rev. Robert Hall.

are, to those of Warburton; who contends that the ancient Jews did not comprehend the way of salvation through a Mediator, and that the knowledge of an atonement made no essential part of their creed. He admits that the pious among them worshipped God acceptably, and had a hope of eternal glory; but that their service and their expectations, were founded upon the abstract and *general mercies of God*, which were every where revealed to them, without respect to any piacular sacrifice through which these mercies were to operate. This idea, however, we cannot but consider as altogether at variance with the plain declarations of the word of God, and with the very design and character of a mediator.

Nor do we admit that there is any room for the distinction between the *fact* of the atonement, and the *revelation* of it, which the learned and ingenious author above alluded to has made in this connexion. We consider the distinction to have originated from a mistaken view of the character and design of a *medium of restoration to God*. The *fact* of the atonement is said to be of essential and everlasting obligation, arising from the unchangeable *attributes* of the *divine nature*, and can never be dispensed with. The *revelation* of the atonement is said to regard *man*, and to be of a moral and influential nature which may admit of omission or substitution. This, however, with all due respect for its author, we confidently believe is a mistake. The *fact* of an atonement does not and cannot respect the Almighty *alone*; nor can a piacular sacrifice be deemed necessary to the justice or honour of God, *independently of man's return to him*. Were no persons contemplated as coming back to God, through this substituted medium, the medium itself would be unnecessary, and in truth would not be a *medium*. We hear of no *atonement* relative to the *fallen angels*, because no restoration is admitted on their part. And if *man* was not allowed to come back to his offended God, no atonement would be required by the essential attributes of the Most High. Justice and truth would get themselves honour by the punishment of the parties offending. But when that punishment is to be remitted, and the sinner saved, a *REVEALED medium becomes necessary*.

If then a mediator is necessary, and an atonement necessary, they are so under the view of their being an *honorable medium*, through which God receives man again unto himself. But a mediator, *not revealed*, is, as to the present subject, no mediator: for he is only a mediator so far as he *mediates*; and the very office of *mediation* respects both *parties*. If the *knowledge* of the medium is not enjoyed by a person on his

approach to God, then he approaches God, not in a mediator's name, but in his own. And if *one* person thus approach the Almighty, each and all may do the same. Then all mankind coming to God without regard to an appointed medium, he must *receive* them coming to him in that character. Men would thus have no respect to the mediator, and God would embrace them, knowing that they had no such respect. The *very character*, therefore, of *mediation*, and the very nature and design of an atonement would be wholly frustrated.

It is to no purpose to reply here that the Almighty would himself be acquainted with the mediator whom he had appointed, which is all that is essential in this matter. It is not all that is essential. For what is *essential* in this case, is an *honorable medium*, by the intervention of which God can be "just, and the justifier of him that believeth." If the knowledge of an atonement be not necessary to returning sinners, that *atonement* might have been made in *secret*, and kept a secret between the eternal Three. What now, we would reverently ask, could make *such* an atonement necessary, or what could it affect? It would in that case affect the Almighty alone. But how? and what would it produce? It certainly was not necessary to render God *merciful*. God's mercy is not purchased, but freely bestowed. The love and mercy of God *provided* the substitute. It was not the atonement which *procured* mercy for man, but it opened a way for the honorable exercise of mercy.

The *exhibition* then of divine justice is *essential* in this behalf. And the very *design* of an atonement implies that it be made the medium of reconciliation *to both parties*. We admit that divine *justice* is an essential and unchangeable attribute of deity. But its exercise becomes necessary, only when his creatures have offended. And must be *made known*, either in the sinner or in the substitute;—in the sinner, if he be ultimately condemned; in the substitute, if the sinner be admitted to favour—But this by the way.

Some *knowledge* of the mediation must (we think) be allowed by every pious mind, to have been always *necessary* to salvation. What *degree* of knowledge was necessary is a very different point, and which it would be difficult to settle. But if a sinner approach his maker, not in his *own* name, but in the name of *another*, the axe is laid at the root of man's self-righteous and self-justifying pride; God is acknowledged as just and gracious; the merit is transferred from the offending creature to the substitute; and thus, as it appears to us, every *essential* purpose of a *mediator* is established. Upon this subject we believe Mr. Faber to have discussed and established

the truth with much force and perspicuity. He supposes, and (we think) with justice, that our first parents had more explanatory information relative to the origin and utility of *sacrifices*, and the personal character of the woman's *seed* who was to accomplish their deliverance, than is precisely recorded in the short account we have in the first revelation. We should be glad, in this chapter, to transcribe largely from Mr. Faber's pages; for we esteem it among the most valuable portions of his elaborate treatise. But our limits forbid us to be too liberal of quotations; as we shall unhappily find it necessary by and by to spend some pages in remarks upon his theoretical visions.

The ingenious author supposes it almost certain, that Adam and Eve would be inquisitive about the nature of the *serpent* and of his *conqueror*. He believes, that

"The minds of Adam and Eve were enlightened by express revelation on the subject;" (P. 186.)

and that the future *deliverer*, the word of Jehovah, was the messenger who communicated that information. Indeed he seems very reasonably and (we would hope) in this instance, not too fancifully, to make the word of God bear in evidence upon the point.

"We are told, that after the fall, the man and his wife HEARD the voice of the Lord God WALKING in the garden, and that they hid themselves from the PRESENCE of the Lord God amongst the trees." (P. 186.)

This *presence* of the Lord is considered as the word of God in human form; and the conference he held with them, his calling them to account for their sin, and his subsequently MAKING them coats of skins, and clothing them, as a proof, that a real human voice and person talked, and was visibly present with them. Yet, (he argues)

"We are assured by St. John, that *no man hath seen God the Father at any time*; but that the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, and who is most unequivocally identified with the man Jesus Christ, he hath declared him." (P. 187.)

"Now respecting this passage, (he observes) it is justly insisted by the Rabbins, that the participle *walking* agrees with the voice, and not with the Lord God; and an inspection of the original will at once convince any Hebraist, that such is the natural and obvious construction of the sentence. What they heard then walking in the garden was a divine person styled *The voice of Jehovah*; and there can be little doubt, I think, that this voice of Jehovah is the same being as *The word of Jehovah*, well known to the ancient Targumists by the appellation of *Mimra* or *Dabar*, and celebrated by Isaiah under the kindred title of *The name of Jehovah*." (P. 187, 188.)

In pursuance of the same subject, Mr. Faber goes on to say—

"Adam and Eve are first said to have HEARD the voice of Jehovah WALKING in the garden. Afterwards, Jehovah is represented, as personally MAKING coats of skins, and as himself clothing them."

"Now the terms HEARD, and WALKING, and MAKING, and CLOTHING, all imply the presence of a REAL HUMAN BODY: the footsteps of which were distinctly heard by Adam and Eve, just as they might mutually hear their own footsteps; and the operative labours of which were distinctly beheld by them, just as they might mutually behold their own operative labours. Accordingly, when in a subsequent part of the Mosaical history Jehovah, attended by two ministering angels, is expressly said to have appeared to Abraham in the form of A MAN, the very same Hebrew word is employed to describe the act of his departure from that patriarch, as that which is here employed to describe his approach. In the one place Jehovah, with evident reference to the form which he had assumed, is stated to have WALKED AWAY: in the other place, with similar reference (as I conjecture) he is stated to have been heard WALKING in the garden." (P. 193, 194.)

Mr. Faber afterwards argues, that

"the notion of *vicarious piacularity*, associated with the oblation of an animal victim, is plainly altogether *arbitrary*, not *obvious* or *natural*. But it is impossible to account for the *universal prevalence* of an *arbitrary* notion, except on the hypothesis of derivation from a common source." (P. 203.)

We agree with Mr. Faber, that the universal prevalence of any thing, proves, that it is either *natural* to man, or received from a common source; and as we cannot perceive *à priori* any reason at all, why *man* should originally *invent* sacrifices, we assuredly believe, that they were of divine origin, and that our first parents were led, at least, into 'an implicit, but essential acquaintance with their design and utility. But we are not so fully convinced, that what the Almighty said to Cain—"Sin lieth at the door"—is intended to teach, that God wished him to

"bring, as a sacrifice, the animal-victim, which couches at the door of his tent." (P. 207.)

Of the sixth CHAPTER it is utterly impossible for us to afford room for an *analysis*. It is in fact, an epitome of the author's elaborate work on *The origin of Pagan Idolatry*. In this chapter Mr. Faber largely disputes with Bishop Warburton the *priority* of *Hero-worship* to that of *Sabianism*, or the worship of the heavenly bodies. The following extract gives a view of the manner in which the author supposes that *Hero-worship* might naturally have commenced:

"The conducting of such an inquiry, to which all that I have said relative to the idolatry of the Gentiles is to be viewed only in the light of a preface or introduction, will be found, if I mistake not, to afford a very striking proof, that that early race of men, who flou-

rished during the patriarchal ages, whether antediluvian or post-diluvian, were very well acquainted, both with the doctrine of *sacrificial redemption by a predicted future Deliverer*, and with the yet more recondite doctrine that *the predicted Deliverer should be an incarnate anthropomorphic manifestation of the divinity himself.*"

"It was declared to our first parents immediately after the fall, that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent, but that the serpent should bruise his heel.

"With respect to *the precise import* of the phrase, here employed, *the seed of the woman*, let us allow that it was not revealed to Adam and Eve, though in general terms they might have been taught *the nature* of the promised Deliverer! In that case, as such a phrase must obviously have excited no small degree of curiosity and speculation, different opinions would soon arise as to its strict and proper import.

"Since in point of mere grammar we are not absolutely bound to conclude that *the seed of the woman* denotes *the EXCLUSIVE seed of the woman*: two opinions would prevail from the very first, as to the *MODE* of the Deliverer's birth; though there would be but one opinion, as to his *NATURE*. The same *knowledge* as that which produced the remarkable exclamation of Eve on the nativity of Cain, would lead all her posterity to agree, that, whenever the Deliverer *did* appear, he would be *THE MAN* even *JEHOVAH HIS VERY SELF*: but the same uncertainty as to the precise import of the phrase, which probably led to her hasty exclamation, would induce some to expect, that the *GOD-MAN*, so far as his corporeal part was concerned, would be born *both* of a mortal father and of a mortal mother, while others, influenced by the genealogical anomalousness of the phrase, would contend, that he would be born of a mortal mother exclusively.

"A perversion of these opinions, long remembered and carefully handed down to posterity, was the medium, through which mankind were conducted to that earliest postdiluvian idolatry, the worship of Hero-gods. Except so far as a perversion of such opinions served, as a medium, the human race passed *DIRECT* to Hero-worship from the adoration of the one eternal Jehovah." (Pp. 298, 299.)

Mr. Faber supposes that a perversion of these speculations would soon insensibly lead mankind from the worship of God thus incarnated, to pay the same respect to other eminent persons, as Adam, Abel, and Noah, who would each

"be fondly deemed an incarnation of the word, or an appearance of the promised son of the woman." (P. 301.)

"Thus easily and naturally sprang up the postdiluvian Hero-worship of the Gentiles, from what I take to have been a fundamental doctrine of patriarchism; when, by artful and ambitious men, that doctrine was impiously perverted, to subserve their own purposes. Mankind were not so idiotical, as gratuitously to forsake the worship of Jehovah, and in his place to adore their defunct ancestors, simply because they *were* their ancestors: but they were taught to believe,

that in venerating certain eminent and remarkable characters, they in reality worshipped the successive incarnate manifestations of that divine Word, who was acknowledged, on all hands, to be Jehovah himself." (P. 312.)

Whether the peculiar mode in which Mr. Faber supposes the apostate race of Adam to have diverged into all their idolatrous abominations, be right or wrong, it must still be allowed to be a subject, however humiliating to the pride of our nature, of great interest to the Christian reader, to trace out a *probable* way by which human nature became so awfully degraded as at length to *worship the creature more than the creator*.

"Let us however adopt (says Mr. Faber) the theory, that eminent men came to be adored, because they were deemed incarnations or *avatars* of the Divine Word; and every difficulty will be removed. Hero-worship will, in that case, spring up easily and naturally out of a perverted patriarchism; and when once it *has* sprung up, it will soon produce Sabianism, on the grounds which the pagans themselves have very definitely set forth; for, if the souls of the heroes were thought to pass after death into the heavenly bodies, then those bodies would obviously be revered as the vehicles or mansions of the canonized heroes." (P. 323.)

The learned and ingenious writer derives from this branch of his discussions a strong argument in favour of the knowledge, which the fathers of Israel or patriarchism must have possessed, relative to the nature and necessity of a peculiar sacrifice. He proceeds, as follows.

"But, if Hero-worship thus originated from perverted patriarchism, we shall immediately perceive, how the speculations of the Gentiles may be employed to demonstrate, that both the nature of the promised deliverer, and the mode in which he would effect our deliverance, must have been well and familiarly known under the ancient patriarchal dispensation. The old patriarchs could not hand down to posterity, what they themselves did not possess. But if the speculations of the Gentiles relative to the sacrifice of their virgin-born God originated from patriarchal tradition, then the patriarchs must have been acquainted with them. If, however, the patriarchs were acquainted with such speculations, they must have had them immediately from the deity; for it is difficult to conceive how these tenets could otherwise have originated in the pure primeval church; it is difficult to imagine that the fathers, without any explanatory revelation, should in all points have hit upon the very interpretation of the first prophecy which the gospel has authoritatively declared to be the true one. Let us then now compare this conclusion, both with the primitive institution of sacrifice, which must have taken place immediately after the fall, because otherwise the raiment of our first parents could not have been fashioned out of the skins of slaughtered animals; and also with the remarkable language employed by Eve on the birth of the primal man-

child—I have gotten the MAN even JEHOVAH HIS VERY SELF;—and we shall be in a manner compelled to believe, that the doctrine of atonement through the voluntary piacular sacrifice of the virgin-born man-Jehovah was very far from being unknown even to the earliest members of the ancient patriarchal church." (P. 323, 324.)

Our space will not suffer us to bring the various illustrations forward, which Mr. Faber has drawn from the practices of the heathens, and by which he strenuously endeavors to confirm the truth of the scriptural character of sacrifices. He closes this chapter with a very lengthened relation of "the drama of the Prometheus Desmotes." But of this we shall only give his own summary.

"Jupiter, being determined to destroy the whole human race, and to produce another in its room, withdrew from them the fire of vitality. None of the immortals dared to resist his purpose, save Prometheus alone: but he, animated by love and pity, brought down from heaven the lost fire, restored to men their forfeited lives, and saved them from being irrecoverably consigned to Hades. On this account he was devoted to the severest corporeal sufferings. Pitying man, he yet received no pity himself; but he was publicly exposed, a lamentable spectacle both to Gods and men, of the wrath of Jupiter." (P. 330.)

This Prometheus, when the drama is unfolded by a process, little short of the drama itself, is made out to be *Jesus Christ* the great deliverer of the lost human race. In this chapter especially, there is a prodigious number of classical quotations and references to the authors from whom Mr. Faber has drawn his illustrations. These the learned reader may consult and collate at his leisure.

The seventh CHAPTER, "*Respecting the nature of the antediluvian apostasy*," closes the first volume. Probably the reader may feel some surprise on finding, that this whole chapter, consisting of near ninety pages, is taken up in discussing the question, excited by St. Peter and St. Jude, whether the angels, spoken of by them as held in chains of darkness, are not to be understood to mean certain apostate priests of the children of Seth. Any one, coming to the consideration of such an interpretation of scripture, would (we believe) without some previous acquaintance with the author, be a little staggered at the bold and paradoxical character which it exhibits. And we certainly consider it as no small objection to his construction of the passages, that it is so remote from the plain and obvious meaning; and that so extremely circuitous a process is required to get at the sense which the author affixes to them. These two passages where the angels are introduced, are found in 2 Pet. ii. 4. and Jude 6. and are as follow. *The angels, which kept not their first estate,*

but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day. God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment.

Mr. Faber commences his interpretation by telling us, what every well-informed reader of the scripture knows, that the word *ἄγγελος*, which is here translated *angel*, means in general, "*a messenger who conveys tidings*;" which rendering (Mr. Faber contends) it should have received in these places. He has, however, as he seems to believe, a stronger argument, derived from the construction of the original, in which the Greek word, *τέτοις*, which is totally omitted in our translation, determines the sense of the passage. Mr. Faber says,

"The pronoun which they (the translators) have omitted, is the dative masculine *to these*: and the omission occurs after the words *in like manner*, which will be found in the verse immediately following the passage under discussion. This verse they have thus imperfectly rendered: *Even as Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities about them, IN LIKE MANNER giving themselves over to fornication and going after strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire.*" (P. 349.)

Mr. Faber observes, that the word which our translators have omitted, being inserted, as it ought, after the word *in like manner*, would entirely change the meaning of the passage: that the passage, as it now stands, leads the reader to refer the words *IN LIKE MANNER*, to *Sodom and Gomorrah*; whereas, if the word which is omitted were duly translated, it would run, *IN LIKE MANNER TO THESE*, and would refer the *LIKE MANNER*, not to *Sodom and Gomorrah*, but to the word *ANGELS*, which went before. In this way the author would have it understood, that the meaning is, that the *angels*, viz. the *messengers*, went after *strange flesh*; and that the cities of *Sodom and Gomorrah* *IN LIKE MANNER TO THESE messengers*, went after *strange flesh* likewise. Then his argument is, as *angels cannot go after strange flesh*, *angels cannot be intended by that language*.

Though we do not build our faith in God's word upon the niceties of criticism, we must deny that Mr. Faber has here obtained the triumph which he claims. We allow his position, but we deny his inference. There certainly is no *insurmountable* objection to our referring the words *in like manner to these*, not to the *angels* but to the *cities about Sodom and Gomorrah*, which sinned *in like manner with Sodom and Gomorrah*: or, even if the words, *in like manner*, be re-

ferred to the *angels*, we do not see, that it should necessarily allude to their *sin*, as if *their* sin was precisely *similar* to the *sin* of Sodom and Gomorrah.* It may have reference not to their *sin*, but to their *punishment*; *affording a SIMILAR example of the divine displeasure against sin*. We confess that the words, *in like manner to these*, are somewhat *distant* from the declaration, that they are *set forth for an example*; and that the next verse appears to favor the construction of a similarity in *sin*; although indeed in that verse it is not a similarity in *sin* between the inhabitants of Sodom and the angels, that is intended, but between the inhabitants of Sodom and the polluted and profligate characters of St. Jude's own day. But, if we admit the words respecting the *sin* of these cities to be *explanatory* and *parenthetical*, the meaning will be extremely plain and easy. They will then (leaving out the parenthesis) stand thus: *Even as Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities about them, IN LIKE MANNER TO THESE angels, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire*. We mention this with diffidence, because we are not aware that any critic has suggested this turn to the subject. But the *context* forcibly impresses our mind with the notion that the *similarity* mainly intended, is a similarity in this circumstance, *viz.* in their becoming *examples of divine vengeance*. But on this criticism, which is very unimportant, we need not dwell. There is (we feel confident) most abundant evidence from the facts of the *history* itself, to overthrow Mr. Faber's far-fetched and whimsical interpretation. Of this, however, we can only give an outline.

The sum of this extraordinary theory is this. Mr. Faber supposes, that by the angels or messengers, mentioned by St. Peter and St. Jude, we are to understand apostate *ministers* of the *children of Seth*; that they rebelled against Noah, whose ministry and warnings for one hundred and twenty years were especially applicable to these priests; that fire came down from heaven and destroyed these apostates, when they were attempting to take Paradise by storm,

* "Some have pleaded, that this seems to imply, that the sin of the *angels* was *fornication*; and consequently, that this *Epistle* is not *authentic*. But there seems no necessity for interpreting the expression with such extreme rigour, as if it must mean that their sin was of the *same kind*; it is sufficient that the *comparison* holds in this, that they were both guilty of very *great wickedness*. There are some who refer τὸν ὅμοιον τοῖς τοῖς πόλιν, *in like manner with them*, to the *cities about them*, who sinned in the same manner with Sodom and Gomorrah; nor is it any objection to this, as some have supposed it is, that τοῖς cannot agree with Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα: for in reality these nouns are of the *neuter* gender, (see Luke xvii. 29; Mark vi. 11.; Gen. xiii. 10. in the *seventy*): and if they were not, nothing is more common than an *enallage* of gender, in such a case as this, where τοῖς must refer to the *men* who inhabited the cities."—*Doddridge*.

in spite of God's menace and the cherubim and flaming sword, which (he supposes) were still exhibited at the eastern gate for its defence; that the earth opened her mouth, through the violent operation of fire, issuing from beneath, and swallowed them up; that they went down into Tartarus, a word, which St. Peter uses, and which Mr. Faber infers from the heathen mythology to be a cavern situated in the middle of the earth below the sea; and that in this situation these *rebel priests* are reserved *in chains of darkness to the judgment of the great day*. In detailing these proceedings Mr. Faber supposes that *Noah and Seth's descendants* continued *around Paradise*, and that *Cain's posterity* inhabited the contiguous neighbourhood, and were very hostile to them, and at last, after a manner, besieged them; till being ultimately aided by the secession of corrupt priests from Seth's line, their infidel boldness urged them to that destructive enterprise, the recovery of Paradise, which ended in their ruin. He also infers from the homogeneity of the subject, that where *angeli* are mentioned in the context, (as 2 Peter ii. 11.) they mean *mortal men*; but that *Michael the archangel*, spoken of in Jude 9, means *Jesus Christ*, the chief messenger of God to man.

Mr. Faber quotes Josephus, as well as both the Old and New Testaments, and numbers of classical authors, in confirmation of this theory. The reader will agree with us, that citations from Pagan authors, about the Tartarus and about Plutus, can bring little evidence in proof of the meaning of the term *angeli*, as used in the Scriptures. The testimony of both Old and New Testament is against him; and even Josephus, from whom he borrows part of his scheme, does not make much for him.

The *Old Testament* (we seem quite sure) gives no countenance to this fancy. It nowhere mentions, that the apostasy and corruption of the antediluvians consisted at all in this *priestly* secession and rebellion against *God's high priest, Noah*. The *sons of God* (who are not called either *messengers* or *priests*), married sinful (or idolatrous) women. They were great apostates from truth and righteousness. They were bloody, cruel, and flagitious. But no intimation is given of their particular attack upon the high-priestly function; or indeed of any specific sins, but the sin of unbelief, luxury, and violence. Again, the notion of a *colony of Seth's descendants surrounding Eden*, and another concentric *circle of settlers* without those bounds, but in their immediate neighbourhood surrounding them, seems vastly too *local* and confined a view, for the history of the case. The "EARTH

was FILLED with violence through them." To represent Cain's and Seth's descendants then as *two parties*, like little armies opposed to each other, appears to fall very far short of the energy of that description.*

The *New Testament* is directly pointed against Mr. Faber's interpretation. The passage in 2 Pet. ii. 11, *Whereas angels, which are greater in power and might, bring not railing accusation against them before the Lord*; is parallel, as admitted by Mr. Faber, to Jude 9, where it is said—*Yet Michael the archangel, when, contending with the Devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, "the Lord rebuke thee!"* Now on Mr. Faber's interpretation, these *angels* are pious messengers or priests of God: which cannot be correct; for they are said to be *greater in power and might*. To say here, as Mr. Faber does, that these *PIOUS messengers are greater in SPIRITUAL power and might* than the *FALSE teachers who DENY the Lord that bought them*, is nearly an *identical* proposition, and can convey *no information*. And with respect to *temporal* or *bodily* power, there cannot possibly be any justice in it, whether it apply to the time of the Apostles, when the church possessed no temporal power, or to the antediluvians. For *those adversaries of the church* were, as Mr. Faber after Josephus asserts, a *powerful and turbulent* race, like the ancient *Titans* or *giants*.* (414.) Besides, if these passages are parallel, and if *Michael* mean Christ, it will prove that *Christ* contended with the Devil about the body of Moses; which sounds rather harshly. But it will further prove, that these pious *angeli*, or *messengers*, mentioned by St. Peter, were *JOINED WITH CHRIST* in the *contention about the body of Moses*. For what is said by *Jude* respecting *Michael* the *ARCHANGEL*, is said by *St. Peter* relative to these *ANGELS*. The *ANGELS bring not railing accusation against them before the Lord*, says *St. Peter*. But *Jude* says, *Michael*, the *ARCHANGEL*, *durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said—"The LORD rebuke thee!"* Now, in the first place, it is not likely that *Christ* as the *God of Satan*, should have addressed him *thus*. Even in his *humiliation* he did not accost *him* with the language of *supplication* to God, but said, *GET THEE BEHIND ME, SATAN!* But again. If these *pious messengers*, or *priests*

* The great argument for humility, meekness, submission, and peace, which is here urged from the demeanour of the *angels*, when contending with the adversaries of the church, would be lost, were *mortal men* to be understood by angels. If the *angels* bring no railing accusation, how much more ought creatures, so greatly inferior in "power and might," to address princes and magistrates with respect and reverence!

of God, had UNITED with Christ the archangel, in contending for the *body of Moses*, they would have been acquainted with *his sepulchre*, and, indeed, present at *his burial*. This, however, seems contrary to the express declaration of the Scripture, which says, *Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. And he (the Lord) buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Bethpeor; but NO MAN KNOWETH of his SEPULCHRE unto this day.* (Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6.) Once more. Mr. Faber's hypothesis respecting these apostate *angeli*, as the apostate *priests* of Noah's days, who (he says) were consumed by fire at the bursting up of *the deluge*, would make the *destruction* of the *wicked angels*, and the destruction of the wicked *at the deluge*, ONE CATASTROPHE; whereas *St. Peter* clearly makes them *two*. He distinguishes as truly between the fact, that *God spared not the angels that sinned*, and the fact, that he *spared not the old world* at the flood, as he does between the fact of the destruction *at the flood*, and the destruction of *Sodom and Gomorrah*.

Josephus differs, at least in two essential particulars, from Mr. Faber. He says, that the *angels of God married with the daughters of SETH*. We suppose *Josephus* by angels means, as *Moses* calls them, the *sons of God*. He adds also, contrary to the whole scheme of Mr. Faber, that Noah, instead of remaining under the shadow of Paradise, being wearied with their perverseness, and afraid for his own life, emigrated *with his wife, children, and all his family into another country*.

Lastly, it is to us quite incredible, that a FACT so extraordinary should have been well known to *Josephus*, and to all the heathen as well as Christian world; and yet not one hint be given respecting it in the word of God. This omission, added to the extreme absurdities and inconsistencies which we have, in a few instances, shewn to attach to Mr. Faber's hypothesis, will, we trust, be more than sufficient to warn the biblical reader against such visionary and dangerous interpretations.

Our notice of Mr. Faber's second volume must meet with somewhat more dispatch.

The first two CHAPTERS of the second book continue the consideration of the *knowledge*, possessed by the Old Testament saints from the PATRIARCHAL to the LEVITICAL dispensation. The true *rationale* of the deluge Mr. Faber holds to have been, as we have stated already, universal apostasy from the doctrine of the Atonement. The postdiluvian apostasy, on the contrary, he views as built upon the express recognition of that doctrine. Hence he considers the former

absolutely incurable, and needing utter excision: but conceives, that the latter might exist with reformation. The *Patriarchal* dispensation was intended to perpetuate the knowledge of the true God, and the doctrine of redemption. The *Levitical* had the same intention, under a different form. Under this second chapter, Mr. Faber continues, with complete success we think, to combat the opinions of Bishop Warburton, respecting the knowledge of a future state, possessed by the ancient patriarchs. Mr. Faber, upon this subject, brings three arguments to bear; that is,—the translation of Enoch,—the preaching of Enoch,—and the testimony of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

In the third chapter, on *the degree of knowledge respecting a future state of retribution, possessed by those who lived under the Levitical dispensation*, Mr. Faber recapitulates and establishes the ground he has already gained, in respect to the patriarchs. Abraham is stated to have known and transmitted to his descendants the doctrine of redemption, with which a future state is connected. The evidence of the Scriptures is then examined upon these points; under which he very properly marks, against Bishop Warburton, the difference between the *silence* of the *Israelites*, and the silence of their *historians*. Doubtless there is a great distinction to be made here. Their *knowledge* was necessary to their *own personal salvation*; but a *history* of their faith, is not so needful to our salvation.

The fourth chapter respects the Sanctions of the Law of Moses. The sanctions of the Law of Moses were temporal rewards and punishments. God being their king, he ruled them like any other prince, with this advantage however, that he was able to *reward* obedience to his commands with positive blessings; which other kings cannot do, and therefore content themselves with penal sanctions against disobedience. Mr. Faber rightly considers that the gospel of the patriarchal dispensation continued its influence under the law; and that this twofold character of the Israelitish revelation will explain many things otherwise difficult to be comprehended. Mr. Faber argues—

“Accordingly we find the Apostle alluding to this double sanction; under which, not the ceremonial, but the moral, Law was enforced. *GODLINESS is profitable unto all things, having the promise of THE LIFE WHICH NOW IS and of THAT WHICH IS TO COME.* Under patriarchism, godliness had promise only of a *future life*: hence we may observe Jacob and the patriarchs exposed to many severe trials, and *confessing that they were strangers on the earth.* Again under christianity, godliness has promise only of a *future life*; though it is the grand privilege of that dispensation, that its great prophet should have

eminently brought life and immortality TO LIGHT through the gospel; hence the Saviour addresses his disciples; *In the world YE SHALL HAVE TRIBULATION, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.* Under Judaism alone, partly in consequence of its having been ADDED to patriarchism, and partly in consequence of its theocratic administration, godliness had promise both of *the life that now is, and of that which is to come.* The same extraordinary circumstance, if I mistake not, will once more occur during the millennial period, when Christianity itself shall be ADDED to evangelized Judaism." (P. 149, 150.)

Doubtless there is something in these observations. But we are not sure whether the love of contrast is not more apparent in them, than the sobriety of truth. It cannot surely be doubted that *Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph*, were under a *particular providence*, notwithstanding their pilgrimage; and that *David*, under a temporal system, was peculiarly *tried*: and surely *Christianity* is to those nations, that embrace it, a wonderful *temporal blessing*. Moreover, nothing can well be more clear than the fact, that St. Paul in his epistle to Timothy, in the words above quoted, (1 Tim. iv. 8.) applies that declaration of *godliness being profitable for all, and having the promise of the life which now is, and of that, which is to come, to Christians*, and to the present times, though unquestionably no such *temporal* promises as the Jews especially had, can now be claimed.

"Under *patriarchism* (Mr. Faber says) *GODLINESS had the promise ONLY OF A FUTURE LIFE.*" (P. 149.)

This is far from being correct. God spake to Noah, and said, *'I will establish my covenant with you, neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood.'* God said of Abram; *I will make of thee a great nation; and I will bless thee, and make thy name great. Unto thy seed will I give this land.* How difficult is it to form Theories and establish Systems without being confronted by the word of truth!

The fifth Chapter respects

"the notices of a future state, discoverable in the Pentateuch." (P. 151.)

We regret that we must not make a large extract out of this chapter, from pages 183—186. The Author thinks it

"abundantly clear, that the ancient Israelites well knew the holy of holies to be a designed transcript of heaven, and that God was to be reconciled to man, and that the injury of the serpent was to be repaired through the instrumentality of the promised seed. (P. 183.)

The sixth Chapter, which consists of three sections, respects "the doctrine of a future state, as discoverable in the book of Job." (P. 194.)

The two first sections are occupied in finding out the age, family, and country of Job, and the author of the book which bears his name. Mr. Faber believes Job to have been the

Jobab of Genesis, his country Idumea, his family the stock of Esau, his age that of Esau's grandson. The *Author* of the *Book* Mr. Faber considers to have been *Elihu*; but that this *Elihu* is no other than the great lawgiver of Israel, *Moses himself*. It will not consist with our design to investigate this matter. We think, however, that Mr. Faber has involved himself in difficulties by making *Elihu* and *Moses* the same person.

Mr. Faber has a conceit that *no part* of the Old Testament was written by any person but an *Israelite*. But unquestionably the *Fourth* chapter of *Daniel* was written by *Nebuchadnezzar*; and very probably the *Book of Job* by *Elihu*, not by *Moses*. He speaks (in p. 239.) of the *Israelites*, to whom "*appertain the promises*," (Rom. ix. 4, 5.) because their privilege it was "*first to record them*." But can this be any better than a fiction of system? For the "*covenant of promise*" was established *four hundred and thirty years before* the *Legal Dispensation*; and that promise was not made *first* to Israel, or to an *ISRAELITE*, but to his *GRANDFATHER Abraham*. Besides, the *opposition*, which Saint Paul makes there, is not between having *interest* in the promise, and *recording* the promise, but between having *interest* and *no interest*, between being children and aliens, blessed or cursed. The great argument of Mr. Faber, by which he endeavors to demonstrate, that the *Book of Job* was written by an *Israelite*, is founded on this passage of Job: (xxxi. 26—28.) '*If I have beheld the Sun, when it shined, or the Moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand, THIS ALSO WERE AN INIQUITY TO BE PUNISHED BY THE JUDGE; for I should have denied the God that is above.*' (240.) Mr. Faber's argument from this is, that Job speaks of *idolatry*, as a crime, to be punished by the *magistrate*. But there was *no law* before or besides that of *Moses*, which prescribed or authorized such a punishment; therefore no one but an *Israelite*, and that after the *law* was given, could write this clause. Mr. Faber, moreover, in order to strengthen this argument, pleads in opposition to Archbishop Magee, that *Moses* could not, durst not, *alter* or *add* to what *another* might have written in the *Book of Job*.

But the learned author falls here into a dilemma, and entangles himself in his own net. For, though he positively denies that *Moses* had any authority to vary or add to the *writing* of another, who was inspired by God, he allows *Moses* a right to *alter*, to *add* to, or to *vary* the *HISTORY* of *Job*, and to make *Job* or his connexions *speak* what he pleases. This we cannot admit. Certainly no *inspired* author can any

more *mis-state* what is said or done, or *add* to or *change* what is *said* by another, than he can *alter* what is *written* by another. But on Mr. Faber's supposition, the words—*this were an iniquity to be punished by the judge*, are recorded as **THE VERY WORDS OF JOB**. Therefore, whether the *writer* were Job or any other person, he is answerable for the truth and correctness of what he relates. Moses, however, as an inspired penman, could not record this as Job's language, if it were not his language. The inspiration of Moses forbids this. If it be admitted, that the *subject* of this poem was fact, and not the *language*, **TRUTH** forbids Moses to put such language as this into the mouth of Job; because it would be an unfaithful record. It would be an outrage on the character of *history*. It would *antedate* the law of *punishment* by the judge for *idolatry*. It would teach all posterity what was not *true*; namely, that others besides the *Israelites* possessed such a law. It would estroyd the use of chronology, and confound and synchronize distant facts. It would mingle the laws and usages of nations, no way related or similarly governed. Moreover, to give *such* information in the Book of Job, would be *useless* and *detrimental*, useless as information to the *Israelites*, because they had *this law* more formally *recognised* in their own canon; and as to *posterity*, they would be deceived by it into a belief, that Job was acquainted with a law, which only began to exist years after his decease. Now we may ask, with Mr. Faber, who authorized Moses to *make this FALSE RECORD* of facts, words, and circumstances? And if Moses *invented this* part of Job's conversation, why not the whole? What *information* then can be derived from the book of Job?

On the other hand, why may not this word be understood to mean *my judge*? and thus referred to God? Or why are we *bound* to say that this *judge* must needs mean a *magistrate*? How easy also would it be to give the language a little freedom and ambiguity, thus—*This also were an iniquity to be punished by the JUDGE*; (not *judges* as in verse 11.) viz. by the *judge* whose office it is to take cognisance of *this matter*, whether *that judge* be a human magistrate, or the *God that is above*.

Again, Mr. Faber supposes (p. 253.) that the *writer* of this poem has actually laid the *scene* of his drama *after* the *time* of *Job*, and alluded in it to the *time* and *acts* of *Moses*. In consequence of this he has violated all *historic truth* and *propriety*. By making **MOSES** the **SAME** person with **ELIHU**, and *subsequent* to the *time* of *Job*, he has literally introduced a *new character* into his **POEM**, and put into the mouth of **ELIHU** **SIX CHAPTERS** in the poem as *spoken in the presence* of *Job*, and intended for his conviction, not *one word* of which could have

been uttered in his *hearing*, or indeed *during his lifetime* ! Thus, Mr. Faber turns the *history* of Job in great measure into an *allegory*, after all.

But we have a greater objection in the rear than even this. The author makes the SUBJECT of the book or poem of Job to be—“*justification and pardon through the atoning Mediator.*” And the great subject of discussion to be—

“Whether a man's OWN RIGHTEOUSNESS COULD OR COULD NOT JUSTIFY HIM BEFORE GOD.” (P. 281.)

All this may be endured. But what follows cannot, (we feel confident,) be allowed by any pious mind, whose views and feelings are brought into due subjection to the word of God. Mr. Faber makes Job to take *the AFFIRMATIVE* on the subject of man's JUSTIFICATION BY HIS OWN WORKS. And what is very strange, he makes Job HIMSELF the EXEMPLAR of his *own doctrine*, that *man is justified by his own works* ; and he assures us, that Job, throughout the entire discussion with his *friends* and even with Elihu, till God appears before him in a whirlwind,

“Clings to the notion of his own meritorious dignity, and roundly maintains his own meritorious integrity, though he is sometimes compelled to qualify a little the strength of his language.” (Pp. 298, 299.)

Job's friends are viewed as taking the *negative* side of the argument against this self-righteous pharisee ; when Elihu is introduced as a *moderator* between them : but, he failing to convict Job, the Almighty at last interferes, and this perverse self-justiciary is brought to confess *his sin, and repent in dust and ashes.*

This accusation of the best man then under heaven, we consider one of the most exceptionable parts of Mr. Faber's highly exceptionable theories. Nothing could well be more easy, did it consist with our design, than to shew the *entire inconsistency*, and *selfdestructive* character of this scheme. But, when a man gives up his understanding to theoretical speculations, it is a mercy, as well as a wonder, if he stop within the range of hallowed and scriptural boundaries. The character of such men as Job requires to be approached by persons whose Christian experience and whose broken and subdued passions and feelings, have taught them how to treat the righteous under temptation. High-minded disputations and systematizing fancies are among the very worst qualities we can bring for the due estimation of righteous characters under the rebukes of the divine countenance. To make Job a self-righteous moralist, similar in spirit and principle to *Saul of Tarsus*, is a perversion of the history of this upright man, and has the effect of confounding a proud

self-opinionated sincerity, with true conversion of heart to God.

This, however, is totally at variance with *God's testimony* of the character of Job previous to his trials. *Hast thou considered MY SERVANT Job, that there is none like him in ALL THE EARTH, a PERFECT and an UPRIGHT man, one that feareth God and escheweth evil?* (Job i. 8.) Job's conduct towards his sons when they had been feasting, and his offering a *burnt offering continually* for each of them, is a *positive demonstration*, that he did *not* hold that *man is justified by his own righteousness*. If we fairly examine the history of Job's disposition and views, as recorded in his discourses with his friends, we shall find that he never asserted any thing which can equitably be construed into such a meaning. His friends mistook his *character*, and charged him with *hypocrisy* and fraud, in his pretensions to religion. Their disputes were fundamentally of a *personal* and not *doctrinal* nature. What then had Job to do but to repel the *charge* which was brought against him? The grand hinge, therefore, of Job's discourse throughout, is, what respects primarily his *own* character and pretensions. The uprightness and integrity of his heart before God, he strongly and tenaciously asserts. But surely there is an amazing difference between a man's being upright and consciously sincere in his profession, and his urging that uprightness as the ground of his acceptance with God. Was not Saint Paul as conscious of his *integrity* after his conversion as before it? and did he not *justify* his *character* and integrity against his accusers? Yet we hear him most strenuously asserting that he was justified by grace and not by his own works; even though he maintained that he "labored more abundantly than" all the apostles.

Job never relied on his own righteousness for justification and acceptance in the sight of God. Nay, he uniformly rejected it. (See ch. vii. 20. ix. 2. 3. 15. 20. 30. 31. x. 15, &c.) Nor does he appear to have attempted any such thing as Mr. Faber imputes to him. He is not *charged* with *this sin* when the Almighty calls him to account. He attested his integrity indeed, and sometimes at least not in a very humble way;—he became fretful and impatient, and cursed his day;—he even considered God to have dealt hardly or cruelly with him;—and he seems to have viewed his case with unbelief and despondency: Not, however, as it respected his *future* prospects, but his present distresses. For he avowed his *Faith* in his *Redeemer*, and his assurance of a joyful *resurrection*. The great quarrel of God with Job was

this; Job found fault, and complained of the Almighty's dealings towards him. He had justified his own character, and, during the extremity of his affliction and cruel treatment from his friends, and his overwhelming calamities from the hand of God, he had been tempted to speak reproachfully, at least very disrespectfully, of his Maker. *This* is what Jehovah accuses him of; and what Job instantly felt and repented of, when God addressed him out of the whirlwind.

The most demonstrative evidence however of Job's views of justification by his Redeemer, and his right doctrinal notions respecting his acceptance with the most high, is the direct *testimony* of *God's* OWN APPROBATION of Job's doctrine respecting his maker. The Almighty said to Job's friends *Ye have not SPOKEN OF ME the thing that is RIGHT, like MY SERVANT JOB.* This testimony could not POSSIBLY have been thus given to Job in preference to his friends, had Job, as Mr. Faber insists, pleaded for *justification* before God by his own works, while *they* pleaded for justification by faith. For of all *wrong* things which can be *spoken of God*, the assertion that *He will justify man for his own righteousness*, is about the farthest from the thing that is right. Still further in demonstration of this point, God sent Job's friends to Job himself to offer their sacrifice, and to receive the benefit of his prayers; for *Him* (saith JEHOVAH) WILL I ACCEPT. And God calls Job "MY SERVANT," four times in one verse; but tells Job's friends, *my wrath is kindled against YOU!*

Nor is it any objection to what we have here said, that Job is admitted at last to have professed a high sense of *God's purity* and *his own* sinfulness and unworthiness. His acknowledgement of these truths is certainly no proof that before this he sought *justification by his own works*. It is proof indeed, that he learned under this display of the divine glory and grace, more, abundantly more, of his *own impurity* and of *God's holiness*, than he had known before this. But this is in perfect correspondence with the Almighty's usual dealings towards his most faithful and most holy servants. Did not Isaiah feel something of the same sensation when he cried, *I am a man of unclean lips?* And did not Daniel and St. John, under a bright display of the glory of the Saviour, fall at his feet *as dead?* But were they *self-righteous* and proud up to those periods? And may we not advert to a somewhat analogous instance in our own day, of a man who had for between forty and fifty years, lived *most decidedly* upon the *free grace of God in Christ Jesus*, and who would rather have parted with his life than with his confidence in God, who nevertheless had such a discernment of

his own vileness and of the holiness of God during his last affliction, that he prayed—DO NOT ABHOR ME, THOUGH I BE ABHORRIBLE!* Where moreover would be the *benefit of affliction*, if nothing was learned thereby of the glory of God, and of the evil and deceitfulness of our own hearts?

The third book of Mr. Faber occupies but a little more than a hundred pages of the second volume: and as there is not much in it but what is familiar to most evangelical readers, we may be allowed to pass it over more rapidly. The *second* chapter indeed, which treats of the ancient manner of *covenanting over a sacrifice*, is not so familiar. Mr. Faber is quite out of patience with our translation of διαθήκη in Heb. ix. 15—20. He has himself given a translation of the whole passage, in which he always uses the word *covenant*, not *testament*. To his translation however we have several objections. One, that is to our mind quite decisive, is, that it does not represent ὁ διαθεμένος to be what the rules of construction inevitably require, the author of the διαθήκη.

The following extract is a pretty good specimen of the author's reasoning talent. It is directed against the Socinians.

"Our Lord is addressing his heavenly Father: *Father, says he, the hour is come; glorify thy son.* Now, in the course of his address, the proposition before us is enunciated: *This is life eternal that they might know THEE the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* The address therefore being made to God the Father, it follows that God the Father is declared to be the only true God. Hence it is argued by Socinian writers, that, since the Father is declared to be the ONLY true God, our Saviour Christ and the Holy Ghost are NOT truly God, real and essential divinity being ascribed by Jesus himself to the Father ALONE. The fallacy of this argument lies in a palpable misstatement of our Lord's very precise and accurate language. Christ declares, that *his Father is the only true God.* But the Socinian commentators, virtually represent him as declaring, that *his Father only is the true God.* Now, between these two propositions, *The Father is the only true God* and *The Father only is the true God*, there is a radical and essential difference. The first of them is laid down by our Lord; and it speaks an undoubted verity: the second is laid down by Socinian commentators; and it speaks an undoubted falshood." (Pp. 369—371.)

Mr. Faber then analyses this proposition of our Lord, and finds it to teach these *two* things, that *there is an only true God*, and that *the Father is the only true God*. But this (he rightly contends) makes nothing for the Socinian heresy: for it says not one word in *opposition* to the following propositions, the truth of which is derived from other sources: *viz. There is an only true God, but Jesus Christ is the only true*

God: There is an only true God, and the Holy Ghost is the only true God. Thus we see, how capable our author is of grappling with the most insidious adversaries of divine truth in their strongest hold.

Mr. Faber finds in the *Christian dispensation* a full development of the grand truths, darkly enunciated under the Patriarchal and the Levitical dispensations. It enforces

"The vital doctrine of redemption through a divine mediator, and the consequent certainty of eternal life with a degree of clearness and fulness which can only spring from a now actually completed deliverance." (P. 315.)

After thus going over Mr. Faber's two volumes, though we have used all freedom of remark as we went along, the reader will perhaps expect that we should give some account of the general character of the work; its merits and imperfections; its redundancies and its omissions, because it may reasonably be supposed that a Treatise upon the THREE DISPENSATIONS, from so great a master as Mr. Faber undoubtedly is, should develop something, peculiarly worthy of the perusal of biblical readers; especially as we have now, in the nineteenth century, had time to view dispassionately, and cull cautiously out of all, which has been said by our forefathers under less friendly circumstances.

The advantages, attending the present performance, (it will obviously strike the reader) are, that it is the production of a powerful mind; of a mind stored with universal information, and as conversant with the stores of antiquity as with the most familiar and modern topics; of a mind moreover, bold and intrepid enough to attack any adversary, or to push at any principle, however venerable, and to uphold any theory, however new. He possesses resources and is furnished with analogies and coincidences sufficient to give plausibility to every subject he may choose to espouse, and to cause some disturbance to any edifice he may choose to attack. There is a prodigious fund of learning, displayed in the collation of classical authors; and a stock of information, not often found in volumes of this description. Mr. Faber's talent of reasoning and induction too, are of no ordinary class; and the fearless vehemence, with which he bears us forward to his conclusions, has sometimes almost the irresistible impetuosity and overpowering influence of a land-flood.

Mr. Faber's outline, moreover, of scriptural truth, we consider to be clearly enunciated and powerfully defended; especially the origin, the nature, and the design of sacrifice. And here it is, that the learned author has made his ample

treasures of knowledge concerning pagan usages tell with greatest force and utility. But his wild and exuberant fancy, which is the greatest mischief with this author, too frequently leads him into analogies and theories which are neither obvious, nor perhaps admissible. We are induced, in this place, to state our regret, that Mr. Faber did not bring his amazing acquaintance with classic lore, to bear upon a subject, in alliance indeed with the above, but of an opposite character. He has, even to excess we think, drawn a parallel between pagan and scriptural authority, and shewn us many correspondences and analogies: but what we should have been also peculiarly gratified to see, from a master so capable of the task, is, a clear and perspicuous line of demarcation between *scriptural* verities and fabulous and corrupted *traditions*, and between the *effects* produced by these different systems. We should like to know, not only wherein they *agree*, but in what they differ; both in theory, and in spirit and practice. For, as "*no lie is of the truth*," and (we are sure) can never produce the same *effects* as truth, it were ardently to be wished, that some *Master in Israel* would inform us, what *Christianity* is, and what it is not; what *paganism* is, and what it is not: and wherein the truths believed, the spirit imbibed, and the hopes possessed by the weakest *true Christian*, differ from those of the most *privileged and exalted pagans*. We believe *Gentilism* and *Christianity* to be two essentially different things. And who so qualified to tell wherein the difference lies, as those who have such intimate knowledge of both.

Many most valuable purposes might be answered by a judicious and wise discussion of such a topic. It might indirectly apply, in a very useful manner, to our classical *seminaries*, and lead young minds to discern the *advantages* and the dangers of pagan authorities; it might also correct many crude and mischievous sentiments, too common in our day, about the moral and religious state of the heathen world, and would thus illustrate the necessity of Christian missions; and (we might hope) it would induce many to inquire *personally*, wherein they themselves differ from the *world that lieth in wickedness*.

The great *omission*, however, and which we must consider as a serious *defect* in a Treatise upon the *Christian Dispensation*, is this. Mr. Faber has said next to nothing about its *grand peculiarity*, its being a *Dispensation OF THE SPIRIT*. Christ, having ascended on high, fulfilled his promise to his disciples: I WILL SEND YOU ANOTHER COMFORTER, THAT HE MAY ABIDE WITH YOU FOR EVER. This promise belongs to

the universal *Church of Christ*: and to see, that nothing is professedly introduced into these volumes upon so vital a subject, gives us much pain. In connexion with this omission we must mention another, allied to it, and perhaps consequent upon it; and that is, the genuine nature of CONVERSION, or that *change* of views, of heart, and of life, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, which is essential to true Christianity in this world, and to our hopes hereafter. The atonement is indeed throughout the whole Treatise asserted and defended in a masterly manner; but we regret to find so little use made of this atonement, and of the offices of CHRIST in general, in our daily approaches to God. We learn in the Bible, that *Christ crucified* was the life and delight of the souls of the primitive Christians. By *this* they had constant access to God; through *this* they were *crucified to the world, and the world to them*; in view of *this* they *lived upon a world to come*, and entered beforehand into an enjoyable acquaintance with *that within the veil*.

Nothing is also said by our author on the nature and the design of eternal punishment. The glory of God, the righteousness of his government, or the happiness and stability of the blessed, will doubtless in some way or other be affected by that awful procedure. For "God does not afflict willingly or grieve the children of men." Where the voice of God is silent, we have no authority to speculate: but doubtless the *truth* and *equity* of endless punishment ought to have been asserted and justified in a work like this.

But we cannot close without reverting to what is the characteristic peculiarity of the treatise and the author, a free indulgence in novel theories, deduced out of the pure word of God. Though we fear, that the learned author is himself past cure with respect to the drift of his contemplations, we would most earnestly and affectionately caution our younger readers against indulging their *fancies* in the interpretation of the word of God. We might be almost sure *à priori*, that in any given passage that meaning, which it requires a very ingenious and lively imagination to find out, is a wrong one. We are far from discouraging a fair and chastised criticism. Let learning and ingenuity here have their full scope! But, where obvious meanings are made to give way to system or to visionary inventions, in violation of context or the general analogy of scriptural truth, who can tell whereunto this may grow? The plainest truths, whenever they become unpalatable, will ever find ingenious divines ready to explain them away.

ART. XVIII.—*Essays, relative to the Habits, Characters, and moral Improvement of the Hindoos.* London. Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen. 1823. 8vo. Pp. 351.

No nation ever assumed an attitude of dignity, more imposing than that, in which Great Britain now stands, when she is seen, stretching out the hand of beneficence and compassion to three quarters of the globe.

In our last number but one, we took a slight view of the efforts, which are making in this country, to raise the imported population of the West Indies from their abject condition of slavery and heathenism to the rights of men, the privileges of subjects, and the dignity of Christians. In that article we pointed out, while this end is steadily kept in view, the importance of preparing the mind of the slave for that highest boon, which we are most anxious to confer; and we ventured moreover to suggest the practicability and the necessity of adopting measures on a larger scale than seem to have been yet contemplated, for instructing them in the Christian faith, and attaching them to our national communion. These two objects of the moral and civil emancipation of the negro are far too momentous and interesting to suffer us, especially now that public attention is awake to the subject, to keep them long out of sight; and we therefore hope, in an ensuing article, to lay before our readers an abstract of all that has been lately attempted or accomplished, promised or undertaken, with that view, and indeed to enter into a fuller examination of the whole case than we have hitherto had time to indulge in.

Some allusion was also made in another part of the same number to those persevering and truly benevolent labours, which have been undertaken, labours, which amidst the most appalling discouragements have notwithstanding been most eminently blessed, for communicating to the negro, recaptured from a slave-ship, the knowledge and the power of Christianity. As to the success of those exertions, without entering into any detailed consideration of it at present, certainly few sights on this earth could be more cheering to humanity than that, which was lately presented by an assemblage of Christian negroes, weeping in silence around the bed of their apparently dying missionary and instructor, and all uniting in fervent prayer for his recovery. "When my disease, (says Mr. Düring) had come to a crisis, I was seized with agonizing pain. This was very soon known; and in a little time the bed-room and piazza were filled chiefly with the

communicants, all viewing me, as certainly dying. No distressful, howling noise, as practised by their brethren in their natural state, was heard. But silent tears were seen, running down their cheeks in great abundance, while the more hardy vented their grief in sighs and groans. The sight was too much for me. I desired them to remove at least so far, that I could not see them. One man, who seemed to have been thinking of what I said, came close to the bed, and said very feelingly—‘ Massa, do not drive us away! We come to see what we can do for you. Suppose you tell us to fetch doctor from town! We can go, and carry him up quick.’—‘ Ah!’ said I. ‘ No earthly doctor can help me, if the Lord, Jesus Christ, does not. The only thing, that is left for me and you, is to fly to him in our trouble. I should be obliged to you, if you would pray with me.’ No sooner had I uttered the words, than all were instantly on their knees, like soldiers, well exercised in the use of their arms. Many times have I felt the power of prayer. But to a season, like this, I had been a stranger until now.”

But it is not our intention to expatiate on either of these subjects at present. We are anxious rather to introduce to our readers some of the efforts, which are making with the same views of enlightened philanthropy, to elevate the intellectual and purify the moral character of another degraded portion of the human race, with which indeed we stand still more nearly connected, though at a greater distance: we mean the natives of India.

Without adverting now to the ecclesiastical establishment for that immense province, and the benefits to be expected from its newly-erected mission-college, it is interesting to find the friends of India taking so lively an interest in the welfare of its native inhabitants, as to institute and maintain a periodical work upon the spot, exclusively devoted to their benefit. The work indeed, to which we allude, professes in its very title to be the friend of India; and it is conducted by the missionaries of Serampore. It is a quarterly publication; and the object of it is first to inquire into the real condition, both moral, political, and religious, of the natives, especially of Bengal, and then to make known the result of that inquiry among those, who alone have the power to apply a healing hand to the moral disorders of the country.

From this periodical work the essays, which are lying before us, are selected. In the advertisement, prefixed to the volume, we are told, that

“ They are now presented to the public of Britain, with the hope of

awakening such an interest in the subjects treated of, as may warrant the republication of the future numbers of that journal."

"And the encouragement, with which it has been favored, warrants a belief, that the investigation of subjects of this nature is in unison with the spirit of the present age." (P. 241.)

It embraces every part of their condition, and contains, among other items, proposals and an address by Dr. Carey, respecting an agricultural society in India.

The character of the Hindoos, as represented in this volume, as well indeed as in every authentic publication concerning them, is most deplorable. We need not of course say any thing on the effect of caste upon the native habits. But all the directions of the books, which they hold sacred, are of a nature to debase the mind and perplex and darken the conscience: for which cause the total absence of all that deserves the name of honour or morality, from the sentiments or practice of the people, is calculated to excite rather concern than surprise.

"There is, perhaps, no country on earth where morals are so completely relaxed, where those vices which degrade human nature and destroy the peace of society, are in such fatal operation as in India. That a man should employ every art of corruption to evade deserved punishment, is not matter of surprise; but in what country, where the sanctions of morality are held sacred, does a plaintiff think of employing corruption in a *just* cause? Yet such is daily the case in India. No man ever dreams of standing on the high ground of his own innocence; and we will venture to affirm that scarcely a cause is ever decided in which the officers of justice do not receive bribes from *both* parties." (P. 319.)

"False witnesses may be obtained in every place, on the slightest notice and for a mere trifle. Their price varies in different zillahs: in some sixteen may be had for a rupee, in others ten, but four annas each is what no true son of the trade was ever known to refuse in the interior; and at this rate any number may be collected to testify to facts they never witnessed." (P. 316, 317.)

"Lord Teignmouth observed many years ago, that among a thousand native officers he had only met with one in whom he could repose confidence. No native ever undertakes a public office with the intention of confining himself to his stated salary; his leading motive is the hope of amassing wealth by the abuse of his power. Should any be startled at this sweeping declaration, we would beg leave to say, that after a residence of more than twenty years in the country, after repeated conversations with natives of every degree, and with European gentlemen in every variety of situation, we have never been able to hear of a native officer whom power had not contaminated. We do not mean to aver that there is no species of honesty in the country. The man whose conscience is dormant when touching a

large bribe, would scorn to pilfer his superior merely of a rupee. A regard for his own dignity would restrain him from so ignominious a theft; but respecting official corruption and extortion he has no scruple. It involves no loss of reputation, and no disgrace in the opinion of his countrymen; these exactions, on the contrary, are considered as the legal perquisites of office, and constitute the grand allurements of the public service. In England, public indignation would pursue the man who had fattened in the soil of corruption. In India, no such sentiments are ever awakened in the native mind; a fortune created by bribery is rather a subject for applause and admiration. It invigorates the hope of the aspirant for office, and redoubles his attempts to enter on this lucrative trade." (P. 307.)

"The Hindoo never opens his mind to the conviction that one bold assertion of his rights, one public exposition of the injuries he suffers, would arrest the progress of extortion, and liberate him and his neighbours from that endless series of oppression which lies before him for the future. Such reasoning would be lost on him; his first emotion is that of averting *present* danger. Instead therefore of carrying his complaint to the seat of justice, where redress may be obtained for present wrongs and security against future evils, he prefers the expeditious palliative of a bribe, and submits without hesitation to injuries which in England would rouse the spirit of the lowest peasant." (P. 314.)

The same disposition to trick and manœuvre pervades all ranks of society and every part of behaviour.

"For one man who earns a subsistence, there are perhaps two who live without work; and the industry of one third of the country has to support the indolence of the remaining two thirds." (P. 132.)

"A man who is without employ, lives on his friend for six or eight months without the least scruple. While he can obtain the simple necessities of life without labour, he is not anxious to exert himself in his own behalf: with persons of this description the country is burdened. The board of the industrious is also surrounded with a numerous company of relatives, whom the prevailing custom of the country constrains him to support. There is scarcely a married man in the country, who has not some of his own or his wife's kindred, dependent on his bounty. These he cannot shake off; and they will seldom drop off themselves, but will continue to draw nourishment from his labour, while a single meal of rice remains in the house." (Pp. 130, 131.)

"Nothing can exceed the disgrace which a Hindoo attaches to the slightest violation of the rules of hospitality; and the privations and embarrassments to which he submits, in order to shun odium on this subject, would astonish the inhabitants of Europe. To be represented in his own village as one who has denied a refuge to strangers, would fix on him an indelible stigma. Under the impulse of this feeling, he submits to every inconvenience with cheerful resignation, and though encumbered with debts, never permits his guest to entertain the

slightest idea of the embarrassment which his arrival occasions. The constant influx of these guests is very great, and constitutes one of the heaviest taxes on the labour of the industrious. On their arrival, the master of the house transforms himself into a servant, lays before them the richest provisions his store will allow, and, when he has no money in the house, borrows on the spur of the occasion, at a rate of interest highly disadvantageous. But this is not all;—the custom of the country constrains him to offer them a sum of money at their departure, for the prosecution of their journey; and though, perhaps, already overwhelmed with debt, he is obliged to submit to fresh difficulties with every appearance of cheerfulness." (P. 129, 130.)

"Who would imagine on beholding the wretched hut of the Hindoo, which hardly excludes the elements of heaven, and into which are crowded, in this burning climate, the young and the old, and their every article of furniture, that its miserable inmates are constrained perhaps for years to pay thirty-six per cent for every farthing they borrow? Even when health smiles on them, their existence cannot but be miserable; but when overtaken with disease, or oppressed with unforeseen calamity, then it is that they may be said to drink deep of the cup of human woe. The inexorable money-lender, whom they cannot avoid, enforces his claim, heaping interest on interest." (P. 133.)

"To obtain money, a native will pledge every thing he possesses. When in circumstances of ease, he lays in a provision of gold and silver jewels, which serve to adorn his family in prosperity, and to propitiate the usurer on the approach of adversity. These are generally the first articles, through which he contracts a friendship with his banker, and it is frequently with a view to the probable reverse of his fortunes, that he provides himself with these articles in the hour of plenty. Every other article of value follows the jewels in due process of time, till nothing is left of his household wealth, but the brassen dishes of his humble board. With these he dispenses last of all: and a native is considered in circumstances rather desperate, when he is obliged to substitute a plantain leaf for his brass plate." (Pp. 126, 127.)

"The man, who can contrive to exist on borrowing for twenty years at an exorbitant rate of interest, might by one vigorous effort deliver himself from embarrassment, and open a prospect of comfort to his family for the remainder of life. This reasoning is lost on a Hindoo; while he admits its truth, he wants vigour of mind to put it in practice. Debt is to him a complete circle, from which there is no egress, after he has once ventured within its enclosure. A Hindoo is no sooner free from one debt than he contracts another; and generally incurs a second debt long before he is liberated from the first. He stretches his credit to its utmost limit, and is frequently under obligations in ten places at once. There is reason to believe that nearly three fourths of the inhabitants in Bengal are indebted to the remaining fourth." (P. 126.)

"The great bulk of farmers work upon a borrowed capital, and

consider themselves happy if they can glean a scanty subsistence from the product of their luxuriant soil." (P. 136.)

"The ploughman borrows corn for the support of his family during the season, till his own crop be ripe, when he repays his debt in kind, at fifty per cent. advance." (P. 135.)

"The next year will bring a fresh array of wants, and present again the view of his starving family, which will render it unwise to break with his rich friend; a species of obligation of which the one never forgets the advantages, nor can the other the oppression. The corn is therefore lent out at a high price, and repaid at a lower rate, partly because the price falls on the gathering of the harvest, and partly because the lender takes it on his own terms. In the weight there is as little equity as in the price, so that, turn whichever way he will, the husbandman is the loser." (P. 135.)

"The crop, on which they labor, will not go to enrich their families, but that of the usurer, who beholds the growth of the corn with feelings of anticipated enjoyment." (P. 136.)

"The man who borrows in India has no prospect of being able to repay his debt at the stipulated period; in general he never intends it, but leaves the matter to chance, or to the more powerful operation of chicane and falsehood. When the time for payment arrives, there is no expedient too disgraceful, no subterfuge or deceit too infamous for him to practise, in order to evade his creditor. If the moment of payment can be postponed, he retires in triumph, without casting a single glance of regret at the inglorious price for which this relaxation has been purchased. How can morality, of which truth is the basis, flourish in such a soil?" (P. 137.)

Every thing in the civil and religious institutions of the Hindoos, tends to aid rather than to counteract these mischiefs. Thus the conquest of their country by the Mahometans introduced the Persian language into their courts of judicature, which was the language of their conquerors; and that language still continues to be used there, although it is the language neither of the governors, nor of the governed. Besides this, one half of the population is excluded by mere sex from all cultivation of mind, and is regarded so much in the light of an appendage to the males, that they are nearly compelled, by the self-interest of their brahmuns, and even of their own relatives, to share the funeral pile with their deceased husbands. On all these particulars, we must make some extracts from the work before us, which gives a nearer insight into the real state of things, than any work which has yet been published in England.

Still there are, in the present state of India, some redeeming considerations, which encourage hope, and indicate a present revival. A native press has been established in India; an event, which, as it will prove in all probability an

era in the history of that country, we have placed as the prominent subject and title of this article. The works indeed, which have hitherto issued from that press, are, in the main, calculated rather to expose the nakedness of the land, than to cultivate it with a better seed. But yet it is something, nay, it is a very considerable advance, to have the deformity of Hindooism exposed by Hindoos themselves; and to see a Hindoo pamphlet, directed with skill and effect against the system of idolatry and the immolation of widows, is more than the warmest friend of the best interests of India could expect. This subject, however, is too interesting to be passed over without extracting some part of the information, conveyed concerning it in these valuable essays. The work in question (we are told), though nothing more is known of the author than his name,

“bears internal marks of being purely native, and evidently owes its origin to that flood of light which has been shed abroad in the country within the last few years, although the whole current of reasoning strongly indicates, that the writer has scarcely a distant acquaintance with the doctrines of Christianity, of which in the present instance he might have made a powerful application. The arguments, with which he combats the present Hindoo system, however, taken in connexion with the facts and circumstances, by which he supports them, are of so peculiar a stamp, that while many of them are such as a Christian *would* not have used, there is, perhaps, no European in India who *could* have thought of them all, even after a residence of thirty years. Whether the cogency of the author's reasoning be considered, or his extensive acquaintance with the popular worship of the Hindoos, and the original authorities for the dogmas of their faith, it will, we imagine, be esteemed an interesting publication; but in the whole of the work there is, perhaps, nothing more cheering than his frequent appeals to reason. It is long before mankind bring the errors of their ancestors to the test of reason; but when they can once be brought to submit them to this test, to which respecting idolatry the divine penmen themselves appeal, we may consider the work of amelioration as fairly begun.” (Pp. 185, 186.)

“So intimate a knowledge of the recondite rites and mysteries of Hindooism can scarcely ever be acquired in an equal degree by a foreigner, however extensive his acquaintance with the popular manners. After residing twenty years in the bosom of the people, with the most anxious spirit of inquiry, there are innumerable circumstances connected with their worship, their habits, their feelings, which will elude his observation. Yet how important a knowledge of these is to a due exposure of the errors of the Hindoo system!” (P. 235.)

We shall now make some quotations from the work itself, a few indeed, but such as will fully authenticate the praise, which has been bestowed upon it.

“The doctrine which the author here combats, is universally cur-

rent among the Hindoos. They believe, that, while the carpenter is fashioning it, the image is indeed a block of wood, but that as soon as the brahmūn, whose office it is, repeats certain formulas, inviting the deity to enter it, the image ceases to be wood; the divinity has now made it his residence, and all its former qualities have at once disappeared. This our author terms the act of invocation." (Pp. 190, 191.)

It is not without reason, that the Abbé Dubois contends for the superior resemblance of Roman Catholic tenets to those of Hindooism, above those, which are held by Protestants. For our own part we must acknowledge, that we have not been able to discover any essential difference between the above doctrine and that of transubstantiation; and it appears to us, that the following arguments of the learned Hindoo, *mutatis mutandis*, are equally applicable to both.

"If you say you possess evidence, that after inviting the deity to reside in the idol, the deity does actually enter it, hence this evidence ought not to be despised; we reply, that you and we enjoy the same means of ascertaining this fact. After the idol has been endowed with divinity, does it not retain precisely the same qualities of earth, or wood, or stone, which it possessed before? Flies and mosquitoes annoy it from head to foot, before it receives the divine spirit, and continue to do so after that event. Before the deity's entrance it would have been broken in pieces, had it fallen on the ground; and the same fate would attend it after that event. It has not the power of eating, or sleeping, or of locomotion either before or afterwards. How then can we affirm, that the deity has entered it? You are accustomed from your infancy, in conformity with popular opinion, to say, that the image smiles, and at other times appears melancholy. It is astonishing, that, though you and we can equally perceive evidence on other matters, we cannot agree to believe, that the image ever smiles." (P. 191.)

"Should you urge, that many, who have petitioned the image, have obtained their desires, and that many, who have despised celebrated images, have been visited with the severest afflictions; we reply, that though many who have prayed to the image have been successful in their pursuits, yet many have been equally successful who never petitioned an image. Our success or failure depends upon the will of the Almighty. Success, moreover, can never be separated from endeavours; which excludes the interposition of the images. We daily see, into what a state of anxiety the worshippers of images are plunged, lest its hands or feet should at any time break. Now, if they were convinced, that the divinity had actually entered the idol, its worshippers would not be so incessantly anxious on this account. If images of great celebrity had power to destroy those who injured them,—if the idol punished the rats who undermine it, or the cock-roaches who destroy its colour, or if it drove off and punished the flies, who, after wading through slime and filth, walk over it, we should be the first to believe in its divinity." (P. 192.)

"If in one place the shastras say, that the image when endowed with divinity is deprived of its material qualities, and in another, that it possesses no divinity at all, we are to inquire which of these opinions appears most reasonable; and this may be speedily decided by ascertaining whether or not the stone possesses any of the attributes of deity. If by the act of invocation its qualities of earth or stone have disappeared, and it be endowed with the divine perfections, it certainly possesses divinity; but if the image may be broken by the hand, or consumed in the fire, those shastras which deny it any thing of divinity, are sound and canonical." (P. 189.)

"The writer next advances an argument, which militates in the strongest manner against the antiquity of the present Pouranic system of idolatry,—that the ancient sages bore no names formed from those of the Hindoo gods now worshipped, while there is now scarcely a name given to a child which has not a reference to some one of these gods. This complete alteration of names throughout this vast empire, may suggest a hint, which, if duly pursued, may lead to a knowledge of the period when the system of idol-worship was introduced." (P. 198.)

"One goddess has been created within these four years; she is indebted for her origin to the prevalence of the cholera morbus." (P. 200.)

"With the view of their obtaining Gunga,* you at midnight, in the month of January, dip your aged and afflicted parents in the river, and thereby murder them. The weather is then so cold and the wind so bleak, that were you to submerge a healthful youth in the river, his death would be no matter of surprise. Promising heaven to your elder or younger sister, to your mother, or grandmother, or daughter, or friend, you bind them down with ropes or bamboos, and burn them on the funeral pile. When we witness the perpetration of these murders, does not nature itself move us to forbid them?" (P. 206.)

"If you say, 'The Christians worship the deity, without forming images, and your system resembles theirs; we are Hindoos, we therefore naturally worship the deity through an image;' we reply, that there are two kinds of Christians; the English and others who never admit images into their churches, and the Feringhees who exceed them in numbers, and whose churches are crowded with images. If then, by forsaking idols, we assimilate our system to that of the English Christians, you must acknowledge that by your worshipping images, your system resembles that of the Feringhee Christians." (P. 207.)

"If you say, that you do not worship the gods as the Supreme Being, but as enabling you to approach the deity, just as we conciliate the porter when we wish to approach a king; we reply, that those who conciliate the porter for an introduction to a king, do not consider the porter as the king himself; yet you act thus; since you consider those whom you worship as God himself." (P. 221.)

* "Obtaining Gunga," a phrase used by the natives to express a man's obtaining those benefits in a future state which they imagine Gunga can bestow.

“To consider mud and sandal wood, a drinking vessel and a mat, as the same, and earth and stones as the deity, belongs to foolish idolaters, not to wise men. Yet a wise man will consider both mud and Sandal wood, and all beings, from *Bruhma* to the reptile, as equally the work of the great Creator, and, acknowledging them as subject to him, will subscribe to the omnipresence of the deity.” (Pp. 229, 230.)

“We cannot agree in opinion with you, since that which you esteem holiness, and those actions which you introduce into worship, we esteem unholy.” (P. 233.)

“Some of you consider the drinking of wine, and the extinction of life, and the shedding of blood, as conducive to salvation;—we do not. To burn defenceless women, to murder an aged father and mother by immersing them in water, you esteem holy;—we esteem these deeds unholy.” (P. 233.)

After citing many such specimens of powerful and unshrinking argumentation as these, the translator pertinently asks—

“What benevolent mind, perceiving the diligence, with which our author has brought forward in this controversy every particle of truth he could glean from his own books, would deny him that light, that superior knowledge, which might enable him to detect and renounce the errors of the *Vedas* themselves? These are our natural allies in the propagation of truth; and we cannot stand acquitted of folly, if we deny them those advantages which would render their aid completely efficient.” (P. 236.)

The other two works, from which extracts are given, are not equally interesting, or treated with the same ability. One of them, detailing the laws on ceremonial impurity, “Like most Hindoo productions, is composed in metrical stanzas. It occupies one hundred and forty pages, of which the first fifty are in the Bengalee language, and contain a summary of the law on this subject, together with a short treatise on penance; the Appendix consists of authorities from the original *Sanskrita* works. It has the benefit of an index, an improvement which has originated in an imitation of our books, and which we hope will never be omitted in any future native publication. The first eight pages of the book may be considered as the introduction. Dedications are as yet unknown among Hindoo editors, except to the gods; as were title-pages before our arrival.” (Pp. 243, 244.)

The remaining publication prescribes the domestic duties of Hindoos. We give only a specimen.

“He, who in sacrifices, when bestowing gifts, at the funeral ceremony, the morning and evening devotions, when meditating, or offering water to deceased ancestors, does not make a mark from the tip of his nose to the top of his forehead, loses all the fruit of those actions. If any one makes obeisance, or gives a benediction, when carrying the sacrificial flowers, or a water-pot, when bathing, or in

the water, or when anointing his body with oil, both he who receives and he who returns the salutation, will receive eternal punishment." (P. 334.)

In respect to the character of modern Hindoo literature, after furnishing a list of near thirty works which have issued from the press, the essayists justly observe,

"We shall be inclined to rate the present taste of the Hindoos very low. It is indeed low; and, if we attend only to the works which the press is at present employed in multiplying, we shall discover but a slender prospect of improvement. Many will say, and with some appearance of reason, that the increase of the legendary tales mentioned in the list, will tend only to strengthen immorality. There are, however, circumstances both in the state of India and in the early history of printing, which may mitigate the gloom of these reflections. We ought not to forget that the great body of the people, have had nothing to feed on for ages, but the tales of lewd gods and goddesses. The absence of all foreign importation of genuine science,—the intimate connexion of these fictions with all that a Hindoo holds sacred in this world, and inviting in the next,—their peculiar adaptation to the indolence and luxury of Eastern imaginations—all these circumstances have combined to naturalize this vicious taste, and to throw a charm around these tinsel productions which it is not easy at once to dissolve. Generation after generation has grown up with a fond attachment to them, till they have been interwoven, in a great measure, into the habits of the people. It was not to be expected then, that a taste for them should disappear on the immediate rise of a native press; the inveterate impression of ages was not to be removed in a day; and though they contain no principle of perpetuity, time must be allowed for the attraction to be broken, and for the taste to be glutted with satiety, before we can expect much amelioration. The productions of the press, on its introduction into Europe, may confirm this idea. It was at first employed in multiplying copies of the old and favorite romances of Amadis of Gaul, Palmerin of England, Tirante the White, and other tales equally favorable to morals." (Pp. 147, 148.)

"This is the mere dawn of light in the East, but it is a pledge of the most animating nature; and if these exertions be followed up with the same spirit with which they have been commenced, the task of those who study the welfare of India will be greatly facilitated, and little will be required of them besides giving a steady and propitious direction to the mighty engine which has been already put in motion." (P. 149.)

"The first Hindoo who established a press in Calcutta, was Baboo-ram, a native of Hindoosthan. He was most liberally patronized by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. and under his auspices brought through the press various editions of the *Sungskrita* classics, which have proved of the highest advantage to those who cultivate that ancient tongue. He is said to have accumulated a fortune of four lacs of rupees, with which he has retired to Benares; but we shall pro-

bably be nearer the truth if we reduce this sum three-fourths, a general criterion for ascertaining the intrinsic value of native reports of this nature. He was followed by Gunga-Kishore, formerly employed in the Serampore press, who appears to have been the first who conceived the idea of printing works in the current language as a means of acquiring wealth. To ascertain the pulse of the Hindoo public, he printed several works at the press of an European, for which having obtained a ready sale, he established an office of his own, and opened a book-shop. For more than six years, he continued to print in Calcutta various works in the Bengalee language; but, having disagreed with his coadjutor, he has now removed his press to his native village. He appointed agents in the chief towns and villages in Bengal, from whom his books were purchased with great avidity; and within a fortnight after the publication from the Serampore press of the *Somachar Durpun*, the first Native Weekly Journal printed in India, he published another, which has since, we hear, failed. The success which followed his literary speculations, and the wealth he has acquired, have induced others to embark in the same scheme; and there are now no less than four presses in constant employ, conducted by natives, and supported by the native population. This multiplication of printed works has excited a taste for reading, hitherto unknown in India, which promises to become gradually more extensive and more refined." (Pp. 143, 144.)

We now come, in conclusion, to the great practical question, what more can be done by this country towards improving the state of our Hindoo fellow-subjects.

In reply to this question, the first counsel which we should venture, in concurrence with the editors of the *Friend in India*, to offer, is extremely simple and easy. Let every encouragement be given to free inquiry! While Hindoos are to be found, ready to investigate the defects of their own system, they may be fairly left to themselves, without the encumbrance of foreign aid, under the assured conviction, that idolatry, superstition, and priestcraft, will shrink under the rudeness of their assault.

While we are penning this recommendation, advices have arrived of some recent restrictions, imposed upon the freedom of the press in India. They are not indeed levelled at the native press: nor are they designed expressly to subject general literature or mercantile discussion to any supervision or control; and we are happy to perceive that the revival of the censorship forms no part of the new regulations.

Nevertheless, when we find that the whole printing establishment of India is placed under a system of licence, that the penalties for transgressing the new limitations are not only fine and imprisonment, but a confiscation of presses and types, and a resumption of the licence, which of course amounts to a destruction of property,—that the governor general in

council reserves to himself the full power not only of refusing, but of revoking any licence, whenever he may see fit to do so, that he may prohibit the circulation of any paper summarily and without notice or process, and that all pecuniary forfeitures and penalties may be levied by the magistrate or joint magistrates of the jurisdiction, in which the offence was committed, without any trial by jury or open conviction, it is obvious, that the existence, and occasional, however rare, exercise of such a power, must have effects far beyond those, which are apparently contemplated by the framers of these provisions, that they must have a powerful tendency to depress the literature of India, to restrain inquiry, and to deter men of talent and character from embarking their property in so very perilous an adventure. One person, who was editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, was transmitted to this country by the authority of government, half a year before these new regulations were published: and whatever delinquencies on the one side, or reasons of state on the other may have warranted such a measure, the effect of it even in one instance must be to paralyse to a certain extent the spirit of literary exertion. The conviction of his successors, who have since been prosecuted for a libel, took place in open court: and we shall rejoice, if such convictions shall be found adequate to the legitimate ends of good government, without resorting to those arbitrary powers, which, even if they were otherwise free from objection, require more prudence, discretion, and moderation in public functionaries, with a view to prevent abuse, than can be safely calculated on in any prospective provision.

It is not therefore to the prohibitions themselves, but to the summary method by which they are henceforward to be enforced, that our observations apply. We question the expediency of resting such powers in any individual, notwithstanding the admitted necessity of putting down the hostile discussion of political questions in a distant colony, where almost every British subject is a civil or military servant of the state, and the local reasons which may be pleaded for the possession and exercise of an irresponsible authority, while the whole community of English is small, and the duty of preserving peace among its members overbalances every other consideration.

However, into this question, though affecting nearly the stability, dignity, and character of our Indian empire, we refrain from entering. Our present business is with the Hindoo press: and with respect to that, whatever may be the fetters, to which it may be thought necessary to subject European publishers, the considerations, which we now proceed to sub-

join, would sufficiently expose the mischief, should such an intention ever be entertained, of too narrowly watching the eccentricities of the native mind in its early literary efforts, which can only display themselves with advantage, like bodies, disposed to crystallize, in free space. Our essayists observe, concerning the pamphlet, which has been already described, that

“The publication of this work enables us to perceive the advantages, which may result from free discussion, conducted by private individuals among the natives, as well as the complete safety which attends it. It may be within the recollection of some of our readers, that about twelve years ago an unfounded suspicion of danger from attempts to enlighten India found its way into the minds of some persons in England, and that certain pamphlets in the Bengalee language were translated into our tongue, to demonstrate how closely their circulation was connected with the instability of our eastern possessions. Time has now refuted those suspicions, and alarm has now subsided ; It is, however, a happy circumstance, that the present publication has appeared so late : for, had it been sent into circulation at that season, we cannot say that it would not have contributed to invigorate suspicion, and excite greater alarm. That such prognostics of danger would have been unfounded, however, will appear from the fact that this publication, containing so close an examination of the doctrines and practices of polytheism, interspersed with incontestably more poignant ridicule, more keenness of satire, than was to be found in all the works, which twelve years ago excited such alarm, has now been in circulation more than eight months, and been read by the main supporters of the system it attempts to invalidate, without exciting the most distant suspicion, that idolatry is to be chased from India by the arm of coercion. But on what principle has it proved so innoxious ? Because it bears not the stamp of public authority ; because every man, who reads it, will instantly recognise it, as the work of a private individual ; because the writer has not been raised from a cottage to a palace, decorated with honours, or loaded with wealth ; because not one ray of favour has visited his humble dwelling, from those, who have the power of dispensing riches and honour. Had it appeared with any single appendage which could have identified it with government,—were the author, or his opponent who should furnish the best reply, to be raised in consequence to some office of profit and honour, the case would be altered ; and many who have never read it, might feel an involuntary alarm for the continuance of those rites, which it is in human nature to surrender to reason, never to authority. But the wise moderation of the ruling power on this subject has spread unbounded confidence among all the classes of the natives, and relieved them from all anxiety. Nothing can be more harmless than free discussion among the natives themselves, while it stands on its own basis, and leans not for support on the ruling authority.” (Pp. 237, 238.)

“The Hindoos have been discussing the doctrines of their own faith for twenty centuries ; for twenty centuries have the superior minds

of the East bent their earnest inquiries to this subject : on this field have they reaped all their laurels : and in the ardour of these speculations, they have left the history and geography of India to find its own way to posterity. Is it conceivable, then, that under the mild and benign sway of Britain, when religious discussion has been separated from every political consideration, more danger will attend it than under the intolerant sway of our immediate predecessors, or the bigoted government of the ancient Hindoo sovereigns ? If it be necessary, however, that works of this description should challenge assent on their own intrinsic merits, receiving neither the support nor the discountenance of the supreme authority, this can only be secured by the perfect freedom of the native press. Had the present work been submitted to a previous revision, it must either have been suppressed, or have gone forth with the sanction of government. Had it been suppressed, there would have been an end to free inquiry. But while the liberality of our countrymen removes every apprehension of this nature, scarcely any European gentleman, with the most perfect command of the language, while encumbered with other duties, could have found leisure to peruse and weigh all the arguments of this production, which he must have done previously to granting it his sanction. It must in that case have been delivered over to some native assistant, who, unless he possessed a liberality of sentiment as yet scarcely to be expected, would have made an unfavorable representation of the contents ; and this work might never have seen the light. But if, on the contrary, it had received the *imprimatur* of government, it must have gone forth as containing the approved sentiments of the supreme authority. The natives of the East have been accustomed to consider the wish of government as law : and we should then have had to combat the idea, that the civil power felt an interest either in the preservation or the suppression of idolatry ; an idea, which, by taking the subject out of the sphere of free discussion, would inevitably be detrimental to the progress of truth." (Pp. 239, 240.)

"Let examination thus begin among the natives themselves ! Let every part of the Hindoo system, and every practice it is supposed to countenance, be thus brought to the test of reason ! From this course truth has nothing to fear." (P. 66.)

"Native works have been printed by natives themselves, and sold among the Hindoo population with astonishing rapidity. An unprecedented impulse has been communicated to the inhabitants of Bengal, and the avidity for reading has increased beyond all former example. Before this period, the press had been confined to Europeans, and the only works in the native languages were printed at their expense, and circulated gratis. The natives have now taken the work into their own hands, and the commencement is commensurate with the avarice of native editors, and the rich fund of wealth enjoyed by the higher class of Hindoos." (Pp. 142, 143.)

"Many of these works have been accompanied with plates, which add an amazing value to them in the opinion of the majority of native readers and purchasers." (P. 146.)

"The only avenue from whence opposition might have been dreaded,

was from the irritation excited in the minds of the guardians of the Hindoo religion, on discovering the departure of their influence. This, however, is so far from being the case, that brahmuns have had the greatest hand in erecting the native press, and bringing it into operation." (Pp. 155.)

"The rapid circulation of ideas will within a few years bring all the inconsistencies of these sacred books under a course of rigid examination. Their mutual discrepancies will then create suspicion: the geographical and astronomical absurdities, a belief in which they enforce with as awful a sanction as a belief in the being of the gods, will strengthen these suspicions. Through these weak points the hostility of public opinion will probably enter first; and, as the whole citadel is built with materials equally frail, there is every reason to expect its eventual demolition. The Hindoo system of belief cannot stand, when separated into parts, of which some may be credited, and others rejected. It must stand as a whole, or fall as a whole. It is public opinion which now gives it weight and currency; but public opinion is not stationary, and it may be turned into an opposite channel. It is from the difference of public opinion occasioned by the presence of superior knowledge, that those dogmas are ridiculed in England, which are believed in India as truths of holy writ; and public opinion in India is susceptible of as great changes as in any other part of the world. Though the present age may bring much prejudice to that examination of Hindooism which the press will necessarily induce, and though the Hindoos of the present day may sit down for a season in quiet acquiescence with the decision and practice of their forefathers, every succeeding age, as the progress of knowledge is accelerated, will be farther and farther removed from these hereditary prejudices; the articles of belief will be gradually compared with a higher scale of attainments, till it will be found eventually that public opinion and general knowledge have advanced a full century beyond the acknowledged articles of the Hindoo faith. When society has arrived at this stage of refinement, it requires little penetration to see that these books of sacred literature will drop into contempt and disuse." (Pp. 156, 157.)

"The press has a natural tendency to multiply its productions; when it has not been violently restrained by public authority, it has gradually done this in every country. If we need an example to substantiate the position, it is afforded by our own country. We had the press a hundred years before we possessed a newspaper; and a newspaper nearly a hundred and fifty years before we had a magazine. The circulation of books in the reign of Charles the First was but limited and scanty, compared with the present demand for them; and there are many now living who may remember, that within the last fifty years, the number of books printed and sold has at least been doubled. The increase of population in England, however, will not fully account for this increase, as the number of works has increased in a much greater proportion. The fact is, that the *reading* population has increased;—it has been on the increase ever since the first printing-office was set up in Europe, and it will increase in every country into which a press is introduced. Compared with the present diffusion of

works in England, we acknowledge that our Indian one per cent. is but a drop to the ocean. But this is not a fair criterion; we should compare the progress made in this country with the progress made in England in the days of Edward the Fourth, within twenty years after Caxton set the first types in England. We must compare the present circulation of works, the present number of readers in India, with the state of things twenty years ago. We shall then find that the commencement which has been made is highly promising, and that if works in India multiply in the same proportion in which they have multiplied in other countries, there is a certain prospect of a speedy and sensible amelioration of its inhabitants." (Pp. 161, 162.)

The second step, which seems advisable for the welfare of India, is of a more substantive character. But it seems too obvious to require much discussion, that the administration of justice to the natives in their own language must have a powerful and immediate tendency to their substantial benefit and improvement. Yet we cannot refrain from copying the following able remarks from the essays:

"When William constrained his English subjects to conduct all judicial proceedings in his own tongue, he at the same time took measures to secure its being taught throughout the kingdom. Some historians say that he instituted schools for this purpose throughout England; - but all agree that he ordered it to be taught in those which then existed. His object evidently was to make it the current language of the kingdom; and the failure of this scheme with all the advantages for carrying it into execution, which arose from its being for above two centuries the language of the court, of all public transactions, of judicial proceedings, of nearly all the landed proprietors and a great part of the common people, sufficiently evinces the futility of any attempt to change the language spoken by the great bulk of a people." (P. 270.)

"If it was said of the Romans after they had conquered Greece, that the introduction of its language and literature made Rome almost appear the conquered country, our retaining in all judicial proceedings the language, introduced into them by the Mussulman dynasty, must suggest nearly the same idea to the minds of the poor Hindoos. While their real conquerors are only known to them by their solid weight of character, and the restraint they quietly exercise over their former oppressors, the judicial language and legal apparatus of the Mussulman dynasty still fill the eye of the Hindoo, and still give to the Mahometans and their religion a degree of factitious importance, of which both would have been stripped long ago, had our language in all judicial and public acts been substituted for theirs." (Pp. 279, 280.)

"With the exception of those employed in the native courts, Persian is as much a foreign language to the people of India as it was a century ago." (P. 285.)

"The conducting of judicial proceedings in the common language would exceedingly increase the esteem of the natives for those gentlemen who preside in the Native Courts throughout India." (P. 292.)

"This would tend to improve and enlighten the country in a superior degree. Of every advance of this nature the common language must be the medium; but how this can be when it is cultivated neither in the services of religion, at the bar, nor in the public business of government, it is difficult to say. Yet this at present is the case with the Bengalee language in particular. In their religious services the brahmuns affect to despise it, although the greater part of them are quite unable to understand the *Szngskrita* sentences they daily repeat in their religious formulas; and when it is excluded also from the courts of justice, what inducement can there be to cultivate it? Yet it begins to be cultivated notwithstanding every disadvantage, and the native press is daily becoming more and more interesting. But what an impulse would be given to its cultivation were it made the language of all the native courts in Bengal, may be inferred from the cultivation given the English language since it has been made the only vehicle for the administration of justice. Let it only be known, that instead of Persian, a thorough and classic knowledge of Bengalee is the indispensable qualification for every judicial situation in the native courts throughout Bengal, and that learning and probity alone will prevail, whether found in a Hindoo, a Mahometan, or a Christian, and anew scene will instantly appear." (P. 295.)

In the third place, we can discern no remaining reason why the immolation of widows should not at once be prohibited, under the penalties of murder. This subject is most fully and minutely discussed in the work before us; and the practice is shewn to be as contrary to the spirit of their own vedas, as it is to the interests of morality and religion. The voluntary character of these sacrifices is disproved by many considerations.

"A man of the writer cast, at *Kona-nugura*, about four miles south of Serampore, between twenty and thirty years of age, died in December last, leaving two wives, one about thirteen years of age, and the other about sixteen. Both of these, in the usual manner, expressed their wish to burn themselves with their deceased husband. The eldest of them, being pregnant, however, was advised to delay till after her confinement, and then to burn herself with something belonging to her husband. The youngest, not being prevented, was burned with the corpse of her husband. The eldest solemnly engaged to burn herself a month after her confinement; till which period she was taken home by her own parents. She at first expressed such displeasure at being thus denied the opportunity of burning herself, as to beat herself severely, and possibly accelerate the time of her confinement; but at the expiration of the month after that period, when called upon to fulfil her engagement, she had considered the subject more at leisure, and, being at home in the house of her own parents, she positively refused to destroy herself; nor could all the appeals made to her feelings, all the threats and reproaches poured upon her, alter her resolution in the least degree. She was in the house of her own parents, and completely independent of her husband's relatives; and, as every

thing which could be done was of course confined to verbal exertion, she determined to remain with her parents, where she continues till this day. As this instance is by no means a solitary one, we have little reason to conclude, that the desire to destroy themselves is more firmly fixed in the minds of multitudes besides, than it was in the mind of this young woman." (Pp. 23, 24.)

In proof of the illegality of the act we have the singular fact of a Hindoo pundit, publishing a work, to prove its opposition to the vedas.

"We intreat permission to subjoin a few extracts from a document in our possession, drawn up in *Sungskrita* about two years ago by *Mrityoonjaya-Vidyalkura*, the chief pundit successively in the College of Fort William and in the Supreme Court, at the request of the Chief Judge in the *Sudder Dewanee Adawlut*, who wished him to ascertain from a comparison of all the works, extant on the subject, the precise point of law, relative to burning widows, according to those, who recommend the practice. This document, as the Compiler of it from his own extensive learning and the assistance of his friends had an opportunity of consulting more works on the subject than almost any pundit in this presidency, may be regarded as possessing the highest legal authority according to the Hindoos. After having consulted nearly thirty works on the subject, current in Bengal, and the northern, western, and southern parts of Hindoosthan, among which are all those, quoted for the practice by the author of this pamphlet, he says, 'Having examined all these works and weighed their meaning, I thus reply to the questions I have been desired to answer.' He then states, that, *Munoo* having directed the following formula to be addressed to the bride by the priest at the time of marriage—'Be thou perpetually the companion of thy husband in life and in death!'—*Hareeta*, a later writer, says, that it is the inheritance of every woman, belonging to the four casts, not being pregnant or not having a little child, to burn herself with her husband. The Compiler afterwards quotes *Vishnoo-moonee*, as speaking thus: 'Let the wife either embrace a life of abstinence and chastity, or mount the burning pile!'—but he forbids the latter to the unchaste. He then enumerates particularly the various rules laid down by him and others who have followed him on the same side of the question, relative to the time and circumstances in which a woman is permitted to burn herself, and in what cases she is even by them absolutely forbidden. These extracts shew, that binding the woman, and the other acts of additional cruelty which the author of this pamphlet justifies, are totally forbidden. The *Soodhee-koumoodee* as quoted by the Compiler says, 'Let the mother enter the fire after the son has kindled it around his father's corpse; but to the father's corpse and the mother let him not set fire; if the son set fire to the living mother, he has on him the guilt of murdering both a woman and a mother.' Thus the possibility of a woman's being bound to her husband's corpse is taken away. While the act is left perfectly optional, the son is not to be in the least degree accessory to the mother's death. If she burn herself at all, it must be by throwing herself into the flames,

already kindled. And the *Nirnuyasindhoo* forbids the use of any bandage, bamboos, or wood by way of confining the woman on the funeral pile; nor, before she enter it, must the least persuasion be used, nor must she be placed on the fire by others. Thus the practice, as existing in Bengal and defended in this work, is deliberate murder even according to the legal authorities which recommend burning as optional." (Pp. 54—56.)

"In the *Shastras* appear many prohibitions of a woman's dying with her husband, but against a life of abstinence and chastity there is no prohibition. Against her burning herself the following authorities are found. In the *Meemangshadurshuna* it is declared, that every kind of self-inflicted injury is sin. The *Sankhya* says, that a useless death is undoubtedly sinful. The killing for sacrifice commanded by the *Shastras* has a reasonable cause, and is yet sinful in a certain degree, because it destroys life. And while by the *Meemangsha*, either of the two may be chosen; by the *Sankhya*, a life of abstinence and chastity is alone esteemed lawful." (P. 57.)

"One grand principle of the Hindoo system is, that life must not be destroyed: hence their abstaining from animal food; and hence many have thought it sinful to destroy a noxious or a poisonous reptile." (P. 61.)

"The Hindoos maintain in all its strictness the doctrine of the metempsychosis, and believe that the human soul is a part of the Supreme Being, and that, while its desires are impure and corrupt, it can never be re-united to him and obtain final beatitude. Others among them, however, hold, that certain deeds, though done from the most unworthy motives, are in themselves so available as to merit a certain degree of recompence; never final beatitude indeed, but wealth, a son, long life, the destruction of enemies, or a certain temporary state of bliss in their *Swurgas*, or heavens. In this class those rank, who contend for the burning of widows, as is sufficiently testified by one of the quotations, given in the pamphlet under consideration, which says, that, though a woman burn herself from "amours, anger, fear, or affection," she is still certain of obtaining heaven. But all these deeds the more learned treat with the greatest contempt, declaring them to be nothing more than vice in another shape, the indulgence of a corrupt mind. These writers, therefore, view a woman's burning herself as perfectly unlawful." (Pp. 61, 62.)

"If the number of Hindoos in India be computed at a hundred millions, (and few will estimate them lower,) the least number, who die annually, must in the common course of mortality be estimated at three millions; and as nearly every man is married, and in general to a woman far younger than himself, a million of widows annually is the very lowest number which we ought to reckon. Now, if only one out of a hundred of these be burned, this will exhibit ten thousand widows consigned to the flames every year. But were the whole million to be thus burnt alive, this country would yearly present such a Gehenna, such a sacrifice to Moloch, as the world has never beheld. A law, however, regularly disobeyed by ninety-

nine out of a hundred of those to whom it is given, and this without either punishment or blame, is totally unworthy the name. Such is not the case with the *laws* of the Hindoo system. By these widows are forbidden to marry again: and not one in a thousand ever marries again." (P. 63.)

"When it is considered, that this practice causes the death of a greater number of persons in one year, who, *if they ought not to be thus burnt alive*, involve the country in all the guilt of innocent blood, than are publicly executed for their crimes throughout the whole of India in the course of twenty years, it cannot be wrong to call to this momentous subject the attention of every friend to his country. How would Britain feel, if within herself a hundred innocent persons suffered death by some mistake of the law in the course of a year? How then ought she to feel, when, in only one province of her foreign dominions, nearly a thousand innocent widows are every year burnt to death!" Pp. 64, 65.)

The safety of prohibiting these murders is abundantly proved.

"Dr. Carey, through the Rev. Dr. Buchanan, submitted to Government three memorials on this subject. The first of these included the practice of exposing infants, which existed chiefly in the north of Bengal, and that of persons devoting themselves voluntarily to death at Saugur island, and in certain other places. The two last practices were abolished by an order of Government; but the burning of widows has been suffered to continue to the present day." (P. 32.)

"In the province of Guzerat the deluded parents had been for a long series of years in the habit of destroying their female infants as soon as they were born. Whether the custom was sanctioned by the shastras or not, is irrelevant; it is enough that it was deeply rooted in the practice and prejudices of the natives. These unnatural murders at length attracted the notice of Government, and they were publicly prohibited by an order from the supreme power. Did Government immediately lose the confidence and attachment of the natives? Did the enraged parent, unsheathing his sword, slaughter the rescued victim, and then turn it on those who had attempted its preservation? Not one symptom of disaffection has been manifested by the natives on this account. By many the practice is probably forgotten; and it would now appear in their eyes as horrible as it formerly appeared natural and indispensable. The infants have been suffered to grow up to maturity, and to engage the affections of their parents: and who will say, that the father breathes desolation and slaughter against those, who formerly saved them from destruction?

"Our second example is of the same nature; but, inasmuch as it indicates the feelings of a class of natives at the other extremity of the continent, it may in the opinion of some carry greater weight, as demonstrating that the same security accompanies every assertion of the principles of humanity throughout this vast empire. From time immemorial it was the custom for mothers to sacrifice their

children to the Ganges at the annual festival, held at Gunga Saugor. The British Government regarded the practice with those feelings of horror, which such unnatural murders are calculated to inspire; and, as persuasion would have been unavailing with those, who had parted with every parental feeling, the practice was prohibited by a public decree, and the prohibition enforced by public authority. Let us not forget that this order was promulgated in the presence of thousands, assembled at a public festival, in the highest excitement of superstitious frenzy. What was the consequence? Not one instance of resistance was attempted by that immense crowd. The mischief vanished from the earth, and no one bewailed it. The mothers who had brought their children to this funeral sacrifice, were constrained to carry them back unhurt; and many perhaps to whom the heinousness of the crime had never yet appeared, were by this interposition awakened to a sense of its enormity." (Pp. 76, 77.)

"We have protected them in the exercise of their religion. We have permitted hundreds of temples to rise without inquiry. We have allowed them to squander millions of rupees annually to propitiate their gods. During the whole of our administration we have not violated one sanctuary, or mutilated one idol. Is it to be supposed then, that, while they continue to enjoy these, to them unprecedented, privileges, they will consider us as having abandoned the principles of toleration, when we prohibit the inhuman slaughter of defenceless women, and abrogate a practice, discountenanced by half the shastras, and condemned by the great body of the people?

"The chief support of this odious practice centres in Bengal; in the western provinces, peopled with a bold and hardy race, female immolation is exceedingly rare. We pass over the aid which this fact brings to the question of its abolition; for if the inhabitants of the West, the original recipients of the Hindoo faith, have never considered the rite of vital importance, to abolish it will not be to depart from the spirit of the Hindoo religion; and if they did formerly consider it binding, and have since permitted it to drop into disuse, there can be no mischief in our discountenancing it elsewhere. We pass over these considerations, and beg to call the attention of the reader to this simple fact, that the natives of Bengal are under higher obligations to the British Government than those of any other province in India." (Pp. 83, 84.)

"*The British Government are the only defenders of Bengal from anarchy and plunder.* Its peaceful inhabitants have never been able to resist their more powerful neighbours of Hindoosthan; and, were our protection withdrawn from it for a single year, its fertile plains would be desolated, its inhabitants massacred, and the immense wealth accumulated under our government torn from it with unsparing rapacity. This is an argument which comes home to the feelings of every bosom, and in this case would be all-powerful. The remembrance of the successive Mahratta invasions of Bengal, is still transmitted from father to son; and, though the ravages, which were committed, have lost much of their atrocity by the lapse of time, the natives still shrink with instinctive terror from the prospect of similar invasions, in which,

on one occasion, thirty females, to escape violation and death, left their native village, and destroyed themselves in a neighbouring stream, on beholding the distant approach of the hostile cavalry. But we need not the aid of threatened vengeance to substantiate the abolition. The fears we entertain, if any are entertained, are entirely of our own creation. With what feelings of astonishment would a native receive the first intimation, that we apprehended public disquietude from such a measure! After having overcome his natural disbelief in the possibility of such a supposition, what a complete change must take place in his ideas, before he could compress the gigantic power of the British nation into a shape to be affected by a handful of his unwarlike countrymen!" (P. 85.)

Fourthly, it seems an object, eminently worthy of the benevolence of our fellow-countrymen, to use every effort for the sake of promoting among the natives some respect to the female sex, particularly in regard to their education. Females in the east, though not subjected to the same corporeal barbarities, are as truly chattels as slaves in the west.

"The female has little prospect of a suitable return for the kindest and most generous affection. Instances of solid union and unalloyed happiness are rare indeed. Where their mutual dispositions might render this probable, the haughty superiority of the men extinguishes that delicate sensibility, which must form an ingredient in every happy union.

"We will now follow the female into the family circle, where she is to spend the remainder of her days; in which the very first act is calculated to strike the imagination like the bolt of the first door on the unfortunate victim of the Inquisition. The elder members assemble to view her face for the first—and for the last time, till it has lost its mortal hue. The new-married female is conducted into the room, where she sits like a statue, with her face concealed beneath a veil, till it be lifted up by one of her own sex. She then closes her eyes, and stretches forth her hands to receive the presents of the elder male branches of the family, together with their benedictions. After this ceremony, she retires to her own apartment, and commences a life of seclusion and inanity. Though living under the same roof with her father-in-law and her husband's brethren, she is never permitted to converse with any of them for a moment; and if by any accident they happen to cross her path, she veils her countenance as if in the presence of a stranger. With the junior branches of the family she may converse while they remain children; but all intercourse ceases when they attain a mature age. Her father-in-law never mentions her name in the family, and inquires after her welfare only by stealth. There is no general family intercourse;—the two sexes are as effectually separated as they would be by stone walls. The life of social intercourse is absent in these comfortless abodes; there are no affectionate greetings in the morning, no tender valedictions at the close of the day. Their meals are partaken separately; the men and the women, each by themselves; with this difference, that the women wait on the men

during their repast, though with their cloth drawn over their faces. During these hours there is no notice taken of the females, who wait so assiduously on their lords, except when food or water is required. Even then they are never addressed in that affectionate language, which might soften the asperity of their employment, but in an indirect manner, with a simple notice, that more food is required, or that such an one is idle, or that it would be advantageous to replenish his dish. No intreaties can prevail on a woman among the higher classes to eat in the presence of her husband, even when alone with him." (Pp. 168—170.)

"From the early records of Hindoosthan there is strong reason to conclude, that in ancient times many of the odious peculiarities in the present system of educating and marrying females had no existence; that women, at least the daughters of kings and the wives of heroes, were taught to read; and that their own inclination, not that of their parents, influenced the selection of husbands. In the historical records of the *Ramayana*, the *Muhabharata*, and the *Pooranas*, we meet with no heroine in the disgraceful situation of modern females. They are generally represented as deeply skilled in learning, often willing to display their attainments, and not averse to a combat of skill with the other sex. Nay, in many cases, they injoin a literary victory over themselves, as the only price at which the suitor can expect success." (P. 180.)

To render second marriages respectable would do much towards abolishing the suicidal practice, which it seems our imperative duty to suppress; and to restore to the female her due influence in every family of India would be an incalculable blessing to millions yet unborn.

After all, however, the propagation of christianity is the only sovereign remedy for all the evils of our fallen nature. This will give to the female and to the shoodra their due rights, abolish infanticide, preserve the lives of numberless victims of superstition, and open to their view a sure and certain hope of resurrection to that better life, which is secure from the fear of evil. We are not, however, advocates for the violent introduction even of christianity. The establishment of a native press opens a medium, through which a gracious Providence may carry on his own work of mercy for India; and if the prudent labours of missionaries meet with no discouragement, we may soon hope to see the dawn of a brighter day, which will chase the mists of idolatry, superstition, and cruelty, with the silent, but irresistible progress of light. Even now,

"Time, commerce, and our superior civilization, are unitedly urging the Hindoo shastras and their observances into the gulf of oblivion. What havoc have not a few centuries made in the vast fabric, which so many gods, and sages, and hermits toiled to erect! Of the grammar, which *Shiva* composed for the benefit of mankind,

not a line exists in the country, which still owns his deity. The very language of the vedas is obsolete in Bengal. Thirty years ago not a copy of it existed in the lower provinces : and that office, for which Vishnoo became incarnate, (the recovery of the vedas,) in the lapse of years has been performed by foreigners, the offals of creation. ‘Bind the Vedas in calf-skin?’ said a great Indian philologist, as he visited the College Library. ‘What sacrilege!’ Yet so it is; these sacred books, which prohibit the murder of the cow, have themselves been wrapped in the skin of many a sacred bull.” (Pp. 341, 342.)

That, which is unsupported by Reason, easily gives way, when Reason asserts her empire. But Reason herself is weak, when not sustained by the sanctifying influence of Religion. May India receive this last boon from England! and it will then be indeed a blessing, and will be acknowledged as such in the annals of eternity, that the population of that benighted country was ever subjected to her sway.

ART. XIX.—THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

1. *A Charge, delivered in July, 1821, at Stokesley, Thirsk, and Malton, to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Cleveland;* by the Ven. and Rev. Francis Wrangham, M. A. F. R. S. York, Todd; London, Baldwin and Rivingtons. 1821. 8vo. Pp. viii. and 21.
2. *A Letter to the Ven. and Rev. Francis Wrangham, M. A. F. R. S. Archdeacon of Cleveland, on the subject of his Charge, delivered to the Clergy at Thirsk on the 18th of July, 1821;* by Captain Thomas Thrush, R. N. *With an Appendix, containing a Letter from the Author to the Inhabitants of the Parish of Filiskirk; with a Preface and additional Notes. Also a Letter from a Lady on Subjects connected with the above Charge.* 1822. 8vo. Pp. 72 and 67. York. London, Hunter.
3. *The Athanasian Creed vindicated; with a prefatory Letter to the Archdeacon of Cleveland, and an Appendix on Archbishop Tillotson’s presumed wish, that we were well rid of it;* by the Rev. James Richardson, M. A. of Queen’s College, Oxford, Vicar of Huntington, one of the Vicars Choral of York Minster, and Curate of St. John’s. 1822. 8vo. Pp. 138. York, Wolstenholme, and Todd; London, Baldwin and Co. Rivingtons, and Seeleys.
4. *Letters, addressed to the Rev. James Richardson, M. A. one of the Vicars Choral of York Minster, on his Vindication of the Athanasian Creed, and the primary Visitation Charge of*

Archdeacon Wrangham ; with a Supplementary Letter, addressed to the Rev. G. Stanley Faber, M. A. on his Sermon, preached before the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews ; by Capt. Thomas Thrush, R. N. 1823. 8vo. Pp. 139. York. London, Hunter.

THE task of reconsidering established principles is never agreeable, and would seldom perhaps be undertaken, if the condition of human society, requiring the continual communication of knowledge from the old to the young, and the diversities of sentiment and knowledge among all classes of mankind, making a constant appeal to admitted maxims necessary, did not frequently force it upon us : and yet the immense importance, attaching to the correctness of fundamental principles, and the readiness with which we are apt to take for granted that, which is not called into discussion, render it very desirable, that we should revert again and again to the standards, by which truth is determined, and opinions must be examined. We are therefore indebted to those persons, who by stating their scruples candidly on any question of moment, especially in the affairs of religion, lead us to review our sentiments, and retrace the grounds of our faith. We are commanded to be ready always to give an answer to every man, that asketh us a reason of the hope, that is in us : and it is our duty to do this with meekness and fear. We are never to be weary in a work of so much consequence to our own peace and to that of others, but should endeavor to catch the spirit of the apostle, to whom it was not grievous to write often the same things, if the repetition was productive of safety to the disciples.

Captain Thrush, who has occasioned the controversy, agitated in the pamphlets, the titles of which are recited above, appears to be a sincere sceptic and a candid disputant on the points, to which he demurs. He is therefore entitled to a considerate answer to the questions, which he proposes for our discussion.

Although the Athanasian creed is the ostensible subject in dispute, the contest extends, as might be expected, through all the points of difference between trinitarians and anti-trinitarians. Indeed the Athanasian creed has been forced into the controversy on no other ground than what is afforded in the following passage from the charge of Archdeacon Wrangham to his clergy.

“ It is not for our National Establishment alone, essential as we affirm that Establishment to be to the continuance of a sober and truly evangelical faith amongst us, that we must now one and all exert our-

selves. The contest is no longer on the subject of this or that Various Reading, the interpretation of half a dozen Disputed Texts, or even the genuineness of one or more Entire Chapters of the Sacred Volume. The boldness no doubt which garbles, and the ignorance which mis-translates, should have their severe and sufficient reprehension. And I am concerned to state that, in some parts of this Archdeaconry, opinions of the character alluded to have been gratuitously forced into vulgar circulation, which (from whatever motive they have emanated) may require to be examined and exploded in a future charge. For, surely, next—at whatever width of interval—next to the Deist stands the Socinian; next to him, who impugns the Inspiration of the Gospel, he who denies the Divinity of its first Promulgator.” (Charge, pp. 5, 6.)

In arguing these awfully sacred points with those, who reject the doctrine of a trinity, we have always found, that we have two difficulties to contend with.

First our opponents are apt to lay down, as maxims, positions, which we admit, and then to assign them, as reasons, why they cannot agree with us.

Thus Captain Thrush says,

“The first difficulty I propose mentioning, and to me an insuperable one, in the way of receiving the doctrine of the Trinity, and with it the orthodox doctrine of our Saviour’s divinity, arises from the prayers which he offers up on different occasions. These beautiful prayers I regard as realities, and I so contemplate them with sensations of joy and delight. I believe that Jesus Christ, though the appointed Saviour of mankind, wanted the things he so earnestly prayed for; and that he really stood in need of the aid and comfort of his heavenly Father, in the distress and anguish he voluntarily endured for the good of mankind. I regard these prayers as most valuable examples for our imitation, and the whole conduct of our Saviour in his difficulties and distresses, as admirably calculated to afford hope and comfort to his followers in all trials; encouraging them to pray to, and to place confidence in, the same merciful and omnipotent Being, to whom he prayed, and on whom he trusted. Allow me here to place before you, and those who may condescend to read these pages, a few of the instances of our Saviour’s conduct and practice.

“Matt. xxvi. 39. ‘Jesus fell upon his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt.’ See also Mark xiv. 32—39. and Luke xxii. 41, 42, 44.

“Matt. xxvi. 42. ‘Again he went away a second time, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done.’

“——— 44. ‘And went away again, and prayed the third time, saying the same words.’

“Matt. xxvii. 46. ‘Jesus cried out with a loud voice, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?’ Mark xv. 34.

“John xii. 27. ‘Jesus said, Father, save me from this hour.’

“ John xiv. 16. ‘ Jesus said, I will pray the Father, and he will give you another comforter.’

“ ——— xvii. 1. ‘ Jesus lifted up his eyes towards heaven and said, Father, the hour is come, glorify thy Son,” &c.

“ ——— 5 ‘ And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.’

“ ——— 11. ‘ Holy Father, keep through thine own name, those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are.’

“ ——— 20. ‘ Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe in me, through their word : that they all may be one,’ &c.

“ ‘ The author of the epistle to the Hebrews has a very remarkable passage, chap. v. ver. 7, which our translators refer to Christ’s prayer before and at his passion ; and, no doubt, the author of the epistle had Christ’s earnest prayers at that time in his mind. When speaking of Christ, he says, that “ in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard (*i. e.* of God) in that he feared.” (Or for his piety, as it is translated in the margin ; or, he was heard for, or because of his devotion, as a word of the same original is thrice translated. Luke ii. 25. Acts ii. 5. viii. 2.)—*Hopton Haynes*, p. 188.

“ Contemplating our divine Master in this light, we have placed before us, for our benefit and imitation, his piety, his trust and confidence in his heavenly Father, and his devout resignation to his will. And our love, our gratitude, and sympathy are excited, from considering him as a human being capable of suffering, and willing to do so for the good of others, and in obedience to the command of God.” (Letter to Archdeacon Wrangham, pp. 38—40.)

Is not this much as if we should pick out positions from the thirty-nine articles, and urge our belief of them, as a reason for not being churchmen ? We might say for instance—‘ We believe, that the Son, which is the word of the Father, took man’s nature in the womb of the blessed virgin of her substance, truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his father to us. (Art. 2.) We believe further, that Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man’s nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all men at the last day. (Art. 4.) Therefore we cannot believe the doctrine of the English church.’

Secondly, antitrinitarians are apt to lay down rules, which are admitted to be true, as they apply to human nature ; and thence to infer, that they must also be true, as applied to the divine.

Thus it is, that the lady, said to be Mrs. Carter, whose letter is published in the first of Capt. Thrush’s pamphlets, argues in the following manner :

“ My present notions are, that the Father is one intelligent active Being, or one distinct person ; that the Son is another intelligent active Being, or another distinct person ; and that the Holy Ghost is a third intelligent active Being, or a third distinct person. I think thus, not only because I am unable to reconcile it with reason to suppose, that each of these is an intelligent Being, who must be considered under different relations, and yet that they are not three absolutely distinct persons ; but also because the Holy Scriptures speak of them, in innumerable places, as of three persons, clearly distinguished in their subsistence and operations from each other. And this too is the doctrine of our Church.

“ Does it not follow then, upon the principles of this Creed, that the Father is one almighty person, the Son another almighty person, and the Holy Ghost a third almighty person ? and if the term almighty has the same sense, when predicated of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, are there not then three distinct persons, each of which is equally almighty ? But because the term Almighty must be understood in this argument to comprehend infinite perfection, in the most absolute meaning, is not therefore each of these persons separately, and in himself, infinitely perfect, and all of them precisely equal ? Now to assert this, is, I think, to assert by the clearest argumentation, that there are three distinct Gods, each of them infinitely perfect, and consequently each of them absolutely independent of another. This, sir, is the difficulty. For to affirm, that there are three Gods, all equally perfect, implies a contradiction, in the judgment of the whole world.” (App. p. 3.)

“ A human understanding must be the understanding of a human person ; a divine understanding, or divine nature, must be the understanding, or nature of a divine person. By ascribing therefore to Christ a human understanding, and a divine nature, which certainly includes a divine understanding, you clearly make two distinct persons. Read over carefully your own words—‘ From the knowledge of his divine nature, nothing can be concealed, from his human understanding there might’ (something have been concealed) ‘ if it pleased not the divine nature to communicate, and impart it.’ Is not this to say—one person, if he pleased, might communicate something, which he knew, to another person, who knew it not ? If the Son of God knew the last day, he was a person that knew it ; and if the Son of Man knew not the last day, he was a person that knew it not. To speak thus of Christ is to make him evidently two persons. Does not the distinct knowledge of Him, whom you sometimes call the Son of God, and the want of that knowledge, at the same instant of time, in Him whom you at other times call the Son of Man, demonstrate that the Son of God, and the Son of Man, upon this supposition, are not the same person ? For can the same numerical person know the same thing at the same moment, and yet not know it ? To assert this is a clear contradiction.” (App. pp. 9, 10.)

“ ‘ He was, say you, ‘ the Son of Man, as well as the Son of God, and in him who was one Christ, each nature’ (the human, and the divine) ‘ though united, was entire, and distinct.’ How the divine

nature, and the human nature can be so united as to make but one person, and yet at the same time each of them be entire and distinct, that is, not united, I am not able to comprehend." (App. p. 11.)

In reference to these alleged paradoxes we cite the following just observations of Mr. Richardson :

"Many seem staggered at this, as if the assertion was equivalent to saying one man is three, and three are one; and those who oppose the doctrine we maintain, are careful to magnify this seeming contradiction. But, however absurd or contradictory the assertion might be when applied to the persons of men, premises which our adversaries invariably, though improperly, argue from, yet we have no right to draw the same conclusion when speaking of the Deity. For in respect to natures differing so essentially as the human and divine, we are by no means authorized, as our opponents assume, from a contradiction in the one, to infer a contradiction in the other. What is contradiction, for instance, as to body, is not so to soul; what is in respect to time, is not so to eternity; and what is with men, is not so with God.

"Before we pronounce any thing to be contradictory, we should perfectly comprehend that to which it is applied, which if we cannot do, we have no authority to draw the inference. 'We cannot charge that as a contradiction,' says the learned Leslie, 'in one nature, because we find it so in another, unless we understand both natures perfectly well; and the divine nature being allowed on all hands to be incomprehensible, consequently we cannot charge any thing as a contradiction in it, because we find it so in our frail nature.' But if there are Trinitarian analogies in nature, which do not involve a contradiction, why, in arguing from the less to the greater, may we not have the same points granted of the Deity, analogies of which we plainly see to exist? If man, for instance, be compounded of body, soul, and spirit, and is still not three men, but one; or if the sun send forth light and heat, without dividing its substance, or confounding the body of the sun with the bodies of light and heat which proceed from it, and is therefore not three suns, but one sun, why may we not argue the same of the Deity, conceiving it possible for Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be personally distinct, but essentially united, or three Persons in one undivided Godhead? It is not, indeed, pretended that these analogies fully explain the communication of the divine nature to the sacred Three, without division or multiplication of the nature; yet they certainly remove the contradiction alleged to exist in it, and are therefore of considerable service in the cause.

"But the evil, or rather the perplexity is, that men judge of the incomprehensible God, as they do of themselves, and form their conclusions accordingly. This is no doubt an erroneous method; for inequality, and the terms greater or less, are absurdly transferred from a finite creature to an infinite Creator. Those, however, who so boldly affirm a contradiction, are totally precluded from proving their assertion by this very incomprehensibility; and an assertion without proof amounts to nothing. As Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are never said to be three and one in the same sense, it cannot be said in

strictness to involve a contradiction. They are one as equally possessing that divine nature or essence, which is inseparable from Deity, and incommunicable to a creature; and they are three in their personal capacity with reference to each other, and to us. But this no more destroys the essential unity, or makes them three Gods, than the body, soul, and spirit make three men." (Richardson, pp. 50—54.)

To speak still more plainly, our belief and doctrine are, that God is the only being in the universe, who exists in three persons, and also, that Jesus Christ is the only person, known to us in the universe, who possesses two perfect and distinct natures. When therefore positions, advanced concerning men, are allowed to involve an absurdity, as applied to them, we are no more warranted in drawing the inference, that they are absurd also, when applied to God, than we should be in maintaining that the properties of matter can be transferred to spirit, or the laws of gravity predicated concerning our thoughts and actions. That, which is false concerning a being, who possesses only one nature, may yet not be false, when affirmed of a being, who partakes of two; and the statements, which would be idle and foolish, when referred to a creature, of whom it is a fundamental distinction, that he can possess only one person, may yet be just and accurate, when spoken of a being, who is described to us, as existing in three.

Moreover we admit in common with all trinitarians, that these are modes of expression, which do not accurately describe the incomprehensible God. But they suggest analogies, which give us the best idea, which we are capable of forming, of the truths he has seen fit to reveal concerning himself. The same imperfection, though not in an equal degree, belongs to our language on other occasions. Thus it is held to be no inaccuracy to say, 'I breathe;'—and yet my mind does not breathe, though my body does; or—'I think;'—and yet my body does not think, though my mind does. Why then should it be exploded, as worse than absurd and frivolous, to say, that Jesus Christ was God and man, or that the same person was immortal and mortal, because the divine nature is impassive, or the human imperfect? It is possible, that there may be some animals, of whom it cannot be affirmed, that they both think and breathe. It is certain, that there are no plants, of which that language can be fitly used: and yet would it not be as correct in logic to argue, that, because no other creatures that have breath, have reason, man cannot be possessed of both, as that, because man cannot unite two natures, neither can Jesus Christ, his saviour? In fact we believe, that a true

Christian exists in two natures, being born in one and regenerated to another : and hence he also is often incomprehensible to those, who are still in their natural state. But herein he differs from his great redeemer, that whereas in him neither of these natures is what it ought to be, or what it hereafter will be ; in Christ Jesus, on the other hand, both natures are entire, perfect, and sinless.

If the two principles, to which we have now adverted, were acknowledged and acted upon, and the authority of the whole Bible admitted, we might then begin to hope, that the dispute between unitarians and trinitarians would admit of a more easy adjustment, though still the doctrines of corruption, atonement, and spiritual influence would be involved in the dispute. As it is, we argue without any common data.

But the objections to the Athanasian creed are of two kinds. We have adverted to that which relates to its doctrinal statements. We must now turn to what are commonly called its damnatory, but what in our last number we have contended ought rather to be regarded as declaratory clauses.

In respect to these, Capt. Thrush advances a very extraordinary position.

“ He who believes in the damnatory clauses, must believe them to have their foundation on the word of God : and, as a Christian, he must wish this sacred word to be true in all its parts. All Athanasians, therefore, on the broad principle of wishing the word of God to be true, must unavoidably wish the eternal damnation, not only of Unitarians, but (upon the same principle) the damnation of all Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans.” (Letters to Mr. Richardson, p. 72.)

Now this is an argument, which we cannot but think upon a very little reflection Capt. Thrush will be inclined to retract : for even God himself, though he declares, ‘ The soul that sinneth, it shall die,’—declares also with equal explicitness, ‘ I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth.’ We do indeed know, and therefore we declare, that he that believeth not, shall be damned ; but it is also our wish, our earnest prayer in proclaiming that truth, that all men may believe to the saving of their souls ; that all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, may be fetched home to the flock of the redeemer, and that they may all be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites.

In fact, if the perusal of these clauses, declaratory of the divine judgment upon all impenitence and unbelief, produce an occasional alarm in any slumbering conscience, and excite a doubt in any thoughtless unbeliever, whether he be in the right way, they have not been written nor are they

read in vain. Even the charity, which suffereth long and is kind, prohibits our forbearance towards palpable and perilous error.

We conceive that no small sum of the obloquy, thrown upon what have been stigmatized as the *damnatory clauses* of this celebrated creed, and that not only by the oppugners of its principal articles, but even by some of the most staunch defenders of its doctrines, has arisen from a reluctance to pay full and implicit deference to the holy scriptures, as constituting a divinely authorized standard, beyond which there can be no appeal.

“Offence has been taken,” says Mr. Richardson, “against the supposed decisive tone of these clauses. I must, however, be permitted to say, and I hope to establish the assertion, that the language, conveying this offence, is agreeable to the words, or the constructive sense of scripture, and to the sentiments of some who lived nearest to the times of the apostles: and if this should appear to be the case, then the offence will turn out to have its origin either within the narrow circle of educational prejudice, in ignorance of the Creed itself, or in enmity to the doctrines which it maintains. —“The clauses are these, ‘Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith: which faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly. He, therefore, that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity,’—and—‘This is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.’ It may reasonably be expected, that our observations should commence with those remarkably parallel words, which our Saviour addressed to his disciples, agreeably to St. Mark’s narrative, when he commissioned them to teach his religion to the world: ‘*Goye, said he, into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; HE THAT BELIEVETH and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned.*’ We must here call to mind the prescribed form of words in baptism: ‘*baptize them, said our Lord, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*’ In these words we have the Catholic faith of the Athanasian Creed, and in the words of St. Mark the *damnatory* clause annexed. The Trinity is distinctly mentioned, and the order of the sacred Three, according to the paternity of the Father, the filiation of the Son, and the procession of the Holy Ghost. And as the divine essence cannot be divided, without our falling into the gross error of Tritheism, or the worship of three independent Gods, we have also the Unity of the Trinity, from the divinity of each being specified, in the equal dedication of every baptized person to the Three as to the One, and the equal act of solemn worship thereby performed to all.

“What is of singular use in defending the clauses under our consideration, we have precisely the same issue pointed out, viz. perdition in case of rejecting this faith; and the only difference, if indeed there

be any, is this, that, in our Lord's denunciation, damnation is positive ; in the other declaratory. The Son of God says, *he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned.* And our Creed, with an obvious reference to these words, and to the form in baptism, to which they both refer, after declaring it necessary above all things, in order to salvation, to hold the Catholic faith, in the worship of one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity, declares farther, that "except every one do keep this faith whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." Now upon what are the words, *without doubt*, founded, but upon our Lord's declaration ? The Creed, therefore, draws this as a regular conclusion, from premises laid down by our Lord, as the result of unbelief, with reference to the form and belief in baptism, and not at all denouncing damnation as the sole anathema of man. This evident connexion, and even parallel, between Scripture and our Creed, should assist in removing those unreasonable; and in fact unfounded, prejudices which are often entertained against the latter; at least, to be consistent, they should be equally transferred to the Scriptures. (Pp. 64—67.)

The language of the Apostle Paul, in a variety of passages, where he pronounces an anathema on those who reject or oppose the truth, as it is in Jesus, ought for ever to silence the voice of objectors to our Creed.

"But it may be objected (says Mr. Richardson) that what becomes an apostle, does not become a teacher who is not inspired. This, however, I think, makes little or no difference. Wrath and its denunciation certainly belong to God, and, when committed to man, are merely declaratory, even when there is a divine commission. An apostle declares the wrath through the teaching of the Spirit; and his successor, though not inspired, declares the same upon the credit of that inspiration, which influenced prophets and apostles." (Pp. 79, 80.)

"These are not points, that are indifferent in themselves, or that may be believed or disbelieved at pleasure, and with impunity. They are of vital importance, affecting the very substance of religion; and the damnatory clauses in our Creed can alone convey an adequate idea of the consequence of rejecting them, on whatever side the truth may lie." (P. 109.)

We will now take another view of the subject, and, making not the Athanasian creed or the orthodox belief, but the socinian heresy, the subject of consideration, will advert to the allegations, which denominate socinianism an intermediate step between christianity and deism. This statement, which we have already seen implied in the passage quoted from Archdeacon Wrangham's charge, first gave offence to Captain Thrush, and called him into the arena of controversy.

"You are not, however, (says Mr. Richardson, in addressing his ordinary,) the first, who has made this declaration, nor will you be the last, so long as they hold principles in common, and so long as the tendency of those principles is so very evident." (P. 2.)

We would add in confirmation of the Archdeacon's statement, that it once happened to ourselves to pick out of the satchel of a Sunday-school girl, under socinian instruction, a copy of a prayer, which had been composed for the daily use of the children; and it contained no more recognition of a single Christian principle, than if it had been written by Confucius or by Ram-mohun-roy. This latter gentleman is indeed claimed by Captain Thrush, as a very good Unitarian. (Letters to Mr. Richardson, p. 93.) But Mr. Richardson further asks—

“Why may not the inference be drawn” (or rather perhaps why should not the statement be persisted in) “even if we should substitute atheism for deism, while we mark the progress which some professed Unitarians have made?”

“The great apostle of these sentiments, whose example they are emulous to imitate, informed us last century that he had gone on changing, always in one direction, which was by descent from revealed truth, from the time he began to think for himself till the period of making the declaration, which was when he was far advanced in life. In the estimation of a great majority of the Christian world, the direction he took was opposed to that which was right. But right or wrong we have it upon his own testimony. His progress was from Trinitarianism to high Arianism, from high Arianism to low Arianism, and from that to Socinianism of the lowest kind. He here outstripped Socinus himself, and all his followers; and when he arrived at this point, low as it was, he seemed to contemplate a further retrogression, for he then declared that ‘he could not say when his creed might be fixed.’” (Pp. 2, 3.)

We ourselves have ever been of opinion with the present Bishop of London, who in a late Charge said: “I do not hesitate to aver my conviction, that the profession of Unitarian tenets affords a convenient shelter to many, who would be more properly termed Deists; and who are distinguished from *real Unitarians*, or such as conscientiously reject the peculiar dogmas, but admit the general truths of Christianity, first, by the boldness of their *interpolations*, *omissions*, and *perversions* of *Holy Writ*; secondly, by the indecency of their insinuations against the *veracity* of the *inspired writers*; thirdly, by their familiar levity on the awful *mysteries of religion*; and fourthly, by their disrespectful reflections on the *person* and *actions* of THEIR SAVIOUR. And thus they betray the true secret of the *flimsy guise* they have assumed, as a covering from the *odium* of *professed infidelity*.”

There was a day when unmasked infidelity was not only welcomed but even naturalized in the fashionable world, and was surrounded with the artificial and meretricious splendour of that fascinating region. But infidelity is now uni-

fashionable among the thinking part of the community : and therefore Socinianism affords a welcome refuge from the disrepute of Atheism and Deism, both to the fool who says in his heart—‘ There is no God,’—and to the man, who strips the Everlasting Son of his divine attributes, that he may invest human Reason with all the honours of an incarnate deity. But Mr. Richardson proceeds—

“ I wish to produce the testimony of a celebrated set of men, who cannot fall under the censure, so liberally cast by Socinians upon clerical advocates for the faith, of being interested members, and therefore dishonest, of an ‘ established Priesthood,’ which, say they, ‘ is in its very nature a persecuting order, and characterized by indolence, pride, and bitter zeal.’ These persons, then, are Voltaire, Diderot, and D’Alembert, the infidel authors of that famous work, the *Encyclopédie*, which deluged Europe with principles utterly subversive of religion and morals. They speak thus of the Unitarian system. ‘ The Unitarians have always been regarded as Christian divines, who had only broken and torn off a few branches of the tree, but still held to the trunk ; whereas they ought to have been looked upon as a sect of Philosophers, who, that they might not give too rude a shock to the religion and opinions, true or false, which were then received, did not choose openly to avow pure deism, and reject formally and unequivocally every sort of revelation ; but who were continually doing, with respect to the Old and New Testament, what Epicurus did with respect to the gods, admitting them verbally, but destroying them really. In fact, the Unitarians received only so much of the Scriptures as they found conformable to the natural dictates of reason, and what might serve the purpose of propping up and confirming the systems they had embraced. A man becomes a Protestant. Soon finding out the inconsistency of the essential principles of Protestantism, he applies to Socinianism for a solution of his doubts and difficulties ; and he becomes a Socinian. From Socinianism to Deism there is but a very slight shade, and a single step to take ; and he takes it.’ ” (Ib. pp. 8, 9.)

We may add what was well said by an acute writer of the last century upon this subject, that “ the change from Christianity to Socinianism is as little to be envied, as the transmigration of those, who should leave the scenery of Paradise and the plenty of Canaan, to associate with the savages of the South on a weather-beaten rock in the Magellanic Ocean, where enjoyment could be nothing but infatuation, and a true sense of their condition, whenever they should return to it, could end in nothing but horror and despair.” Are, then, Christianity and Socinianism regions so strongly defined and so clearly distinguished, that he who migrates to and locates himself in the latter is exiled and expatriated from the former ? We answer, that either Christianity, like the *terra incognita* of the ancients, has no assign-

able confines, or Socinianism is no more a part of it, than Kerguelen's Land, the Island of Desolation, is a portion of Asia's most luxuriant and fertile provinces.

We see no force in the argument used by Socinian writers from the term Trinity not being found in Scripture. "The term Trinity," says another writer, "it is readily admitted, is not to be found in the Bible: but neither are the terms *unity*, (applied to the attributes of God) *omnipresence*, *omnipotence*, *omniscience*. But no one will doubt that these are to be ascribed to the Deity on the authority of Scripture, because the terms just mentioned are not in the Bible. The fact is, that the SUBJECT MATTER, which those terms are designed to indicate, does occur, so that the objection against the catholic Doctrine of the Trinity, founded on the non-occurrence of that word in the Scriptures, has in it no substantial validity." The injunction, "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God," is faithfully complied with, when a teacher and expositor of divine truth brings forward its SUBJECT MATTER in such terms as may place it within the distinct vision, if not within the grasp and comprehension of the human understanding.

But though we have not that hypercritical fondness and ardour for logomachies, which distinguishes some men, yet we are by no means disposed to concede to our opponents in this cause an exclusive right to the appellation of Unitarians. "The reason," says the admirable Fuller, "why the term Socinians is preferred to that of Unitarians, is not for the purpose of reproach, but because the latter name is not a fair one. The term, as explained by themselves, signifies those professors of Christianity who worship but *one God*: but this is not that wherein they can be allowed to be distinguished from others. For what professors of Christianity are there, who profess to worship a plurality of Gods? Trinitarians also profess to be Unitarians: they, as well as their opponents, believe there is but *one God*. To give Socinians therefore this name *exclusively*, would be granting them the very point which they seem so desirous to take for granted, that is say, the point in debate."

A brief Appendix to Mr. Richardson's pamphlet puts us in possession of his sentiments on the well known Letter of Tillotson to Burnet. If the ecclesiastical elevation of a writer is allowed to give additional weight of authority to opinions, we may at least throw into the opposite scale the judgment of other men as eminent as Tillotson, who have occupied the archiepiscopal seat. But it is very doubtful, if not more than questionable, whether the "*wish*," imputed to that eminent

Prelate, was the genuine expression of his sentiments, or even of his own pen. We regard it however as an historical question of more curiosity than intrinsic importance. Tillotson was indeed a prelate of mild theological temperament, and is known to have kept up an urbane intercourse with some men of principles diametrically opposite to his own. But his writings unequivocally and vigorously uphold the doctrines and defend the very phraseology of the creed. His public conduct moreover, as a commissioner for the revision of the liturgy in the year 1689, when the Athanasian symbol was not only retained, but received from the commissioners the additional sanction of their own testimony, that the articles of it ought to be received and believed, as being agreeable to the holy scriptures, leaves us but one alternative, if we would not accuse him of imbecillity, indecision, and prevarication; and that alternative is to survey with a suspicion bordering on scepticism, if not positively to reject the letter in question. The document itself is

“ a copy of the copy of an original, (now lost) of a private letter to a friend, published long after the death of the person who wrote it, and of him who received it, and by one also, who was no friend to the Creed. Let this be weighed with the Prelate’s well known sentiments, in unison with the subject matter of the Creed, expressed in his writings; with his solemn and deliberate assent to a rubric for retaining it in the Liturgy of the Church, and declaring with the rest, as no doubt a leading man from his station and talents, that the articles of it ought to be received and believed, as being agreeable to the Holy Scriptures; and with the total silence of history as to any farther corroborative proof of the reality of this wish! Here is the evidence on both sides: and it will easily be determined, that a slight wish, privately, and as it were casually, expressed, and not clear whether it refer to the Creed, or to the Exposition of Burnet, cannot, in the way of evidence or of importance, stand before opinions, avowed in his writings, before acts so notorious, so deliberate, so solemn as the above, and before the entire silence of history.” (P. 137.)

ART. XX.—THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

1. *A Letter to Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart. one of the Members of Parliament for the county of Kent, on his accepting the Office of President, at a Meeting of an Auxiliary Church Missionary Association, held in the Town-hall of Maidstone, on the 14th of August last; by G. R. Gleig, M. A. Rector of Ivy Church, and perpetual Curate of Ash, in the County of Kent, and domestic Chaplain to the Right Honorable the*

Earl of Kildare. 1823. 8vo. pp. 96. London. Longman and Co. and Rivingtons.

2. *A Letter to Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart. M. P. for the County of Kent, in reply to the charges brought by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M. A. against the Church Missionary Society ;* by the Rev. T. Bartlett, A. M. Rector of Kingstone, near Canterbury, 1823. 8vo. pp. 64. London. Hatchards, and Seeleys.
3. *A Letter to Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart. in reply to a Letter by the Rev. G. R. Gleig ;* by the Rev. S. Rickards, A. M. late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, Curate of Ulcombe, and one of the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Association for the County of Kent. 1824. 8vo. pp. 70. London. Hatchards.

WE know not what effect the singular specimen of persuasive eloquence, contained in the first of these pamphlets, may have had upon the Gentleman, to whom it is addressed. But if it have lowered the Church Missionary Society in his estimation, he must have learned to draw inferences in a different school of logic from that, in which we had the happiness of being instructed.

Such was the tone, in which we were beginning to criticize Mr. Gleig's letter, when the same spirit of discovery, which led Mr. Granville Penn to throw a new light on the primary argument of the Iliad, fortunately visited us, and made us wonder at our own dulness in having literally read the pamphlet through, without perceiving its real object. Thinking it possible, however, that some of our readers may fall into the same error, we will endeavor concisely to elucidate the true aim of the work : and, as it is the only aim, in which it is in the least degree successful, its author must feel indebted to us for taking pains to rest his claims to merit in the eyes of the public on their proper foundation. It is evident, then, that Mr. Gleig has been struck, as most men of good feeling and good taste have been, with the gross imperfections which disgrace our controversial writings in the present day, and, wishing to correct them, he has thought, and that with philosophical accuracy, that the first step towards that effect was to awaken in the public mind a full conviction of their existence. With this intent he has endeavored to embody them all in one short work, so as to bring them under the view at once ; and so completely has he succeeded in this his practical exposition of them, that no future navigator of the troubled sea of controversy will be able to justify a wreck on the ground of the omission of a single rock or shoal in this chart.

We can only give the author credit, however, for an ingenious application of this plan ; for it is not new in itself. We have seen a little work used in schools, in which most of the words are wrongly spelt, that the children may be taught to rectify the orthography, by way of perfecting their own. There is also a learned work, written, if our memory serves us, by one Mr. Geoffrey Gambado, in which every possible mode of riding badly is ingeniously set forth for the instruction of those who are wise enough to wish to profit by the errors of others. From one, or both of these works, Mr. Gleig has probably taken a hint, and has ably thrown together, in less than a hundred pages, some very striking and forcible illustrations of all the leading faults that characterize polemical writings. To give them the greater effect, he has woven them into an argument in itself glaringly absurd, which, of course, sets them off to the best advantage.

If read with this clue, the work under our consideration may be of singular use to our young polemics, who may study it as the youthful Spartans did the unseemly vagaries of the drunken helots, in order to avoid the disgrace of a similar exposure. Perhaps a few instances of the mode in which these errors are exemplified may be of use in guiding the reader to a ready application of these practical precepts.

First then for some striking exemplifications of that commonest of pamphleteering errors, groundless assertion. It is roundly asserted, that of five gentlemen who spoke at the Kentish meeting,

“some have rendered themselves tolerably conspicuous by their maintenance of doctrines which our church most distinctly disavows.” (Gleig. p. 6.)

It might be sufficient, to prove the modest assurance which marks this statement, were we to select one from the five highly respectable names, that namely of the Rev. E. Bickersteth, whose writings are pretty well known to the public, and request the reverend author to point to any one doctrine, maintained in them, the distinct disavowal of which by our church he can *prove*.

But in order to shew off this figure of controversy in all its beauty, it was expedient, that the writer, who brings such an accusation against his brethren, should himself commit the fault, which he charges : and therefore, not to trouble the reader with lengthened discussion, we will only extract from Mr. Bartlett's reply a passage, which to any, who have read the first pamphlet, will sufficiently prove this merit to belong fairly to Mr. Gleig.

“As the gratuitous imposition of a reproach cannot, in reality, rob

an individual of his Orthodoxy, the imputation of such a reproach ought not to be listened to, in the absence of the clearest and fullest proof. It is fair to presume, that, if those Reverend Gentlemen could be heard in their defence, *it might appear that they are not wrong*; and if the sentiments they hold were impartially compared with the Homilies, and Articles, and Liturgy of our Church, *it might moreover appear that they are right*.

“Upon this subject, however, I will only trust myself to remark, that, had those Gentlemen, in their speeches, laid down the doctrines which the Reverend Writer has done in his Letter; had they classed the Patriarchs of old, who worshipped *the only-living and true God*, with the worshippers of ‘*unknown Gods*,’ and of the *thirty thousand Deities of Greece*; had they palpably contradicted the Articles of our Church; had they occupied the attention of their Auditors, by a theory of ‘*Redemption from eternal annihilation*;*’ then, Sir, Mr. Gleig might, with somereason, have held them up to public reprehension, as not orthodox; then he might, upon a fairer and firmer ground, have asserted, ‘their maintenance of doctrines, which our Church most distinctly disavows.’*” (Bartlett, pp. 58, 59.)

But a still bolder example of the error is to be found in our next extract, which is one of the happiest examples of polemical misrepresentation which it has ever fallen to our lot to discover.

“That I am borne out in this assertion by the actual failure of all attempts to convert the still *savage* tribes of Africa and elsewhere, a candid perusal of the reports of your own Society may alone convince you.” (Gleig, p. 39.)

A “candid perusal” here clearly means reading them backward, or crosswise, or in any other way, but that in which their plain and obvious sense is to be gathered; for that would unavoidably lead to a directly opposite conviction.

That this is really the state of the case, and that the palm of groundless assertion is here also to be justly awarded to Mr. Gleig, we will allow Mr. Rickards to shew.

“In that very Report, in which Mr. Gleig professes to see nothing, but the actual failure of all our attempts, more particularly in our African stations, there are, amongst many others, the following notices:—‘It is hardly possible,’ says Sir George Collier, ‘to conceive the difficulties which have been surmounted, in bringing the colony of Sierra Leone to its present improved, and still very improving state. I visited all the black towns and villages, attended the public schools, and other establishments, and I never witnessed in any population more contentment and happiness.’ In a second Report, Sir George says,—‘The manner in which the public schools are here conducted, reflects the greatest credit on those concerned in their prosperity; and the improvement made by the scholars proves the aptitude of the Africans, if moderate pains are taken to instruct them. I have attended places of public worship in every quarter of the globe, and I

do most conscientiously declare, never did I witness the ceremonies of religion more piously performed or more devoutly attended to, than in Sierra Leone.'

"The Chief Justice also, in a letter with which he has favored the Committee, expresses the delight with which he has witnessed the worship of the liberated negroes, at their establishments in the interior of the colony, and congratulates the Society on the success of its exertions to diffuse the light of the Gospel over the darkness of Africa.

"There is much more to the same purpose, resting upon the same or equally good authority; and yet I repeat it, and I beg it may be observed, that this is the Report, which (Mr. Gleig says) bears him out in the assertion, that all our attempts at conversion in that quarter of the world have actually failed." (Rickards, pp. 31, 32.)

Another case in point from the pages of Mr. Rickards we must produce.

"One striking instance of mis-statement in Mr. Gleig's letter may be seen, by comparing his remarks upon the number of converts made, and sums expended by the Church Missionary Society, with the passage which he refers to in the Report of Proceedings. He mistakes the number of *children now* in the different Schools of the Society, for the total number of *converts ever* made by our Missionaries. Mr. Pratt's words are these;—'And now we have more than ten thousand five hundred scholars, of both sexes, throughout the nine Missions of the Society.'" (Rickards, p. 54.)

One more example, and we have done with this head. In a note in the last page, as if to shew that the same proficiency in groundless assertion can be sustained through ninety-six pages, we find the Society denominated "a few congregated clergymen and laymen." The reader, who is not already acquainted with the fact, and is not yet initiated in the art of reading *per contra*, may be surprised perhaps to hear, that there are above twelve hundred clergymen in the Society, and that consequently, with the addition of the laymen, they go to prove that he who reckons them "a few," must have very capacious ideas:

The error in polemics which we will next exemplify is gross ignorance. It seems, that Mr. Bickersteth had been so absurd as to make it a subject of lamentation, that "three-fourths of the human race know nothing of that only name given under heaven amongst men, whereby we must be saved."

Upon his having done so is founded the following pathetic appeal to Sir Edward Knatchbull's understanding; at the close of which the reader will find some of the new doctrines, already adverted to.

"Really, really, Sir Edward, that a man of your powerful mind and correct principles could sit and listen to observations, not only

childish and absurd, but absolutely tending to impeach the benevolence and justice of the Deity, cannot fail to astonish all who give to the subject one moment's consideration. Does Mr. Bickersteth indeed suppose that no part of the human race shall reap the benefit of Christ's death and passion, except that very small proportion, to whom the truths of the gospel have been explained? What, then, is to become of those pious men of antiquity, of Noah, and Abraham, and Isaac, of Moses and David, and all the saints of the olden time?" (P. 8, 9.)

To relieve Mr. Gleig or his readers from any alarm about these worthies, we are happy to refer him to the thirteenth verse of the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which tells us: "These all died in faith." Nothing, but our good-natured hypothesis, which makes all the errors of this work intentional, can save the writer, who reasons upon the supposition that "Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Moses, and David" knew nothing of Christ, from the imputation of ignorance, not merely unworthy of a clergyman, but for which the poorest of his parishioners, who possesses a bible, and the power of reading it, might blush.

Mr. Bartlett, evidently not discerning this drift of Mr. Gleig to exhibit purposely a specimen of controversial ignorance, says gravely,

"I will refer Mr. Gleig, both for the letter of Scripture, and the exposition of our Church upon the point, to the following quotation from a sermon *on this very passage*, preached by a Right Reverend Prelate before the Society for propagating the Gospel, in 1819. 'Whatever gloss might be applied to the text by Christians of other denominations, *we of the Church of England are determinately fixed in our opinion, by the comment of the Eighteenth Article.*' 'They are to be accursed, that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law, or sect, which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the light of nature: *For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.*' Let, then, the Infidel select the text as the favorite object of his attack; let the falsely-called rational Christian pervert, lower, and accommodate it to his own narrow prejudices; let worldly-minded men, of all communions, pass it by, as unintelligible, or inapplicable to any practical purpose! With us, it is a prominent axiom of our Creed, an established principle of our judgments, a governing motive for our conduct: 'There is none other name under heaven given among men, (besides the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth) whereby we must be saved.' Neither is the application Mr. Gleig makes of this text less extraordinary, than the manner in which the text itself is treated. 'What then,' (he exclaims) 'is to become of those pious men of antiquity, of Noah and Abraham and Isaac, of Moses and David, and all the Saints of olden

time? What is to become of Socrates and Plato, of Lycurgus and Solon; of all those heathen worthies, in short, who to the best of their ability have benefited their species, and increased the sum of universal happiness? *What, Sir, does the Reverend Gentleman class Noah a preacher of righteousness, Abraham the father of believers, Isaac the child of promise, Moses whose face shone with the reflection of the glory of his Maker, and David the man after God's own heart,—does he class these, 'and all the Saints of the olden time,' with Solon, and Lycurgus, and Socrates, and Plato? Has the Reverend Gentleman forgotten, that these Holy Patriarchs wrote, and spoke, and prophesied of Christ—that they were themselves eminent types of Christ—that Abraham 'rejoiced to see the day of the Redeemer, that he saw it and was glad'—that 'Moses esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt,'—and that 'all these died in the faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth?' And are these holy men to be classed, by a Christian Writer, with Lycurgus, and Solon, and Socrates, and Plato?* (Pp. 53, 56.)

We could point out sundry other examples in this line, but prefer, for variety's sake, going on to another important beacon-light, held out in glaring prominence, to warn controversialists from the dangerous quicksand of absurd reasoning. To make short work, and give this dangerous society its death-blow at once, Mr. Gleig undertakes to prove that its proceedings are quite at variance with the plans of the Great Founder of Christianity. And thus he argues, if arguing it must be called:

“When the first five books of Moses were written” (we were not aware, till Mr. Faber told us so, that Moses had written any more) “we know that the whole human race was sunk in utter barbarism; that in that barbarism God's chosen people fully partook; that arts were in their infancy, sciences unknown, and the boasted reason of man, in a very trifling degree, if at all, elevated above brute instinct.” (P. 39.)

It may be difficult perhaps to imagine who are to be included in Mr. Gleig's plural pronoun “we.” For our own parts we beg leave not to be of the party, as “we know” no such thing. Advancing a few centuries,

“We find religion in the days of King David a very different thing from what it was in the days of Moses. No longer were the senses of the people dazzled by repeated reversions of the ordinary laws of nature; no longer were they retained in obedience to the will of God by temporal rewards and punishments unerringly administered. Their faith had become more elevated, their notions of God more correct; their religion no longer consisted entirely of external rites and ceremonies, but took up its seat in their minds, and began to actuate their secret thoughts as well as their outward proceedings.” (P. 41.)

Where the learned author finds the proofs on which he would establish these points, the last especially, he has very sagaciously left out of sight, as he has also judiciously omitted to state, by what singular piece of luck Moses, Joshua, Caleb, and other saints of the olden time, stumbled upon a spiritual and heart-affecting religion. But to proceed with this notable argument.

“As the fulness of time drew near, again, these more refined religious principles received every day a greater and a greater polish.”

Whence? Was it from those traditions, with which the Pharisees made void the law of Moses, that law, which, strange to say, our Saviour revived and established, though it had been given to man when he was little, *if at all*, above the brutes? However, this high *polish*, which the religion of the Jews had acquired, combined with the civilized state of the rest of the world, constituted, in Mr. Gleig’s happily constructed argument, “the fulness of time;” by which phrase is meant, he says,

“the particular period at which the degree of civilization prevalent amongst men was sufficient for God’s purposes.” (P. 43.)

Strange that the Almighty should have waited for this period of civilization, at some risk of being charged with wanton caprice by his reasoning and polemical creatures, (see page 43), and should then have not only fixed the scene of his great disclosure in a nation, held in utter contempt by the most polished inhabitants of the world, but chosen also twelve of the poorest and least educated in that nation, as the instruments, by which he was to make the best advantage of this appropriate state of civilization! Truly it is a satisfactory discovery, that nothing, but such flimsy and childish reasoning as this, can enable us to shut our eyes against the blessed fruits of the labours of a Johnson, and to sit down convinced, that it is useless to present Christianity to a people, till you have brought them to a high polish. We could bestow some strong expressions on this subject, by way of aiding our author to blazon this error of absurd reasoning, but that we want them for the reprobation of two other faults in the controversial style of writing, of which he has given examples, flippancy, and rudeness. For the former, see the following passage!

“Nor have my eyes as yet fully recovered the effect of Mr. Bickersteth’s pathetic appeal, where he exclaims—‘Oh, if I could have taken this meeting with me to Western Africa, and shewn you our schools of black children; if you could have seen them learning their books’ (pretty little blackamoors to learn *books*, where white children can learn only lessons!) ‘and heard them singing,’ &c. whilst it

is truly shocking to understand, upon the authority of the same learned missionary, that 'there are eight hundred millions of immortal souls all living' (what! independently of bodies!) 'on the face of the earth; and about six hundred millions of them, in the nineteenth century after Christ, never heard of the God that made them, or the Saviour that died for them.' (Gleig, pp. 7, 8.)

We would venture to match these precious parentheses against any thing that could be produced in the way of miserable and misplaced attempts at wit; and as to the unfeeling disregard for those, whose state is called in scripture "darkness and the shadow of death," we know not where it could be displayed more appropriately than in an attack upon the Church Missionary Society. It is necessary, however, in order to do full justice to this successful instance of flippancy in reply, to quote Mr. Bartlett's observation upon it.

"When the same gentleman remarked—'Only consider the state of the world! Eight hundred millions of immortal souls are living on the face of the earth, and above six hundred millions of them, in the nineteenth century after Christ, never heard of the God that made them, or the Saviour that died for them'—, who would have imagined, that the Reverend Rector of Ivy church could have cited this appalling truth, that, by the *unauthorized addition of the word 'all,' he might give it a ludicrous turn, and make a jest of the miseries of our species?* He cites it thus, 'There are eight hundred millions of immortal souls, *all* living,---what,' he exclaims, 'independently of bodies?'" (P. 40.)

Rudeness is well exemplified where, after quoting some words used by Mr. G. Noel, the author says—

"But the Hon. and Rev. Gentleman must be perfectly aware that his assertion is incorrect both in letter and in spirit." (P. 31.)

Had the author used such language in a mess-room, he would have been taught, probably in a summary way, what is really conveyed in this periphrasis, and that no gentleman ought to cast such an imputation on any one, till he has forfeited his claim to that title by deliberate and detected falsehood.

Again, after an extract from a report of Mr. Norton's, he says,

"Had Mr. Norton possessed three grains of common sense, he must have been aware that his impertinent and unmeaning intrusion upon a ceremony, regarded as holy and sacred by those who performed it, was little likely, under any circumstances, to convert to his faith a people many degrees more enlightened, and more capable of following a chain of argument, than his auditors at Ambula-poolie." (P. 56.)

And in the next page he breaks out into the following sublime apostrophe:—

"Ye faculties of common reason, which appear to hold no intercourse with Mr. Norton's brain!"

Now, though we happen to know but little of Mr. Norton

personally, and cannot therefore say, how many or how few grains would outweigh his common sense, we know enough to be sure, that he has too much of that quality to expose himself by a style of writing and reasoning, bearing any parallel to the contents of this pamphlet; and that "impertinent and unmeaning," are epithets very unlikely to be justly applicable to his words or actions. Surely Mr. Rickards is justified in observing upon this paragraph—

‘Let any one read the extract Mr. Gleig has given from the conversation, which passed! and he will see nothing like ‘reviling their god’ on the part of Mr. Norton. But let him read Mr. Gleig’s remarks upon it! and he will be inclined to fix the charge of reviling elsewhere.’ (P. 51.)

And it is not without reason, that he thus alludes to it in another place—

“It almost tempts one to regard the passage in the light of an invocation, and to imagine, that the author meant to ask for himself, as well as Mr. Norton, three grains of common sense.” (P. 34.)

We have reserved for the close of our remarks Mr. Gleig’s crowning effort, in a practical exemplification of that most pitiful of controversial tricks, the endeavour to fasten upon a cause matter of offence totally unconnected with it. After quoting some passages from the records of the Society, which are as far as possible from bearing him out in the inferences which he wishes to draw from them, he proceeds thus:—

“There is, however, another publication, to which many references are made by the members of the Association, over a branch of which you preside; from this I cannot resist the temptation of making, at least, one extract.” (P. 64.)

Accordingly a dialogue is quoted, of a character calculated to prejudice the public mind against the mode of conversing with the heathen, therein detailed, but having no more to do with the Church Missionary, than it has with the Royal Society, the publication whence it was taken not having been once referred to by any member of the Kent Church Missionary Association, in spite of the assertion with which the quotation is prefaced, and the Society itself being *totally* unconnected both with it, and with the person concerned in the dialogue. For, as Mr. Rickards says,

“In all that Mr. Gleig extracts after this, concerning Mr. Thom, from the Missionary Magazine, the Church Missionary Society has not the least concern; and it is quite difficult to give an honest reason, why the Rev. Gentleman should have gone to a Dissenting Magazine, to find arguments against Church Missions. The inference, however, is pretty conclusive, that such arguments were not to be found any where else. The extract he gives in pp. 64 and 65, details the conversation of a Dissenting Missionary; and the Magazine itself is not

the accredited publication of any Missionary Society whatever. So then, let it be observed, that the only quotation, brought from Missionary conversations, which under all the circumstances was really objectionable, has nothing to do with our Missionaries, is of doubtful authority, and utterly irrelevant to the case in hand ! (Pp. 53, 54.)

We might enlarge further on many other particulars, such as the precious instance of special pleading, which by giving two inconsistent definitions of a Church Society (pp. 15 and 95), one for the clergy, and another for the laity, enables the author, whichever side an adversary may prefer, to confute him from the other. Thus, if a writer should start up, and maintain, that there is and can be but one Church Missionary Society, he may be silenced by an appeal to the sixteenth page of Mr. Gleig's pamphlet ; or, if he should maintain that there may be several, he is as easily overthrown from the appendix, in the ninety-fifth. Or we might produce a beautiful specimen of that art of condemning an absent victim upon mere hypothesis, which is so useful to regular controversialists.

“ If Mr. Schnarré took it upon him to account for the prevalent distemper, as no doubt he did, on the score of a judgment, sent by God in punishment of the want of faith manifested by the natives, he was guilty of as gross and impudent an imposture, as was the ‘ venerable St. Augustine,’ when he predicted the death of certain monks.” (Pp. 62, 63.)

On which Mr. Rickards grounds the following counter-hypothesis :—

“ Let us alter the sentence a little, and let us judge how far the same sentence might fairly be pronounced upon himself ! If Mr. Gleig were aware, as no doubt he was, that he was accusing Mr. Schnarré without evidence, he was guilty of a gross and impudent imposture. (Pp. 52, 53.)

But we imagine, that our readers have by this time had a sufficient sample of this model of controversy, and may be ready to pass with us to other subjects. We will therefore only add, that, if any weak reader should mistake the tendency of Mr. Gleig's reasoning, and fancy that it conveys any real censure upon the proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, he may find his error satisfactorily corrected in either of the two sensible and judicious pamphlets, which stand after it at the head of this article. From the last of them we quote the following short summary of their united argument :

“ Out of the ruins of its late opponent's arguments, I would collect a few materials, and employ them on its side. If, for instance, Mr. Gleig has failed in attempting to prove that it is miscalled a Church Missionary Society, I hope it has been shewn that it has a good right to to that valuable name :—if he has not shewn that its proceedings vio-

late the order and discipline of our Establishment, I hope I have shewn that they are in perfect unison with it;—if he was plainly mistaken in saying that no such Society was wanted, it remains that the direct contrary is true, that it was wanted;—and, lastly, if he has not succeeded in pointing out that its operations have been useless and mischievous, it still remains probable, that they are not only innocent, but even productive of much good; and this I trust I have satisfactorily made out. (Pp. 62, 63.)

“The direct arguments, then, which establish the claims of the Church Missionary Society to our support, are briefly these:—There can be no doubt that our Lord’s last command to his disciples,—‘Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature,’ gave them a commission, studiously unlimited and universal; and there can be as little doubt that that commission was not temporary, but meant to extend throughout all ages of the Church. Why else was it said, ‘Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world’?—It matters not, then, how contracted our means may be; the duty itself is equally binding, whether they be little or great; for our obligation to undertake it, is not the calculation of success, but simply the command of our Master.” (Pp. 65, 66.)

“Now, it can hardly be called reasonable to expect, that the immense work of preaching the Gospel to the Heathen, who constitute such a prodigious majority of the human race, can possibly be carried on with all practicable energy by Societies, which confessedly have other great objects primarily in view. But surely it is very reasonable and very desirable, that so vast a design should be undertaken and prosecuted by an Association, which should make that its sole and its exclusive object. The Church Missionary Society is doing this very thing; and it is the only Church Society, which is doing it. The manner in which it is doing it, might be pretty well inferred from the circumstance, that it is conducted only by members of the Church of England, and strictly upon the principles of the Church of England. But we are not left to make inferences; we have positive information upon the subject not only in the Annual Reports of the Society, but, what is much more material, from the testimony of many civil officers, stationed near the scenes of our Missionaries’ labours. Sir Charles M’Carthy, Sir George Collier, Sir Edward Barnes, and several others, besides the late Bishop Middleton quoted above, have fully justified the characters of our Missionaries from the charge of indiscretion and enthusiasm, and publicly declared their admiration of these men’s quiet industry, and sober-minded firmness and perseverance. When corroborated by such authority, there is nothing partial or unfair in appealing afterwards to the Reports themselves; and, taking our judgment of the Society’s proceedings from them, we shall see, that its efforts are conducted upon just such plans as its very enemies point out, as the most probable means of ultimate success.” (Ib. pp. 66, 67.)

ART. XXI.—THE INTERMEDIATE STATE.

1. *Sermons and Extracts, consolatory on the loss of Friends, selected from the works of the most eminent divines.* London. Hatchards. 1819. 8vo. pp. 493.
2. *The Excursions of a Spirit, with a Survey of the Planetary World; a Vision. With four illustrative Plates.* London. Rivingtons. 1821. 12mo. Pp. vii. and 208.
3. *Essays on the Recollections, which are to subsist between earthly Friends, reunited in the World to come, and on other Subjects connected with Religion, and in part with Prophecy;* by Thomas Gisborne, M. A. London, Cadell; Edinburgh, Blackwood. 1822. 12mo. Pp. viii. and 354.
4. *Euthanasia, or the State of Man after death;* by the Rev. Luke Booker, L.L.D. Vicar of Dudley. London. Simpkin and Marshall; Hatchards. 1822. 12mo. Pp. 169.

WE have put these publications together, simply because they bring before us the sentiments of several writers on two very interesting problems, which almost every human being must at some period have entertained, first, whether we shall know each other after death, and secondly, whether that mutual recognition will commence immediately, or whether all the faculties of the soul will be suspended till the day of judgment.

On the first of these questions, namely, whether we shall know each other after death, some writers have been very sceptical. They have even doubted, whether the soul will then retain its consciousness of its own pre-existent history, much more, whether it will retain its knowledge of others, and particularly, whether friends, who have been separated, will be then reunited with their attachments unimpaired and their mutual affections entire.

This last form of the inquiry of course leads us to separate from it all consideration of the impenitent, whose attachments, losing then the advantage of the flattering estimate, which they had previously formed of each other's character, cannot retain its power, when the mask is stripped off all hearts, and the soul is read undisguised.

On the question, thus limited, whether the souls of the faithful will preserve their recollections and mutual attachments, or rather, whether earthly friends will remain friends, when they come to be heavenly, we are desirous to quote the sentiments of some divines and other Christians, to shew what has been the common opinion among the best students of the bible on this important subject.

We will first produce the testimony of the venerable Lu-

ther. Being once asked, whether we should know each other in heaven, he answered—"How was it with Adam? he had never seen Eve: for, when God formed her, he was in a deep sleep. Yet, when he awaked and saw her, he did not ask, who she was, or whence she came, but immediately said, that she was flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone. How then did he know this? Being filled with the holy spirit, and endued with the true knowledge, he was able to determine upon the nature of things. In like manner we shall be perfectly renewed hereafter through Christ, and shall know with far greater perfection than can be conceived of here, our dearest relations, and indeed whatever exists, and in a mode too, much superior to that of Adam in Paradise."

Mr. Serle, in his *Christian Remembrancer*, has the following passage:

"'I have lost a friend,' says some anxious mind. But who took that friend? was it not the God who gave him? and hath he taken more than his own? and if a pious friend, hath he not removed him to the best advantage? And is it not thy great privilege, after the enjoyment of such an one, in this deplorable world, to live and be with him again, not here, but in a better? Besides, Christian, thou hast neither lost thy God nor thy friend; no, nor yet will they ever lose thee. Thy friend, at the utmost, is but surrendered, not sunk, lent, not lost, and shall be found again with advantage." (*Sermons, &c.* p. 422.)

We will only further quote from two of the letters of Cowper, in which he reasons upon this problem with equal feeling and beauty.

"We see, that Dives is represented, as knowing Lazarus, and Abraham, as knowing them both; and the discourse between them is entirely concerning their respective characters and circumstances upon earth. Here, therefore, our Saviour seems to countenance the notion of a mutual knowledge and recollection: and, if a soul, that has perished, shall know the soul, that is saved, surely the heirs of salvation shall know and recollect each other. In the first epistle to the Thessalonians, the second chapter, and nineteenth verse, St. Paul says, 'What is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and our joy.' As to the hope, which the apostle has formed concerning them, he himself refers the accomplishment of it to the coming of Christ, meaning, that then he should receive the recompence of his labours in their behalf. His joy and glory he refers likewise to the same period; both which would result from the sight of such numbers, redeemed by the blessing of God upon his ministration, when he should present them before the great Judge, and say in the words of

a greater than himself, ‘Lo, I and the children, whom thou hast given me!’ This seems to imply, that the apostle should know the converts, and the converts the apostle, at least at the day of judgment; and if then, why not afterwards? See also the fourth chapter of that epistle, thirteenth, fourteenth, sixteenth verses, which I have not room to transcribe! Here the apostle comforts them under their affliction for their deceased brethren, exhorting them not to sorrow, as without hope: and what is the hope, by which he teaches them to support their spirits? Even this, that them, which sleep in Jesus, shall God bring with him; in other words and by a fair paraphrase surely telling them they are only taken from them for a season, and that they should receive them at the resurrection. The common and ordinary occurrences of life, no doubt, and even the ties of kindred and of all temporal interests will be entirely discarded from amongst that happy society, and possibly even the remembrance of them done away. But it does not therefore follow, that our spiritual concerns even in this life will be forgotten; neither do I think, that they can ever appear trifling to us in any the most distant period of eternity. God, as you say in reference to the scripture, will be all in all. But does not that expression mean, that, being admitted to so near an approach to our heavenly Father and Redeemer, our whole nature, the soul and all its faculties, will be employed in praising and adoring him? Doubtless, however, this will be the case; and, if so, will it not furnish out a glorious theme of thanksgiving to recollect the rock, whence we were hewn, and the hole of the pit, whence we were digged, to recollect the time, when our faith, which under the tuition and nurture of the Holy Spirit has produced such a plentiful harvest of immortal bliss, was, as a grain of mustard-seed, small in itself, promising but little fruit, and producing less, to recollect the various attempts, that were made upon it by the world, the flesh, and the devil, and its various triumphs over all by the assistance of God through our Lord Jesus Christ? At present, whatever our convictions may be of the sinfulness and corruption of our nature, we can make but a very imperfect estimate either of our weakness or our guilt. Then no doubt we shall understand the full value of the wonderful salvation wrought out for us; and it seems reasonable to suppose, that in order to form a just idea of our redemption we shall be able to form a just one of the danger we have escaped. When we know how weak and frail we were, surely we shall be more able to render due praise and honour to his strength, who fought for us. When we know completely the hatefulness of sin in the sight of

God, and how deeply we were tainted by it, we shall know how to value the blood, by which we are cleansed, as we ought. The twenty-four elders in the fifth of the Revelations give glory to God for their redemption out of every kindred, and tongue, and people and nation. This surely implies a retrospect to their respective conditions upon earth, and that each remembered out of what particular kindred and nation he had been redeemed: and if so, then surely the minutest circumstance of their redemption did not escape their memory! Though the redeemed of the Lord shall be sure of being as happy in that state as infinite power, employed by infinite goodness can make them, and therefore, it may seem immaterial, whether we shall or shall not recollect each other hereafter, yet our present happiness at least is a little interested in the question. A parent, a friend, a wife must needs (I think) feel a little heart-ache at the thought of an eternal separation from the objects of her regard: and not to know them, when she meets them in another life, or never to meet them at all, amounts, though not altogether, yet nearly, to the same thing. Remember them (I think) she needs must. To hear, that they are happy, will indeed be no small addition to her own felicity. But to see them so will surely be a greater. Thus at least it appears to our present human apprehension; consequently therefore to think, that when we leave them, we lose them for ever, that we must remain eternally ignorant, whether they, that were flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, partake with us of celestial glory, or are disinherited of their heavenly portion, must shed a dismal gloom over all our present connexions. Friendship is necessary to our happiness here, and, built upon Christian principles, upon which only it can stand, is a thing even of religious sanction: for what is that love, which the Holy Spirit, speaking by St. John, so much inculcates, but friendship, the only love, which deserves the name, a love, which can toil and watch and deny itself, and go to death for its brother? Worldly friendships are a poor weed, compared with this; and even this union of spirit in the bond of peace would suffer, in my mind at least, could I think it were only coeval with our earthly mansions."

We will next produce a short series of extracts on the second question, relative to the intermediate condition of the soul between death and judgment.

Let us first hear the words of the pious Baxter upon this subject.

"The souls of believers do enjoy inconceivable blessedness and glory, even while they remain separated from their bodies. What can be more plain than those words of Paul.—'We are always

confident, knowing, that, whilst we are at home, or rather sojourning, in the body, we are absent from the Lord. For we walk by faith, not by sight. We are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the body and to be present with the Lord?—or those,—‘I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better?’—If Paul had not expected to enjoy Christ till the resurrection, why should he be in a strait, or desire to depart? Nay, should he not have been loth to depart upon the same grounds? For, while he was in the flesh, he enjoyed something of Christ.” (Sermons, p. 413.)

“Faithful souls shall no sooner leave their prisons of flesh, but angels will be their convoy; Christ, with all the perfected spirits of the just, will be their companions; heaven will be their residence, and God their happiness. When such die, they may boldly and believingly say, as Stephen,—‘Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!’—and commend it, as Christ did, into a Father’s hands.

“But though this rest be proper to the saints, yet it is common to all the saints; for it is an association of blessed spirits, both saints and angels; a corporation of perfected saints, whereof Christ is the head; the communion of saints compleated. As we have been together in the labour, duty, danger, and distress, so shall we be in the great recompence and deliverance. As we have been scorned and despised, so shall we be owned and honored together. We, who have gone through the day of sadness, shall enjoy together that day of gladness. Those, who have been with us in persecution and prison, shall be with us also in that palace of consolation. How oft have our groans made, as it were, one sound, our tears one stream, and our desires one prayer? But now all our praises shall make up one melody, all our churches one church, and all ourselves one body; for we shall be all one in Christ, even as he and the Father are one. It is true, we must be careful not to look for that in the saints, which is alone in Christ. But if the forethought of sitting down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven may be our lawful joy, how much more the real sight and actual possession! It cannot choose but be comfortable to think of that day, when we shall join with Moses in his song, with David in his psalms of praise, and with all the redeemed in the song of the Lamb for ever: when we shall see Enoch walking with God, Noah enjoying the end of his singularity, Joseph of his integrity, Job of his patience, Hezekiah of his uprightness, and all the saints the end of their faith. Not only our old acquaintance, but all the saints of all ages, whose faces in the flesh we never shall see, we shall both know and comfortably enjoy. Yea, angels as well as saints, will be our blessed acquaintance.” (Sermons, pp. 417—419.)

Next Bishop Bull shall speak for us, on behalf not only of himself, but of the whole primitive church of Christ.

“I do affirm the consentient and constant doctrine of the primitive church to be this, that the souls of the faithful do immediately after death enter into a place and state of bliss, far exceeding all the felicities of this world, though short of that most consummate perfect

beatitude of the kingdom of heaven, with which they are to be crowned and rewarded in the resurrection; and so, on the contrary, that the souls of all the wicked are, presently after death, in a state of very great misery; and yet dreading a far greater misery at the day of judgment." (Sermons. P. 19.)

"This discourse is matter of abundant consolation to all good men when death approacheth them. They are sure not only of a blessed resurrection at the last day, but of a reception into a very happy place and state in the mean time. They shall be, immediately after death, put in the possession of paradise, and there rejoice in the certain expectation of a crown of glory, to be bestowed on them at the day of recompence. Fear not, good man, when death comes! For the good angels are ready to receive thy soul, and convey it into Abraham's bosom—a place, wherever it is, of rest; and that not a stupid, insensible rest, but a rest attended with a lively perception of a far greater joy and delight than this whole world can afford; a place of the best society and company, where thou shalt be gathered to the spirits of just men, to the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and Confessors, and familiarly converse with those saints and excellent persons whom thou hast heard of, and admired, and whose examples thou hast endeavored to imitate; a place, that is the rendezvous of the holy angels of God, and which the Son of God himself visits and illustrates with the rays of his glory; a place, where there shall be no wicked man to corrupt or offend thee, no devil to tempt thee, no sinful flesh to betray thee; a place, full of security, where thou shalt be out of all possible danger of being undone and miserable for ever; a place, from whence all sorrow, because all sin, is banished; where there is nothing but joy, and yet more joy still expected. This is the place that death calls thee to. Why, therefore, should thou be afraid of dying? yea, rather, why shouldst thou not, when death calls thee to it, willingly and cheerfully die, desiring to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better." (Sermons. Pp. 22, 23.)

Mr. Serle, in a passage close to that already cited, observes,

"I have lost a child," says another. But ask thou—Who hath found him? Is it not that gracious Redeemer, who called little children unto himself when upon earth, and who gave them the highest benedictions? Hath not this child escaped a thousand evils, and miseries, and sins, which it must have undergone or committed, had it lived longer among the miserable sinners of this world? And doth it not enjoy unutterable happiness with thine own best friend, with whom also thou thyself hopest to live for ever? And is it worthy of thy love to thy child thus excessively to bemoan its deliverance from grief, and its possession of peace?" (Sermons, &c. P. 423.)

Doddridge has a remark of a similar tendency in one of his sermons.

"It is indeed well, if that beloved creature be fallen asleep in Christ; if that dear lamb be folded in the arms of the compassionate Shepherd, and gathered into his gracious bosom. Self-love might have led me

to wish its longer continuance here; but, if I truly loved my child with a solid rational affection, I should much rather *rejoice* to think *it is gone to a heavenly Father*, and to the world of perfected spirits above. Had it been spared to me, how slowly could I have taught it, and in the full ripeness of its age what had it been, when compared with what it now is? How is it shot up on a sudden, from the converse and toys of children, to be a companion with saints and angels, in the employment and blessedness of heaven?" (Sermons pp. 232, 233.)

An extract from the sermons of the late Rev. John Venn, conveys the same sentiment with somewhat more of precision.

"By the spirits of the just are meant the souls of the righteous, who, being delivered from the burden of the flesh, subsist in a state of separation from the body in paradise.

"They were once men of like passions with ourselves, assaulted by the same temptations; but they were partakers of the same faith, servants of the same Lord, instructed by the same word, strengthened by the same ordinances, comforted by the same promises, victorious through the same Captain of their salvation. At length they were released from their conflict by death as we shall ere long be; and they joined the glorious assembly of the just, an assembly, in numbers as much surpassing the just now on earth, as it transcends them in purity and holiness, an assembly every year, every day, every hour augmented by the addition of those, who have departed this life in the faith and fear of God.

"They are now *made perfect*.—Their labors are finished.—Their trial is over. Their race is run. They have reached the goal. They have obtained the prize. They are made complete in all virtue and goodness. Here, though sincere, they were imperfect. Their faith was imperfect, their hope, their obedience. But now their faith is accomplished in sight; their hope is swallowed up in enjoyment; their obedience is become perfect holiness. They now have obtained an entire deliverance from all sin and sorrow, from all labour and trouble.—Their bliss is consummated. They possess a felicity, suited to their spiritual nature, commensurate with those higher faculties, with which they are now endowed. Thus they are perfected, though not yet perhaps advanced to the utmost point, at which they will arrive after the general resurrection, and the final consummation of all things." (Sermons pp. 355—357.)

The powerful mind of Horsley has also grappled with the difficulties of this subject; in a masterly sermon from which we transcribe as much as makes directly for our present purpose.

'The invisible mansion of departed spirits, though certainly not a place of penal confinement to the good, is nevertheless in some respects a prison. It is a place of seclusion from the external world, a place of unfinished happiness, consisting in rest, security, and hope, more than enjoyment. It is a place which the souls of men never would have entered, had

not Sin introduced Death, and from which there is no exit by any natural means for those, who once have entered. The deliverance of the saints from it is to be effected by our Lord's power. The invisible mansion of departed souls is to the righteous a place of safe keeping, where they are preserved under the shadow of God's right hand, as their condition sometimes is described in scripture, till the season shall arrive for their advancement to their future glory; as the souls of the wicked on the other hand are reserved in the other division of the same place unto the judgment of the great day. Now Christ went and preached to souls of men thus in prison or in safe keeping. This is a clear confutation of the dismal notion of death, as a temporary extinction of the life of the whole man, or what is no less gloomy and discouraging, the notion of the sleep of the soul in the interval between death and the resurrection.'

Our last extract shall be from Mr. Faber's Treatise on the Three Dispensations. 'The moment that the souls of the faithful are delivered from the burden of the flesh, they are forthwith in joy and felicity. Preserved in the abode of separate spirits, under the safe keeping of their God and their Saviour, they rest from their labours.'

In citing several of these testimonies (it will appear) we have been aided by the editor of the volume which stands first at the head of this article, who however has not made, by any means, the best collection that might be formed.

Before we proceed to notice the other works, under review, we will simply state, that we think that each of the two questions which have been started, may be fully and clearly determined by a single text of scripture. In regard to the first point, the future recognition of those whom death separates, it seems to us to be decided beyond dispute in Luke xiii. 28, where our Lord says,—'There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out.' For surely if those who are excluded from heaven shall recognise those who are admitted into it, the idea cannot be maintained for a moment, that the saints shall not recognise each other. In regard to the second question, whether the soul in the intermediate state be awake or asleep, whether the departed Christian be in bliss, or in a condition of torpor, like that of frogs in winter, we consider, that our blessed Lord has himself decided it in his memorable answer to the Sadducees, Luke xx. 38,—'The Lord is not a God of the dead, but of the living: for all live unto him.' For, although his object is to prove,

that the dead are raised, the medium, by which he establishes that proof, is, that the dead are even now living; which no one who admits, will any longer dispute about the doctrine of a resurrection. The point, on which the whole argument turns, is this, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, are alive; for the Lord still calls himself their God; and he is not a God of the dead, but of the living. But he then goes further to assert, that not only the patriarchs, who were objects of especial favour, but all, who are dead to us, live to him: whence, if there be meaning in language or truth in scripture, it is undeniably proved, that all the departed are even now living, and consequently have not undergone any such suspension of their faculties as some speculative dreamers have imagined.

Indeed so clear did the fact of this recognition appear to the author of the *Excursions of a Spirit*, that he has constructed upon it a sort of religious romance, the scene of which is the planetary system, and the actors those who have departed in the faith and fear of God.

The author of *Euthanasia* also is so well satisfied upon the point, that in a thin pamphlet of a hundred and sixty-nine pages, professedly devoted to the state of the soul after death, he feels himself at liberty to prove by a detailed exposition of scripture, that the soul will survive the body, and other points, which are generally taken for granted in this argument.

We acknowledge that we also feel satisfied upon it: and therefore, instead of farther arguing a point, of which (we think) the single text we have quoted affords a demonstration, we will rather proceed to inquire, what further light can be collected upon the state in which the intermediate period between death and judgment will be passed by the departed faithful. We have hitherto only shewn, that it will live. What will be its condition?

On this topic we must first dispose of the views entertained in the *Excursions of a Spirit*. The author represents himself as after death passing into the immediate presence of his relations, who were watching for his departure. The sensations which he experienced at that interesting moment, are not less agreeably expressed than happily imagined.

“The sensation I now instantaneously felt, was as if an immense burden were taken from my shoulders, which had weighed me down to the earth, in consequence of which removal, I hardly seemed any longer to have any tendency to fall, or adhere to the surface of the earth, or floor of the room I was in; and at the same time experienced an immediate freedom from pain, with an accession of spirits and vivacity I had never any idea of before. The transition however from the pangs of death to immortal life, was so great, that in a few moments’

time I became, as it were, entranced ; from which when I began to recover, I found myself in the open air, surrounded by my beloved and much-lamented father, and some other deceased relatives, who seemed exactly to coincide with the ideas my imagination had retained of them. They immediately welcomed me, in the tenderest manner, to the ethereal regions ; and a thousand times welcome were they all to me. In mutual and ecstatic gratulations we continued, till at length on my feeling my aerial frame rather overpowered by the sudden change and multiplicity of new objects, my attendants, forming a close and compact circle around me, fled with astonishing rapidity, bearing me with them through the air, and, suddenly descending, placed me in a delightful arbour, upon a bed of flowers, the fragrance of which was infinitely greater than I had ever experienced in my mortal state, and seemed so to invigorate me, that I no longer felt in the least exhausted." (Excursions, p. 9—11.)

It will be at once seen from this extract, that the author of the vision imagines the souls of the departed to be engaged in watching the path of survivors. They are therefore still inhabitants of our world, though unseen, and minister to the weaknesses and wants of those, who are not aware of the presence of these aerial visitants. This, however, is not their only occupation. Our author represents them, as further employed in compleating an acquaintance with this globe, making researches into all its curiosities, observing the inventions of men, studying their history, listening to their music, and acting in short the part of universal spectators : besides which, they have their own daily meetings for prayer and praise, and also their periodical assemblies for more solemn acts of devotion in those parts of the earth, where they are free from the interruption of mortal flesh and blood, namely at the poles. We must let the author here again describe his own vision.

"We now continued our flight due north, over the frozen ocean, and large fields of ice, till at length we discovered what I took for the northern polar continent, but was told it was a zone of ice, extending all round it, beyond which, as the sun was then constantly above the horizon, without setting, (the ice gradually diminishing in substance towards the pole) there was a narrow smooth sea. Having reached this, we soon discovered the shores of the continent, the appearance of which, as we more nearly approached it, was more beautifully variegated than I could have conceived.

"When we, at last, alighted there, I could not help reflecting on the vanity and ignorance of mortals, in attempting to penetrate into the polar regions, which I was now convinced they never could fully accomplish with all their perseverance and courage, as the zone of ice must always form an unsurmountable barrier as long as the world endures.

"Having spent some time in refreshing ourselves upon the shores

of this continent, and in inhaling the delightful fragrance of its herbage, &c. my father proposed our proceeding quite to the pole, in order to see the phænomena peculiar to that region. Accordingly we took our flight over the most beautiful and delightful country I had then seen, abounding with every variety that nature could bestow, and replenished with an infinite number of happy spirits, reposing, or amusing themselves in different groups, or parties, whilst others were moving in various directions, any of whom we joined, as we felt inclined, there being, in the world of spirits, no previous ceremonies to undergo, nor formal introduction requisite; all considering themselves as one great, united family, and always ready to commune with each other.

“On approaching the pole, we at length descried a hill of a blue pale colour, at no great distance, as I thought, but which I was informed was considerably farther off than it appeared to be, it being an exceeding high mountain, situated exactly at the north pole. The nearer we came to this, the greater we found the concourse of spirits, many of whom were spread all over the sides of the mountain, which was of gentle acclivity, amongst the most delightful groves imaginable; the verdure being also of a beautiful green to the very summit, whereon we finally alighted.

“Here, situated upon the pivot, as it were, upon which the earth revolved, we admired the extensive prospect from it, which was grand beyond conception; for, there being in this delightful region, at least during the summer solstice, no clouds or gross vapours, to intercept, distort, or obscure the most distant objects, the boundary of it was only limited by the horizontal line, which, from the extreme height of the mountain, seemed to be at an immense distance; the intermediate space, every way, consisting of the greatest variety of hill and dale, grove and plain, land and water, that could be imagined.

“When first we landed upon this continent, the sun was not many degrees above the horizon, and although it did not set, yet it was then considerably higher at noon than at night. But, as we advanced towards the pole it became higher and higher, and the two extremes of altitude came nearer together, till at length, on arriving near the polar mountain, it preserved an equal altitude above the horizon throughout the whole diurnal rotation of the earth, seeming to describe a circle in the heavens, parallel to the horizon, as the earth revolved upon its axis.

“It being here continual day for six months together, with perpetual sunshine, unobscured by clouds or vapours; the distinction of day and night is not known, the spirits taking their refreshment, or sleep, just as they feel inclined; retiring into some grove, arbour, or grotto, and chanting their hymns of praise, as they awake, in such parties as may happen to associate for the purpose, at the time. Three times, however, in every solstice, the whole body of spirits then on the continent assemble around the polar mountain; namely, when the sun first appears above the horizon, when it is at its greatest height, and just before it sinks below the horizon again; at each of which

times they all join together in returning thanks to their Almighty Creator for the bliss they enjoy.

“I could not help remarking the great advantage of there being no longer any distinction of nations and languages; as this immense multitude of spirits, although originally from every habitable part of the globe, yet all now joined in one universal language, formed from all the languages of the earth; so that we could now reciprocally make ourselves understood to each other, and become, as it were, literally “citizens of the world.” (Excursions. Pp. 57—74.)

These however are occupations, not formed for perpetuity. After a certain period, when the near connexions of any spirit have quitted this mortal scene, and either joined their society, or, if not admitted to that blessed communion, become totally invisible to them, it seems, that the disembodied travellers become desirous of extending their discoveries; and our author actually provides them with means of accommodation, by which they may transport themselves from planet to planet, through a great part of the solar system. He has even drawn a chart of the system with the appendage of certain transparent satellites, which, unlike their opaque neighbours, and without reference to the theory of gravitation, revolve in ellipses round no material centre of attraction; by means of which the flight of souls is helped from orb to orb, the general rendezvous of happy spirits being in the planet Venus, while the condemned are consigned to Mercury, and Mars is the abode of the souls of other animals. With respect to the more distant planets, the author represents Saturn as peopled with creatures, like ourselves, in a state of probation, who afterwards are either frozen in the Georgian, or cheered in Jupiter, till the day of judgment, when the whole system is to be consumed together.

At the close of the volume the author makes the following “recapitulation of the several enjoyments of blessed spirits, mentioned at large in the foregoing pages.

“1st, The abolition of the several evils of human life, comprised under the general denominations of sin, guilt, pain, sickness, labour, imprisonment, slavery, poverty, the infirmity of age and others, with the attainment and uninterrupted enjoyment of their opposite blessings, innocence, a clear conscience, ease, quiet, liberty, health, and perpetual vigour, accompanied with a certainty of their future increase, and of their continuance for ever and ever.

“2ndly, The enjoyment of pure and genuine friendship meeting with former acquaintance, and associating with kindred spirits.

“3rdly, The complete gratification of every kind of laudable curiosity in the acquisition of the knowledge of the ancient and modern history of the different nations of the earth; of the greater political events passing in the world below; of the true theory of the earth and pla-

nets of our system; and in a full display of the grand scheme of Providence, as developed in the prophetic system.

“4thly, The pleasure of traversing the whole earth without fatigue or inconvenience; with the idea and anticipation of exploring the whole of the planetary and cometary worlds.

“5thly, The enjoyment of melody, harmony, poetry, and of all the innocent and laudable arts and sciences in their fullest perfection.

“6thly, The anticipated happiness of meeting, in due time, and becoming acquainted with the spirits of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, &c. with the expectation of seeing our Blessed Saviour at his second advent.” (Excursions. Pp. 204, 205.)

In a vision of this kind fancy is of course indulged without restraint: and it would be unfair to subject its speculations to any very rigorous scrutiny. Yet, since the author reasons upon them himself, as though he regarded them as something more than a reverie, and as having in them some intrinsic probability or truth, we have judged it right to give the foregoing sketch of his notions upon the subject.

Mr. Gisborne is satisfied with the idea of mutual recognition, and does not enter into other particulars. One passage we will quote from his pages.

“Christian friends, reunited in the realms above, shall meet one another with complete and lively consciousness of their reciprocal attachment upon earth; and with such recollections of the incidents of their mortal intercourse, as shall enhance the blessedness of eternity. This is the suggestion of reason: this is the testimony of the Scriptures.

“How mercifully vouchsafed, and how wisely calculated are these assurances from the Supreme Disposer of our lot, to console his true servants, when they behold a beloved companion, also his true servant, declining under the pressure of sickness, or deposited in the grave! The loss is no longer for eternity. The suspension of intercourse is but for the remainder of the life of the survivor. The individual removed is the forerunner of those who remain. He has reached the end of his journey a little sooner than his fellow travellers: and is awaiting them at the place of repose, towards which they are every moment advancing. Let the bereaved mourner persevere in his religious path, and the severed ties shall be rejoined. The restored connection shall be indissoluble. Misapprehension, competition, coolness, vicissitude, doubt, fear, are no more. The sun of affection shall no more be dimmed by earthly mists and exhalations. It shines for ever with increasing lustre, pure as the new heavens in which it is enthroned. United feelings, associated pursuits, conjoined admiration of the works of God, participated delight in his dispensations, blend the renewed attachments into continually augmented firmness, The blessedness of one friend becomes the blessedness of the rest. The bliss of all is enlarging itself by reciprocity through never-ending ages.” (Gisborne, p. 85—87.)

Dr. Booker, the author of *Euthanasia*, argues in the manner following.

“In the parable of Dives and Lazarus, absolute *recognition* and *reminiscence* are asserted. Dives *recollects* Lazarus, and solicits the boon of his kindness: and the father of the faithful tells him to *remember* one cause of the vast difference then existing between their respective destinies. He, no doubt, well remembered it, together with his impious and improper conduct: for we find him *actuated* by such recollection, *full of anxiety* about the fate of his surviving brethren, ‘lest they also come into that place of torment.’ If the spirits of the dead, therefore, forget not the living, nor past transactions, as in this instance was evidently the case, we must believe that the soul, immediately after the death of the body, is *not* in a state of insensibility. Here there is evidence from Scripture of two departed persons whose souls were in two very different states indeed!—the one in a state of happiness—the other in a state of misery: the one comforted—the other tormented.

“What Jesus Christ here taught in parables, he also, plainly asserts as fact. How else are we to construe these words, where speaking of his Almighty Father, he says, ‘He is the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob—not the God of the dead, but of the living?’ The soul of Abraham, we have just seen, in the parable, is represented as living; while his body, as the Jews truly asserted, was dead, ‘his sepulchre being with them unto the day’ when they made the assertion. The body of Moses also is dead; yet the soul or spirit of Moses, many hundred years after his dissolution, was seen alive, by some of the disciples, on the mount, conversing with Jesus, when ‘he was transfigured before them,’ in a manner too glorious for us to conceive.

“Jesus also asserts it, as a fact, in his dying agonies. What other construction can we put upon these words, addressed by him to the penitent malefactor, who implored his gracious remembrance on the cross.—‘To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.’” (Booker, pp. 57—59.)

“In precisely the same sense are we to understand St. Paul, where he says, ‘Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death. For to me, to live is Christ, and to die is gain; yet, what I shall chuse, I wot not; *having a desire to depart and to be with Christ.*’ Is it likely that the apostle would feel a desire to depart out of life, to a state of non-existence? Nay, more—in *such* a state he could not ‘be with Christ,’ whom he knew to have arisen from the dead, and to be possessed of ‘all power, both in heaven and in earth;’ and therefore fully ‘able to keep what should be committed unto him, till the great and final day.’ When Christ told the dying penitent that he should, on the day of his departure, be with him in paradise, he evidently meant that his *soul* or spirit should be there, not his *body*: which, no doubt, like that of the Redeemer, remained a mangled spectacle upon earth, till interment hid it from the sight of men. The imperishable part of the sufferer, therefore, on its quitting the lifeless

frame, went to paradise. It must not be forgotten, that St. Paul was the only person ever permitted to form, from actual vision, a true idea of what paradise is ; having been ‘ caught up ’ to witness its unspeakable blessedness. For a state of blessedness it must be, or he would not have felt ‘ a desire to depart,’ that he might share the fruition of it : and it must be of a nature indescribably awful and glorious, or the apostle would not have declared that he there saw things, which it is not lawful (i. e. possible) for man to utter : things, which no mortal eye, save his own, hath seen, no other human ear hath heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man to conceive.

“ The same apostle, encouraging the persecuted followers of his blessed Master to constancy in the faith, by the hope of the gospel, reminds them of ‘ the spirits of just men made perfect ’ to whose society they were, in glorious anticipation, united. But, if there be no such spirits existing, the apostle was not authorized to name them, which no humble Christian will believe.

“ Yet, happy as this intermediate state undoubtedly is, that a *full* fruition of happiness will not take place, till the soul and body shall be reunited at the general judgment, we may reasonably infer, from the great importance of the doctrine of the resurrection. The counsels of Divine Providence, with respect to the great family of the human race, will then, and not *till* then, be complete. The long-separated constituent parts of man—his soul and his body—*then* refashioned into a perfect being, like the sinless person of the Redeemer, to die no more, must be susceptible of a degree of felicity, far surpassing any thing that could be enjoyed by the spirit alone, in its separate state.” (Booker, pp. 60—63.)

Having thus collected the sentiments of others, such at least as may be presumed to embody the prevailing opinion of the present day, on the question proposed, we will now state what appears to us to be the amount of scriptural testimony concerning that intermediate portion of human existence, which is to elapse between death and judgment.

In the first place we agree with the author of *Euthanasia*, that the fable of the rich man and Lazarus clearly intimates a perfect recollection of ourselves and others, and not only that, but an immediate entrance into a state of reward or punishment, suitable to our previous character. It is true, indeed, that it is a parable. But let the parables of our Saviour be examined ; and it will be found, that, though the incidents are fictitious, they are all possible. They are adapted to a state of things actually existing, and do not refer to either places or conditions, that are merely imaginary. The scene of the good deed of the Samaritan traveller is delineated with scrupulous exactness. The circumstances connected with the marriage of the nobleman’s son, and the departure of the chief to another country, to receive the royal dignity from a foreign court and return, are all borrowed from known

practices : and if such was our Saviour's habit, if, when he invented incidents, he uniformly refrained from inventing scenes and manners and conditions of being likewise, why should we fancy, that he departed from that habit in the single instance of the parable to which we are now alluding ? All worlds were alike under his eye ; and, whether he chose to lay the scene of his parable in this world, or in paradise, or in heaven, or in the infernal regions, the state of all these, and of all other parts of creation, were equally familiar to him, and the imagined distance of the scene affords not the slightest cause for supposing, that he did not adhere in this, as he did in all other cases, to the reality of nature. We therefore conclude, that here also the incidents are imaginary, but that the scene and its circumstances are all according to truth.

Now Campbell has well drawn out the geography, if we may so call it, of this interesting story. The scene of it is Hades or the general repository of unembodied spirits, divided into two parts, one for the departed faithful, the other for the wicked, but separated from each other by a deep gulf or precipitous valley, which cannot be passed. Such is the picture of the scene, sketched by our blessed Lord ; and, though the scene itself may be unearthly, and by consequence the description rather symbolical than literal, such (we may presume) is the nearest idea which in our present state we can form, of its situation and accompaniments. It is only to be added, that the particular place of custody for the spirits of the faithful, is sometimes called Paradise, while the word Hell or Hades, comprehends both that and the prison-house of the wicked.

Let us then observe, what is the condition of the justified spirit immediately on its quitting the body ! It is at once carried by angels into Abraham's bosom. Therefore it instantly becomes capable of knowing Abraham, and of deriving inexpressible bliss from his intercourse and affectionate regard. But it is probable, that the name of Abraham is here introduced, only as the federal head of the Israelitish church, and consequently, as the typical representative of our Lord himself, the head of the true or Christian church ; and if so, we learn from the parable this delightful truth, that the souls of the faithful enter into communion with Christ himself, or, as St. Paul expresses his own hope and conviction, are with Christ ; which is far better than the nearest and most intimate earthly communion with him. How cheering a thought, to pass instantly from this poor scene of conflict and hope to the bosom of Christ, the favored place of the beloved disciple,

the very situation with respect to Christ himself, which is chosen by Saint John to represent the intimacy of our Lord's own relation to the Father !

While, therefore, the past is there remembered, the present enjoyed, the future anticipated, while the souls of all the servants of God are at once known to each other, and united in that indissoluble bond of love, which is formed in Christ Jesus, the presence of Christ himself must be the controlling idea in all our conceptions of that intermediate blessedness. This will exclude several incorrect notions.

First, they, which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage. Although, therefore, the husband will know the wife, and the wife the husband, the father the son, and the son the father, they will no longer recognise each other in those relations, except as they are reflected in the glass of memory, but simply, as fellow-heirs of glory, and partners in the love of Christ ; and their affection for each other, though endeared by many recollections of the past, being rooted and grounded exclusively in their common love and admiration of the redeemer, will be proportioned rather to their respective attainments in Christian holiness, than to their own private, partial, and personal regard. Their mutual love will be perfect, and will, therefore, infinitely surpass the most perfect affection felt on earth. But yet it will have lost that element of earthly affection, namely, its exclusive nature, which is necessary to our condition here, and will admit an universal partnership, becoming in some measure, like that of the great Redeemer himself, irrespective of persons ; not indeed entirely so,—far from it ; for it is probable, that our knowledge, however enlarged, will still be imperfect, and the degree of our love will assuredly bear some proportion to the extent of our knowledge ; which is a sufficient foundation for the continuance of that endearing preference, by which earthly relations are linked together.

Secondly, this consideration will also exclude that interest in the indulgence of mere curiosity, which is supposed by the author of the *Spiritual Vision*. The angels indeed desire to look into the things that concern our redemption ; and so doubtless do the happy spirits which are made *ισάγγελοι*. Every thing which belongs to the glory, the greatness, the excellence of Christ Jesus, will be most interesting to the departed Christian ; and the condition of human nature, as connected with that plan, the development of prophecy, the triumphs of grace, will doubtless occupy its delighted attention, and draw largely upon its inexhaustible stores of grati-

tude. But the mere manners of nations, their localities, and amusements, which are now vanity, and will soon be nothing, will be to them like the forgotten pleasures of the nursery. The mind will be engaged in higher contemplations; and its enlarged powers will not find any theme so grateful to it as that in the Revelation,—“Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred and tongue, and people and nation, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests.”

Thirdly, this consideration includes entire exemption from sin and from temptation. To the earthly body of our Lord the tempter approached; but he will not venture near his glorified frame. He, who is in the bosom of Christ, will be free from temptation as well as from sin. He will thus have come unto Christ; and he will give him rest. That rest will be beatitude, and will consequently exclude those restless desires of amusement, which here accompany and indicate imperfection. The repose of the soul indeed will not be inactive. It will rest from sin and from the uneasy fretfulness of forbidden desire. But it will converse with objects of high and holy interest, and without seeking to roam for the mere love of seeing, will fully realize the anticipations of the expiring Christian, when

“Ætheria jamdudum in luce vagari

Mens avet, indigenisque Deum specularier astris.”

Yet these spirits, though in bliss, are still but waiting in silent expectation for the glory of that day, which shall invite them to enter into the joy of their Lord, the presence of the Father, the sight and enjoyment of God. But we refrain. The things which were both heard and seen by the apostle in paradise, it is impossible for a man to utter; and beyond it eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have the things, which God hath prepared for them that love him, entered into the heart of man. It is sufficient that we are allowed to catch a few glimpses of that promised glory, the full vision of which would be too bright for mortal eye. It is sufficient (nay, it is, if we will receive it, even present happiness) to know, that the true believer passes instantly into the presence of his Redeemer, carries with him a recollection of all those friends, who are fellow-heirs with him of the same blessedness, but leaves, as they have left, all imperfection, all ill will, distrust, dislike, and every form of reserve and uneasiness, with all guilt and misery, at an infinite distance behind him.

These are anticipations, which it is lawful, because it is profitable, to indulge: and if they be drawn from us, what will the infidel or the worldling substitute in their place? A blank, nay, rather a blot.

But we willingly turn from this last consideration to notice briefly a few other topics, which occur in one of the volumes under review.

Mr. Gisborne among his *Essays* has included a few short papers, written in a plain and simple style, on the value of the Bible, and on other kindred subjects, well adapted for charitable circulation.

Another series is devoted to the right use of prophecy, which the author pronounces to be equally remote, so far as the unfulfilled part of it is concerned, from unprofitable or presumptuous minuteness of investigation, and from that abandonment of the subject, which would defeat one of the main ends designed by it. On this last point we will quote his own just and sensible remarks:—

“The other erroneous opinion to which I have alluded, is the following: that anticipatory investigation of future events does not lie within the province of prophetic study; that the business of the Christian as to the subjects of predictions, is simply to wait until the foretold events shall have taken place. Then, by comparing the accomplishment with the prediction, shall he strengthen himself in his holy faith; and learn to adore with augmented reverence the Omniscent Wisdom of the Most High.

“These sentiments are not unfrequently entertained by persons of devout minds; and are confirmed in such minds by the multiplicity of jarring interpretations with which expositors have bewildered their readers. I apprehend, however, that the opinion may be decisively shown to be destitute of foundation.

“Let it be, in the first place, considered, that this opinion, if just, would nearly, or altogether, nullify one of the great practical purposes for which, as already has been evinced, prophetic revelations were vouchsafed; namely, to excite and enable men to prepare themselves beforehand for the arrival of the events announced.” (Gisborne, pp. 201, 202.)

“Another argument remains to be stated. Meditation, properly conducted, on unaccomplished prophecy appears to be one of the appointed and most efficacious methods, by which the Christian Church is to be defended against the delusiveness of false expositions.” (Ib. pp. 211, 212.)

“On the whole, the course of discussion which has been pursued seems to have conducted us safely to the two following inferences: That all prophetic investigations are uniformly to be carried forward in a spirit of deep and humble piety, with sober discretion, with patient study, with freedom from prepossession, with a simple love of truth, with entire readiness to abandon, on better evidence and information, conclusions previously adopted: and, that with these qualifications, and under these restrictions, researches into prophecy fulfilled and unfulfilled are lawful, and form a constituent part of the duty of the Church of Christ.” (Ib. pp. 213, 214.)

One of the essays relates to the “little book” in the Apoca-

lypse ; into the minute discussion of which we cannot now enter ; and without minute discussion little profit can be gained from entering into the subject at all, since but little justice can be done to it. We may hereafter revert to these Essays, which are written in a sober spirit, but with much acuteness of observation, if the further investigation of sacred prophecy should be brought within the scope of our critical labours. At present we will simply observe, that, although we are not prepared to accede to every interpretation advanced, in this series, we think, that much light is thrown by it on various parts of the prophetic Scriptures, and that the proof, which it contains, that the seventh head of the beast represents the Gothic empire in Italy, appears to be complete.

ART. XXII.—NEGRO SLAVERY.

1. *An Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, in behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies*: by William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. 1823. London. Hatchards. 8vo. pp. 77.
2. *A Counter Appeal, in answer to an Appeal from William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. designed to prove that the Emancipation of the Negroes in the West Indies, by a Legislative Enactment, without the consent of the Planters, would be a flagrant breach of National Honour, hostile to the principles of Religion, Justice, and Humanity, and highly injurious to the Planter, and to the Slave* ; by Sir Henry William Martin, Bart. 1823. London. Rivingtons. 8vo. pp. 52.
3. *A Voice from Jamaica, in reply to William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P.* by the Rev. George Wilson Bridges, A. B. 1823. London. Longman and Co. 8vo. pp. 50.

SIXTEEN years have elapsed since Great Britain abolished the Slave Trade. Long and arduous was the conflict, before this triumph of justice and humanity over sordid and unfeeling avarice was achieved. Many and disgraceful were the shifts and evasions by which the traffickers in human blood, and their abettors in and out of Parliament, sought to defeat or delay that measure, which the honour and justice, no less than the religion and humanity of the country, demanded. When at length the victory was obtained by the passing of that act, which was to terminate our crimes and our infamy as slave-dealers, it is not surprising, that it should diffuse joy and call forth mutual congratulations among those, who had

been engaged in the hard-fought battle. Many a defeat had preceded the triumph, and many a noble combatant had fallen before it was obtained. No wonder, then, that the survivors should exult, and prepare, at their ease, to contemplate and enjoy the fruits of their successful struggle. Very soon, however, did they see reason to apprehend, that their victory was less complete than they had supposed, and that further measures were necessary to guard against the surreptitious introduction of slaves into the Colonies. The temptations to this crime were too powerful, and the facilities to the commission of it too great, and the evil itself was too deeply rooted in the West Indian system, to be easily eradicated. It became apparent, therefore, almost immediately, that the abolition-law would prove little more than a dead letter, without continued vigilance on the part of those who had procured it; nay, that it would have the effect of aggravating the hardships and misery of the captured Africans, by the necessity which it imposed on the slave dealers, in order to avoid detection, to cram their unhappy victims into the smallest possible space, and to keep them closely confined during their passage to the West Indies. Hence the necessity of the Registry Bill, the violent opposition to which, on the part of the West Indians, was not much calculated to remove the imputation under which they labored, of still trafficking in slaves: for, on the supposition of an honest intention to observe the abolition law, there was not a shadow of reason for opposing this measure. The resistance offered to it, obviously under the most frivolous pretences, and the keen and bitter animosity, manifested by the Planters to its advocates, have been, however, attended with this important effect, that public attention has been drawn anew to the West Indian system, and to the actual condition of the slaves in our Colonies.

During the discussions in Parliament on the Slave Trade, it was allowed on all hands, that a change in the treatment of the slaves was absolutely necessary. Even the advocates of the Planters admitted the necessity of an amelioration in this respect: and the late Lord Melville, then Mr. Dundas, the leader of those advocates, in bringing forward his plan of gradual abolition, calculated upon the elevating effect on the character and habits of the slaves, which this improved treatment would produce. Of course, then, after the lapse of so many years, the public were entitled to expect, and actually did expect, a material alteration for the better, in the condition of the Negroes. Now what has been the result of examination and inquiry into this subject? The result has been this, the appalling discovery, that no substantial improvement

has taken place ; that notwithstanding the occurrences of the last thirty years, notwithstanding the professions and pledges of the West Indians, the slaves are, at the present moment, the same wretched, demoralized, and degraded beings as in the year 1788, when the cry of their misery first reached the ear of the Legislature. This fact, a most fearful one for those on whom the responsibility falls, has recently come before the view of the public, both in and out of Parliament ; and the most distinct proofs of it have been adduced.

From the various statements on this subject, we present the following particulars concerning the actual condition of the Negro population in our Colonies.

The number of Slaves amounts to upwards of Eight Hundred Thousand. They are the absolute property of the master, who, to mark his property in them, usually brands his initials on some conspicuous part of their body, with a hot iron, as in this country we serve our sheep. He regulates, within certain limits, the measure of their food, their labour, and their punishment ; and possesses the power, without control, of selling them, or of transferring his right in them to any other person. Nay more, being, in the eye of the colonial law, mere chattels, they are liable to be seized in execution for his debts, and, like the other parts of his stock, to be sold by public auction to the highest bidder, who may remove them where he pleases, even to a different island, without regard to the family ties which may be broken by so cruel a procedure. They are, for the most part, employed in field-labour ; and, are driven to their work, both male and female, by the lash of the cart-whip. By the sound of the whip they are summoned to their work in the morning, and under the terror of it they labor through the day. Their labour commences at an early hour, and, with an interval for breakfast and dinner, continues until night ; and, in the season of crop, which lasts for four or five months in the year, it is further carried on during either the half of every night, or the whole of every alternate night. For this labour they receive no wages. They are provided with coarse and scanty clothing, with a hut in which to shelter themselves at night, when not obliged to work, and with a small portion of food, not sufficient for their support : to make up the deficiency, they are obliged to cultivate a piece of ground allotted to them for the purpose ; and for the cultivation of this, the only time allowed them is the Sunday. They are liable to be punished to the extent of thirty-nine lashes, by the master or his delegate, at his discretion, for any offence, or for no offence. These lashes are inflicted on the naked body, with a cart-

whip, an instrument of dreadful severity. Even females are not exempted, but, equally with the men, are liable to be thus indecently exposed, and cruelly lacerated, at the caprice of the owner or his overseer. To this corporal punishment, the imprisonment of the stocks may be added, and that for any length of time which the overseer may direct. Further, their evidence is not admitted in the courts of justice, in any case in which the interest of a person of free condition is affected; a circumstance, which completely excludes them from the protection of the law, it being obvious that a white man may commit any atrocity against them with impunity, provided he only take care that no free person be a witness of it. To this grievous enumeration, another hardship is to be added, viz. that, even those of them, who may have obtained their freedom, are liable to be seized and treated as runaway slaves, and again sold and consigned to interminable bondage, unless they can establish their freedom in a legal manner; it being an universal principle of the colonial law, that every black or colored person is presumed to be a slave, unless he can legally prove the contrary, which it is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to do, under the circumstances of the case.*

* The only exceptions to the above statement are the following :—1st. In Tobago, night-work, as appears from a letter from Mr. President Campbell, has been abolished.—2dly. In Honduras, the slaves are entirely fed by their proprietors, and are not obliged to cultivate a patch of ground, to raise food for themselves and family. For their labour on Saturday, they are entitled to half-a-dollar; and Sunday is entirely their own.—3dly. In Dominica, the testimony of slaves is admitted in courts of justice, in certain cases in which they have received injury from white persons. We subjoin an extract from the Act of the Dominica Legislature on this subject, that our readers may have a specimen of West Indian Legislation.

“Be it enacted, That from and after the publication of this Act, any white person or free person of colour, who shall beat, maim, wound, or ill-treat any slave or slaves, *the property of another person*, or persons, or deprive such slave of his property, *on complaint being made thereof by the owner* of such slave, or his representative, to any justice of the peace, and the slave being produced, and the marks of the blows or wounds being exhibited before any of his majesty's justices of the peace, such justice shall, and he is hereby empowered, authorized, and required, should he deem the complaint sufficiently founded, to summon the party so accused before him, and to examine him on oath; and on his refusal to be examined, such contumacy shall be construed an admission of the fact; and thereupon to bind any such white or free person of colour, charged with such offence, to appear at the next ensuing court of grand sessions of the peace, then and there to answer the charge alleged against him, the said justice having previously examined upon oath such slave (should he have been baptized) and duly explained and enforced to him the nature and solemnity of an oath; which examination the justice shall return with the recognisance to the clerk of the crown, prior to the sitting of such court; and on the parties appearing before the court, the testimony of any slaves who may have been present (they having been baptized) shall be received, as far as it shall appear clear and consistent in the opinion of the court. Provided always, nevertheless, that no white person or free person of colour shall be convicted of any of the

Such is the present miserable condition of 800,000 human beings, our fellow creatures, flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, differing in no respect from ourselves, except that an African sun has burnt a darker colour in their skin: such is their condition; and such, as the law now stands, is to be the inheritance of their children for ever.

That a system of this kind should be tolerated for so many years, a system of such obvious injustice and cruel oppression, so inconsistent with our principles as Britons, and with our profession as Christians, can only be accounted for by the generally prevailing ignorance of its real nature. Let it once be exhibited in its proper colours to the country! Only let its frightful features be exposed! and the disgust and hatred which it will inspire will be deep and universal. Soon will the public voice be heard from one end of the empire to the other, sympathizing with the wretched victims of slavery, and calling for a speedy termination of their sufferings. We rejoice that the work of exposure has commenced. It has commenced with him, who has long been the friend and the advocate of the African race, and who is now a veteran in the cause. With unabated ardour, with all his wonted ability, and with that touching eloquence, of which both friends and foes have acknowledged the force, he has again come forward in behalf of our oppressed and too long neglected slave-population. In a strain of manly reasoning, and in an appeal which (we dare venture to predict) every unprejudiced mind will feel to be resistless, he demands for them such an amelioration of their condition, as was contemplated by all parties at the time of the abolition, and to which the planters then stood pledged; such an amelioration as will ultimately lead to the abolition of slavery itself.

Mr. Wilberforce opens his publication with the following solemn and affecting address.

“To all the inhabitants of the British Empire, who value the favour of God, or are alive to the interests or honour of their country; to all, who have any respect for justice, or any feelings of humanity, I would solemnly address myself. I call upon them, as they shall hereafter answer, in the great day of account, for the use they shall have made of any power or influence with which Providence may have entrusted them, to employ their best endeavours, by all lawful and consti-

offences aforesaid, on the testimony of any slaves, unless two of the said slaves at least, do clearly and consistently agree with each other, and depose to the same fact, act, or circumstance; and also unless the said slaves are examined apart, and out of the hearing of each other: and provided also, that no person shall be convicted on the testimony of any slaves, for any of the offences aforesaid, unless the same shall be prosecuted within twelve months after the commission thereof.”

tutional means, to mitigate, and, as soon as it may be safely done, to terminate the negro slavery of the British Colonies, a system of the grossest injustice, of the most heathenish irreligion and immorality, of the most unprecedented degradation, and unrelenting cruelty." (P. 1.)

The strong language in the concluding sentence of this paragraph has given great offence to the West Indians. To represent their system of slavery as one of "the most unprecedented degradation, and unrelenting cruelty," is, they say, calumnious. In a speech attributed to the late Mr. Marryat, then member for Sandwich, it is asserted that this representation of West Indian slavery has been refuted by various official reports recently received from the colonists. Our readers will probably be curious to know the nature of the reports alluded to by this honorable gentleman. They will expect, perhaps, to hear of some delightful revolution in the colonial laws, and in the conduct of the planters towards the slaves; such as, that they are no longer liable to be sold, like mere farming utensils, that they are no longer driven to work with the lash, that the females can no longer be indecently exposed, and cruelly lacerated with the cart-whip, and that the Sunday is allowed them for a day of rest and religious instruction. But it is no such thing. It is merely a repetition of the old story, which the parliament and the country heard so often on the same authority in the years 1790 and 1791, that the slaves were better clothed and fed, and in every respect better circumstanced than the laboring class in this country. Such was the evidence, given at the bar of the House of Commons by a long list of admirals and of governors of Colonies, when examined at that time respecting the condition of the slaves. Their testimony was much stronger than any adduced on the present occasion. Some of them even went the length of stating, that they envied the condition of the slaves. Now none of Mr. Marryat's witnesses have gone so far as this, although nearly thirty years have elapsed, since that testimony was given, all of which (we are assured) have been years of progressive amelioration in the condition of the slaves.

But to form a correct estimate of the import and value of the official reports, referred to by Mr. Marryat, they should be viewed, not in detached portions, as he has quoted them, but as entire documents; and in connexion also with the station and pursuits of their respective authors. This latter circumstance, more especially, should not be overlooked. If their authors be not disinterested parties, their testimony is of little value, however respectable their character may be; as it is notorious, that our own interest gives a bias even to

the most upright mind, which unfits it for investigating and judging with the accuracy, of which we should otherwise be capable. On this principle two of the parties, from whom these reports have proceeded, are disqualified, as witnesses, viz. the President of Tobago, and the Assembly of Jamaica, theirs being the testimony of planters.

The evidence of one of the parties referred to by Mr. Marryat, we shall give entire, as it appears in the honorable gentleman's speech. It is that of Sir Ralph Woodford, governor of Trinidad, and is as follows.

"To proprietors of slaves, as to mankind in general, no incentive can be so great as their own interest. It is not in their power now to replace a slave whose physical powers are exhausted by a short service: therefore the value of a slave of good character is greatly enhanced beyond the value of his ordinary appraisement; and proportionate efforts are made to keep up his natural health and vigour. The comforts of the slaves depend upon themselves and their own industry, and their health upon their own imprudences, or the quantum of work they are required to perform. They can, if they choose, with very little trouble, amass much beyond the wants of their utmost ambition or profligacy; but the idle and drunken, (of which there are many) will always be in poverty and in rags. I have frequently known cases of negroes preferring to continue slaves, rather than, with ample means, to purchase their freedom, or even to accept it. With a humane owner the negro is most happy; and, as a slave, and when sick, he always shares the fare of the owner's table."

We present this fragment of an official report, as a real curiosity. It will be found unique in its kind, whether we examine the reasoning, the assertions, or the facts which it presents. "To proprietors of slaves," Sir Ralph Woodford says, "as to mankind in general, no incentive can be so great as their own interest." If he means by this, that persons uniformly act, as a right view of their own interest would dictate, his position is overturned by every day's experience. For, in the first place, we commonly observe persons taking a mistaken view of their own interest, and, under such mistaken view, pursuing courses highly injurious to it: and next, it often happens, that in cases, where we rightly understand our own interest, and clearly discern the line which we should take to secure it, a strong temptation, or a violent impulse of passion, will carry us along in the very opposite direction. But even though we were to allow the soundness of this position, it proves nothing to the purpose, except in those cases in which it is clear that the master's interest is on the

side of humanity to his slaves. Let us suppose a case of a different kind, a case, in which, on making a calculation, it shall appear to the master, that to overwork and underfeed his slaves for a certain period, even though at the end of that period they should be much deteriorated in value, would bring in more gain than could arise from the better treatment, which humanity would dictate. Here is a case, in which it is obvious his interest would be on the side of inhumanity, a case in which, according to Sir Ralph Woodford's principle, the master would have the greatest incentive to overwork and underfeed his slave.

So much for this gentleman's reasoning. Let us next examine his assertions. "The comforts of the slaves depend upon themselves, and their own industry, and their health upon their own imprudences, or the quantum of work they are required to perform. They can, if they choose, with very little trouble, amass much beyond the wants of the utmost ambition or profligacy."

These assertions scarcely deserve a comment. To tell us that a slave's comforts and health depend on *himself*, and, in the same sentence to add, *or on the quantum of work he is required to perform*, is trifling: for, if they depend on the quantum of work, over which he has no control, how can they depend on himself? Of a piece with this is the absurd exaggeration of what follows, where we are told that a slave may amass much beyond the wants of the utmost ambition or profligacy. Such an assertion as this defeats the object for which it is made. If the slave can thus amass wealth in the very few hours in each week, in which he is allowed to work for his own subsistence and profit, what (we should be glad to know) prevents the planters from amassing wealth, whose property the estate is, and to whom the chief of the slave's time and labour are devoted? The planters, however, so far from amassing wealth, are, as they themselves assure us, on the brink of ruin. Nay, the Assembly of Jamaica has told us, that unless the price of sugar be raised, the slaves must starve. Here is a strange inconsistency between the planters in Jamaica and the Governor of Trinidad. According to the former, unless there be a change of circumstances, starvation must be the lot of the slaves; while the testimony of the latter assures us, that these same slaves are able with little trouble "to amass much beyond the wants of the utmost ambition or profligacy." We leave these gentlemen to reconcile their contradictory statements in the best way they can; and in the mean time we must decline giving implicit credit to either party.

But we must not pass over Sir Ralph Woodford's fact. "I

have frequently known cases of negroes preferring to continue slaves, rather than, *with ample means*, to purchase their freedom, or even to accept it." Far be it from us to question the honour or veracity of this gentleman! No doubt he has been told this story, and believes it. But, for our part, we do not believe a word of it. What! a slave, that is, one who works without wages, who may be driven to his daily labour like a beast of the field, who, at the will of his master, or his master's officer, may be stripped and flogged, who may be torn from his wife and children, and sold, and carried off to a distant island,—a person in such a state as this, choosing to continue in it?—neglecting, with ample means, to purchase his freedom, nay, refusing to accept it, when freely offered to him? We do not, (we boldly repeat it, at the risk of being charged with "ardour for emancipation" and suspected of "that deficient acquaintance with the West Indies, so common among the abolitionists,") we do not believe a word of it, nor will the country believe it. Let the Governor of Trinidad require from his informants on this subject, the names, ages, and residences of the slaves who are thus enamoured of slavery, and let him communicate them to Parliament! Something more than the bare assertion of even so respectable a witness as Sir Ralph Woodford is necessary, before we can give credit to a representation which contradicts all experience, and is repugnant to every instinct and feeling of human nature. We have indeed heard of slaves who, having, late in life, acquired sufficient funds to purchase their own freedom, have yet chosen to continue in slavery in order to purchase the freedom of their children. But this is a fact, which shews at once their parental affection, and their sense of the value of freedom. There may also be some one or two superannuated laborers, who, having done their work, would only forfeit by freedom during their few remaining days their title to support. But further than this,—where the means are ample and the offer of liberty gratuitous,—*credat Judæus Appella!*

The reports of two other Governors are quoted in Mr. Marryat's speech, viz. of Governor Maxwell, of Dominica, and of Lieut.-Col. Arthur, of Honduras: and both of these cases strikingly exemplify the justness of our former remark, that mere detached portions of official reports are but of little value. In fact they frequently lead to very erroneous conclusions. These two gentlemen, in the extracts from their correspondence with Lord Bathurst, as quoted in Mr. Marryat's speech, speak favorably of the treatment of the slaves by the proprietors; and one of them, Col. Arthur, goes the

length of pronouncing an eulogium on the slave-owners of Honduras ; declaring that, although he had gone to the West Indies a perfect Wilberforce as to slavery, what he had seen had convinced him, that in no part of the world does the laboring class possess any thing like the comforts and advantages of the slave-population of Honduras. Now on a further examination of the official reports of these two gentlemen, it appears that these, their earlier letters, were written under a delusion ; a delusion, which was soon dispelled by a discovery of such grievous oppression and cruelties on the part of several of the planters as called for their interference. But they found it no easy matter, under a system of local regulations, constructed and enforced by slave-holders, to afford protection or redress to the wretched victims of oppression. In many instances their efforts were frustrated, and only seemed to provoke the hostility of the Colonists. The exertions of Col. Maxwell to detect and punish the cruelty of the Planters so enraged the Grand Jury of Dominica, that they actually, as Mr. Buxton stated in the House of Commons, presented him as a nuisance.

Col. Arthur having expressed himself strongly in his official reports, (as quoted by Mr. Marryat) concerning the comforts and happiness of the slaves, we shall present a few extracts from his late correspondence with Lord Bathurst, which was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 16th of June, 1823. In a letter, addressed to that nobleman, dated Oct. 7th, 1820, he writes as follows :—

“ In the dispatches which I had the honour to address to your Lordship, *shortly after my arrival in this settlement*, it afforded me the greatest pleasure to bear testimony to the humanity, which I observed generally exercised by the woodcutters towards their slaves. On the necessity I was under, however, in my dispatch of the 21st Oct. 1816, of detailing to your Lordship the cruelty which had been exercised by a settler, named Michael Carty, I was called upon to make some observations upon the extreme inhumanity of many of the lower class of settlers, residing in the town of Belize, towards their slaves ; and, as it appeared to be an *evil greatly increasing*, I submitted at the time the total inadequacy of the courts of this settlement to check this vicious disposition. In my report to your Lordship of the 16th of May last, No. 27, upon the insurrection, which had taken place in the interior of the colony, I represented, that it had originated from the harshness, with which some of the slaves had been treated, and that I was not without hope the consequences on that occasion would have had the beneficial tendency of exciting

a greater degree of humanity towards these unfortunate people. I am much distressed, my Lord, that my expectations have not been answered: and such is the increasing severity and cruelty, which is now practised with impunity, that, although very conscious of the difficulty, which has hitherto presented itself to his Majesty's government upon the general question of the administration of justice in Honduras, I am most reluctantly constrained to bring the subject again under your Lordship's consideration. The result of a trial, which was instituted on the 6th instant against an inhabitant for excessive cruelty towards a poor slave, absolutely excludes every hope, under the present system of jurisprudence, of bringing offenders to punishment, when guilty of the most flagrant acts of inhumanity and oppression. The trial, to which I allude, was instituted against a free woman of colour, named Duncannette Campbell, under a bench-warrant, 'for punishing her slave, named Kitty, in an illegal, cruel, and severe manner, by chaining her and repeatedly whipping her, and for confining her for a considerable time in the said chains, in the loft of her house.' As the sufferings of this poor slave deeply excited my commiseration, I made it a point to attend the court. The female slave appeared, covered with wounds and stripes. The medical gentleman, who had examined her by order of the magistrates, deposed: 'I examined the slave Kitty, and observed the scars of several wounds, which appeared to have been recently inflicted with a whip or cow-skin; they were chiefly upon the shoulders, but there was also a considerable number upon the left arm, the neck, and face. Those on the face had produced considerable swelling and other symptoms of inflammation: one of the stripes had divided the ala of the left ear; another had wounded the left eye-ball: both eyes were much swelled and inflamed; and her whole countenance was so much disfigured that it was some time before I could recognise her.' The police officer deposed: 'On proceeding to the dwelling of Miss Campbell, I found the slave Kitty at the foot of a bed, with a pair of handcuffs on, and chained round the legs with a double padlock; the chain was bound round so close that she could not stand or move. I saw a cut upon the left ear, and many stripes upon the back: her face also bore visible marks of whipping; and there was a bruise under her eye. I tried to lift her up, but she could not stand; she informed me that she had been in this situation for six weeks.' In fact every charge stated in the warrant was most fully proved. To deny the punishment, which had been so cruelly inflicted, was of course impossible; and therefore the only defence which the prisoner

attempted to set up was, that the gentleman, with whom she had cohabited and lived for many years, had instigated the slave to neglect her business, disobey her orders, and to behave with the greatest insubordination; that the slave was her own property, and that therefore she had a right to punish her, as she thought proper. The prisoner admitted, indeed voluntarily bore testimony to, the uniform excellent conduct of the poor slave for many years, and stated, that the circumstance, for which she had now chastised her, was the only misconduct of which she had ever been guilty. The bench, which was composed of four magistrates, in charging the jury, in no way whatever adverted to the dreadful instrument with which the punishment had been inflicted; to the poor slave's ear having been cut through; to the frightful blows on her face; or to the confinement in chains; (every part of which is illegal by the consolidated slave-act of Jamaica, which is by the law professed to be acknowledged in the courts of this settlement, although the act is not in the country); but briefly observed, that by law every owner was justified in punishing to the extent of thirty-nine lashes; and therefore the only point for the consideration of the jury was, whether a greater number of lashes had been inflicted in the present case. Without five minutes' hesitation the prisoner was acquitted."

In another letter, dated 29th Sept. 1821, Col. Arthur writes:—"On the 11th instant I received a report from the officer of police, stating the illegal punishment he had been required by Mr. Bowen, a magistrate, to inflict on one of his slaves; and also detailing a most severe punishment, which he had in part carried into effect at the instance of the Bench, but with the farther execution of which he hesitated to proceed, as it appeared to him contrary to law. Immediately on receiving this information, I addressed the magistrates, informing them I was sorry to find, on a bare commitment, without any trial or evidence whatever, a very severe punishment had been ordered on four slaves; and intimating that it was unknown to me that any power was vested in the Bench to cause punishment to be so summarily inflicted. I requested some explanation on the subject. In their reply, the Bench endeavored to gloss over the matter as well as they could, setting forth, that the trial of slaves by jury was a heavy expence to the country; that they had acted with no intention of infringing the laws of the settlement, or the rights of the slaves; that under a heavy penalty, whether competent or not, they were obliged to act as magistrates, and consequently their fellow-settlers always viewed their conduct, when not strictly regular, with every *indulgence*. Although their

proceeding was in direct violation of the law, I animadverted on it in milder terms than I should otherwise have been disposed to have done, from the impression that two of the magistrates (it being their first year in office) might have acted without consideration, under the influence of Mr. Bowen, who, as an older magistrate, was well acquainted with the laws and customs of the court; and to whom, from his well-known character, I could have no hesitation in referring the whole matter, although it was difficult in such a case to attach the blame where I felt it ought to have rested; I did so, however, as far as I could with propriety, and also directed all the poor slaves to be instantly liberated and delivered up to their respective owners. In the course of investigating this flagrant attempt upon the rights of the slaves, I was led to the knowledge of Mr. Bowen having confined the poor slave in chains in his own premises, whom the police-officer had refused to place in that situation in the jail; and an affidavit, made before one of the magistrates, of his general cruelty and inhumanity, was at the same time laid before me. Having fully ascertained the unexceptionable character of the complainant, and made every investigation which prudence could suggest, I determined to issue a search-warrant; and your Lordship will perceive by the return of the officer, on the back of the warrant, that the slaves were found chained in the manner described in the affidavit. The warrant having been examined on the following morning by the Bench, Mr. Bowen was ordered for trial on the 25th instant: but I must here observe, that although the evidence on the examination was most clear and distinct, the majority of the three magistrates deemed it so very doubtful, whether the offence could be considered a breach of any law, or whether there had been any further punishment inflicted by Mr. Bowen, than an owner was justified in giving his slave, that they were much disposed to question the propriety of any prosecution. This of course convinced me of the feeling and disposition of the Bench.

“In order that I might be under no error from misrepresentation, I attended the trial: and the following circumstances were most clearly and distinctly proved, indeed not denied; that on the bare suspicion of having made away with some handkerchiefs, committed to her care to dispose of, a poor female slave was tied up, by order of her owner, and severely flogged, and then, handcuffed and shackled, placed in an old store, infested with vermin and the noisome flies of this country. After being in this situation for five days and nights, Serjeant Rush, a military pensioner, interceded with

Mr. Bowen for her release, and having pledged himself, if the handkerchiefs were not found, to pay the exorbitant sum demanded, the poor creature was liberated on Sunday about mid-day. On the following morning she left her owner's house to make complaint and seek redress. For this, and on no other ground whatever, she was again seized upon, tied down on her belly to the ground, her arms and legs being stretched out and secured to four stakes with sharp cords; and in this shocking attitude, in the heat of the sun, exposed before the men in a perfect state of nature, she was again severely flogged, in the presence of her inhuman master and his brother, upon her back and posteriors, and then sent back to her place of torment, and there again confined in handcuffs and chains, and subsisted on the wretched pittance of twenty plantains and two mackarel per week, for above fourteen days. Occasionally, indeed, it appeared, the miserable being was led out by day, and chained to a tree in the yard, and there compelled to wash. This, my Lord, was an offence, for which the magistrates could find no law, on which to charge the jury, nor the jury any under which to find the prisoner guilty! The case of the male slaves actually apprehended by the officer of police, handcuffed, shackled, and loaded with an enormous cattle-chain, in the very dwelling of this magistrate, I need not in this dispatch enlarge upon. If the enormity against the poor female was no violation of the law, this of course could not be deemed illegal."

Here are extracts from the official reports of Mr. Marryat's own witness, to whose testimony he triumphantly appeals as affording a refutation of Mr. Wilberforce's assertion concerning negro slavery. Do they refute that assertion? On the contrary, they confirm it, in its largest and most unqualified sense. We have deemed it right to examine thus minutely the evidence, by which it has been attempted to throw discredit on Mr. Wilberforce's opening statement, in which he has described the slavery of the British Colonies as a system "of unprecedented degradation and unrelenting cruelty;" because on the truth and accuracy of that statement rests the necessity of all the measures, which he and his associates recommend.

In ascribing the long continuance of the West Indian system to the generally prevailing ignorance of its real nature, and of its great and numerous evils, Mr. Wilberforce remarks, that many of the non-resident West Indian proprietors are unacquainted with them. He says,

"Even at this day, few of our countrymen, comparatively speaking, are at all apprised of the real condition of the bulk of the negro

population; and perhaps many of our non-resident West Indian proprietors are full as ignorant of it as other men. Often, indeed, the most humane of the number (many of them are men whose humanity is unquestionable) are least of all aware of it, from estimating, not unnaturally, the actual state of the case, by the benevolence of their own well-meant, but unavailing directions to their managers in the western hemisphere." (P. 2.)

We feel real pleasure in bearing our testimony to the truth of this representation. Many proprietors of West Indian estates are men of genuine humanity. Not a few of them abhor the whole system of slavery, and are connected with it, not from choice, but from various circumstances, over which they had no control. It has been one of the artifices of the advocates of the slave-system to represent its opponents, as including in one sweeping sentence of condemnation all, who happen to have an interest in the colonies. By this misrepresentation, they expected to excite the resentment of those, who, conscious that they had never sanctioned any regulations inconsistent with humanity, and that their instructions had been to treat their slaves with kindness, must feel the injustice of such indiscriminate censure. We have met several West Indian proprietors, men of the kindest disposition, and truly anxious to secure the comfort of the negroes, who have been so far deluded by this artifice, which we are exposing, as to imagine, that the abolitionists regarded, and had actually represented in their speeches and writings, all West Indian proprietors as unfeeling and oppressive. Now so far from this, Mr. Wilberforce, and the other advocates of the measures for the amelioration of slavery, have done ample justice to the humane and well-disposed part of the West Indians. It is the *system*, as at present regulated and administered under the Colonial law, and not the proprietors, that they have attacked. It has never been denied, that there are many humane proprietors; nor, that, in many cases, where the slaves are treated hardly, the fault is not in the proprietor, who is absent, but in his manager, who, under the circumstances of the case, must possess the entire control: and further it has always been granted, that many slaves are actually treated with kindness, and are in circumstances of as much enjoyment as is compatible with a state of bondage. All this is conceded to the very utmost extent, that can be required. But this does not in the slightest degree alter the system itself, the intolerable evil of which is, that the slave has no legal protection from oppression and cruelty. He is at the mercy of the proprietor or of his agent.

We have already drawn such a picture of West Indian slavery

(and it is a most faithful one, so far as it goes, without a shade of coloring beyond the reality,) as will doubtless excite sympathy and compassion for the unhappy negroes in many a breast. But by far the worst part remains to be exposed, that moral degradation of the slaves, which is the natural result of this treatment. On this part of the subject, Mr. Wilberforce's remarks cannot fail of making a deep impression.

"Though the evils," he says, "which have been already enumerated are of no small amount, in estimating the physical sufferings of human beings, especially of the lower rank, yet to a Christian eye, they shrink almost into insignificance, when compared with the moral evils, that remain behind, with that above all, which runs through the whole of the various cruel circumstances of the negro slave's condition, and is at once the effect of his wrongs and sufferings, their bitter aggravation, and the pretext for their continuance, his extreme degradation in the intellectual and moral scale of being, and in the estimation of his white oppressors. The proofs of the extreme degradation of the slaves, in the latter sense, are innumerable; and, indeed, it must be confessed, that in the minds of Europeans in general, more especially in vulgar minds, whether vulgar from the want of education, or morally vulgar, (a more inwrought and less curable vulgarity,) the personal peculiarities of the negro race could scarcely fail, by diminishing sympathy, to produce impressions, not merely of contempt, but even of disgust and aversion. But how strongly are these impressions sure to be confirmed and augmented, when to all the effects of bodily distinctions are superadded all those arising from the want of civilization and knowledge, and still more all the hateful vices, that slavery never fails to engender or to aggravate! Such in truth must naturally be the effect of these powerful causes, that even the most ingeniously constructed system, which humanity and policy combined could have devised, would in vain have endeavored to counteract them: how much more powerfully then must they operate, especially in low and uneducated minds, when the whole system abounds with institutions and practices, which tend to confirm and strengthen their efficiency, and to give to a contemptuous aversion for the negro-race the sanction of manners and of law!" (P. 9, 10.)

Mr. Wilberforce illustrates these observations by an enumeration of various particulars of degradation, to which the slaves are subjected by law. Some of these we have before adverted to; such as, 1st, that they are, in a legal sense, not persons, but mere chattels, and, as such, may be sold, and that even separately from the estates on which they are settled; 2ndly, that their evidence is inadmissible against any free person, a circumstance, in consequence of which, as the late Mr. Otley, chief justice of St. Vincent's, himself a planter, declared, "white men are, in a manner, put beyond the reach of the law," or, as it was expressed by the late Sir William

Young, the staunch advocate of the slave-trade and slavery, "the most guilty European was covered with impunity;" 3rdly, the driving system, which goes on the principle, that the slaves are incapable of being governed, like other human beings: and

"Lower than this," says Mr. Wilberforce, "it is scarcely possible for man to be depressed by man. If such treatment does not find him vile and despised, it must infallibly make him so." And he adds, "The drivers commonly, or rather always, slaves, are usually the strongest and stoutest of the negroes; and though they are forbidden to give more than a few lashes at a time, as the immediate chastisement of faults committed at their work, yet the power over the slaves which they thus possess, unavoidably invests them with a truly formidable tyranny, the consequences of which, to the unfortunate subjects of it, are often in the highest degree oppressive and pernicious. No one, who reflects on the subject, can be at a loss to anticipate one odious use, which is too commonly made of this despotism, in extorting from the fears of the young females, who are subject to it, compliances with the licentious desires of the drivers, which they might otherwise have refused from attachment to another, if not from moral feelings and restraints. It is idle and insulting to talk of improving the condition of these poor beings, as rational and moral agents, while they are treated in a manner, which precludes self-government, and annihilates all human motives, but such as we impose on a maniac, or on a hardened and incorrigible convict." (Pp. 15, 16.)

Mr. Wilberforce proceeds in his description of the moral degradation of the negroes, to animadvert on the neglect of the planters to introduce the Christian institution of marriage among them; a neglect the more extraordinary and the more criminal, because certain acts of the West Indian legislature require 'all overseers, managers, &c. of slaves, under a penalty, to exhort their slaves to receive the ceremony of marriage, as instituted under the forms of the Christian religion.'

Here a very disgraceful part of the colonial system comes into view. Laws are passed in the colonies; and yet the evils, which they are designed to remedy, remain in full operation. How does this happen? It is because in numerous cases the law is designed, not for effect in the island where it is enacted, but to silence the opponents of the slave-system at home, and to delude the British public. This has been distinctly stated by high West Indian authorities. Among others we have that of the late Sir George Prevost, a West Indian Governor, who, on being applied to by the government at home for information, which, under a certain act of the Colonial Legislature, should be forthcoming, returned for answer, "that the act in question appeared to have been considered, from the day it was passed until that hour, as a

political measure, to avert the interference of the mother-country in the management of slaves." Such has obviously been the case with respect to the laws to which we are now adverting. For many years little or nothing was done in consequence of them. If any question were raised at home about the marriage of the slaves, the laws were ready to be produced: but in the West Indies they were a dead letter. The slaves were suffered to live in a state of the most licentious profligacy. Promiscuous intercourse between the sexes universally prevailed. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? While the husband might be torn from the wife, and the children from the parents, and sold to different proprietors, and even transported to a different island, how could it be expected that permanent connexions, such as Christianity enjoins, should be formed? As for *example*, it is on the side of every thing licentious and vile. The managers and overseers, in too many instances, exhibit in their own conduct what is most corrupting and depraving. Not only do the white men, attached to the different estates, commonly indulge in licentious intercourse with the female slaves, going the length, not unfrequently, of forcibly separating slaves from each other who had formed an attachment, and become the parents of children;—but even strangers, who happen to arrive on a visit at a plantation, are accustomed during their stay, to cohabit, as a matter of course, with some of the slaves.

This licence, on the part of the planters, or rather this encouragement to profligate habits among the slaves, is the more extraordinary, because it is directly opposed to their own interest. It was one of their most powerful objections to the abolition of the slave-trade, and it is at this moment a general subject of complaint with them, that the numbers of the slaves cannot be kept up. They are at no loss to account for this. They attribute it to the licentiousness of the slaves, and to the promiscuous intercourse, which prevails among them: and doubtless this is one principal cause of the non-increase of the slave-population. Why then not have recourse to the proper remedy for this evil, provided by the divine wisdom and goodness, in the institution of marriage? On their own principle, that licentiousness was the chief cause of declining numbers, a sense of interest, in the absence of higher motives, should have dictated such a procedure. But nothing of this kind appears to have occurred to them. So little encouragement, notwithstanding all the parade of law to which we have adverted, have the slaves had to form legal marriages, that as appears from the returns, in the island of Jamaica, (containing a slave-population of 340,000,) only 3596

marriages have been celebrated in the last fourteen years, and in the same space of time not a dozen in all the other islands put together. The sentiments of the West Indians themselves respecting the marriage of the slaves may be collected with tolerable accuracy from the language of one of the clergymen of Grenada, the Rev. Mr. Nash: "The legal solemnization of marriage," says the Rev. gentleman, "between slaves in this island, is a thing unheard of, and, if I might presume to offer my sentiments, would in their present state of imperfect civilization, lead to no beneficial result. Their affection for each other, if affection it can be called, is capricious and short-lived: restraint would hasten its extinction; and unity without harmony is mutual torment." Here is a sentimental divine for you! We should recommend it to this gentleman to return home, and acquire common sense, as well as a little more knowledge of religion. His reason, if it were worth any thing, would apply with as much force to a marriage in England, as to one in the West Indies.

Before we pass from this part of the subject, we would ask—Do not these official returns furnish evidence of two facts; first that the marriage-institution has been neglected among the slaves; and next, that on the side of the planters, that neglect has been part of a system deliberately formed and acted on?

The next particular of which Mr. Wilberforce treats, we shall introduce in his own words.

"In my estimate of things, and I trust in that of the bulk of my countrymen, though many of the physical evils of our colonial slavery are cruel, and odious, and pernicious, the almost universal destitution of religious and moral instruction among the slaves is the most serious of all the vices of the West Indian system; and, had there been no other, this alone would have most powerfully enforced on my conscience the obligation of publicly declaring my conviction, that it is the duty of the legislature of this country to interpose for the mitigation and future termination of a state, in which the ruin of the moral man, if I may so express myself, has been one of the sad consequences of his bondage. It cannot be denied, I repeat, that the slaves, more especially the great body of the field-negroes, are practically strangers to the multiplied blessings of the Christian revelation. What a consideration is this! A nation, which, besides the invaluable benefit of an unequalled degree of true civil liberty, has been favored with an unprecedented measure of religious light, with its long train of attendant blessings, has been for two centuries detaining in a state of slavery, beyond example rigorous, and in some particulars worse than pagan darkness and depravity, hundreds of thousands of their fellow creatures, originally torn from their native land by fraud and vio-

lence. Generation after generation have thus been pining away ; and in this same condition of ignorance and degradation they still, for the most part, remain. This, I am well aware, is an awful charge ; but it undeniably is too well founded, and scarcely admits of any exception beyond what has been effected by those excellent, though too commonly traduced and persecuted men, the Christian missionaries.”—(P. 24, 25.)

Now let us attentively note the various parts of this charge ! An awful one indeed it is ; and on that account it should be the more carefully investigated. The physical evils of our colonial slavery, are, it is said, cruel, odious, and pernicious. From the very nature of slavery, this description must always apply to it ; and therefore, that it should be so in our colonies, is only a matter of course. But to these necessary and inherent evils of the system there is added according to this charge, the almost universal destitution of religious and moral instruction among the slaves. Now to what does this accusation amount ? To this, that the slaves are taught nothing for this world or that which is to come, suited to rational, immortal, and accountable beings ; that they are used, as machines or brute beasts are used, for the purposes of labour, their bodies and strength supported and kept up with a view to this, but their reasoning faculties and immortal spirits entirely neglected ; that they are suffered to gratify without restraint every corrupt and licentious passion of their nature, and encouraged in it by many an abominable example, but never warned of any danger, nor instructed in any better course ; that they are left in whatever heathenish delusion or superstition they may have imbibed, in ignorance of the truths of Christianity, which tell man of his sin, his responsibility, his God, his duty, his Saviour, and a future state of rewards and punishments. This is what is meant by destitution of religious and moral instruction.

Now what do the slave-owners say to this, as a *general* charge ? As a *general* charge, we repeat ; for, that it is *universally* applicable, is not pretended. In the first place they tell us of their laws, passed with the view of promoting religion among the slaves. To this we answer—‘Your laws are a dead letter ; they are not acted on.’ They tell us next of the establishment of clergymen with liberal salaries to instruct the slaves. We answer—‘These clergymen have no access to the slaves, nor are the slaves allowed leisure to attend to their instructions : the clergymen themselves assure us of this ; and we know, that the Sunday is, and necessarily must be, according to the present system, a day of occupation.’ They tell us next of the numbers of the baptized slaves, and assure us that this rite of

Christianity is administered to increasing numbers every year. To this we answer, that the baptized are too commonly as ignorant as the unbaptized. For this also we have the authority of the clergymen, and also that of Sir George Rose, who informs us that "he found the slave-population, though baptized, utterly without religion, ignorant, disorderly, and dishonest:" and Mr. Barham, one of the most enlightened and liberal of the proprietors, states, that "for the most insignificant reward the slaves would universally accept baptism." But do the planters dispute the validity of our reasoning on this subject, and the value of our authorities? Do they contradict our statements, and deny the charge? Then we bring down on them testimony, which they dare not impeach; we have witnesses, whom they must respect. They are themselves our witnesses; the testimony is their own. They are our authority, that the slaves are ignorant, and degraded, and little elevated above brute beasts. To every demand, made on behalf of the slaves, they oppose this ignorance and degradation. 'Lay aside the lash,'—we demand. 'No,'—They reply. 'The slaves are incapable of being governed, like human beings.' 'Admit their testimony in courts of justice.' 'No,'—they answer.—'They cannot understand the nature of an oath.' 'Give them the institution of marriage!' 'No,'—says a reverend gentleman. 'In their present state it would lead to no beneficial result.' After all this, with what face can any honest advocate of the West Indians deny the almost universal destitution of religious and moral instruction among the slaves?

Well might Mr. Wilberforce turn from the planters, and make an appeal to the British nation on the fearful consequences of this neglect. We ask—Is it possible that our country can escape the displeasure of the Almighty, if, after this system of oppression and cruelty has been fairly laid open, we shall continue to uphold or sanction it? As far as it is possible from outward and visible tokens to form a judgment, that displeasure has long been manifested against the system itself. Nothing prospers under it. The complaint of those concerned in the West Indian trade is at this moment loud and general, that they are on the verge of ruin. How extraordinary, that it has never occurred to them, that the evils of this system are weighing them down! But let not their infatuation extend to the British nation! At this moment, hundreds of thousands of our fellow creatures in the West Indies are appealing to our justice and humanity. May the cry of their misery awaken the British Legislature to such a sense of their duty as shall lead to the adoption of measures, calcu-

lated to prepare the way for converting, in due time, the degraded slave into the enlightened freeman!

This brings us to the remedy, which Mr. Wilberforce proposes, and to the measures which he and those engaged in the same cause recommend, preparatory to the attainment of their grand ultimate object. That ultimate object, the parties boldly avow, is nothing less than the extinction of slavery in the British Colonies. So far from any attempt to disguise this, they put forward the most distinct avowal of it in the front of all their proceedings. The Society, which they have formed in London, the ramifications of which already extend to the most distant parts of the country, holds this forth in its very designation. It is entitled, "The Society for Mitigating and gradually Abolishing the State of Slavery throughout the British Dominions." Mr. Wilberforce is no less explicit in the first paragraph of the publication before us. He calls on "all the inhabitants of the British Empire, who value the favour of God, to employ their best endeavours, by all lawful and constitutional means, to mitigate, and, as soon as it may be safely done, to terminate the Negro Slavery of the British Colonies."

Mr. Buxton's statement was equally full and distinct in his luminous and unanswerable speech in the House of Commons, on the fifteenth of May, when he introduced his motion on this great question. His language on that occasion was the following:—"I now come to tell gentlemen the course we mean to pursue: and I hope I shall not be deemed imprudent, if I throw off all disguise, and state frankly and without reserve the object, at which we aim. The object, at which we aim, is, the extinction of slavery, nothing less than the extinction of slavery, in nothing less than the whole of the British dominions." Such an unreserved and manly avowal well becomes the advocates of justice and humanity. Let the apologists of oppression hesitate, and mince, and disguise! Their cause requires all the arts of concealment or palliation, which they can employ.

But let it be distinctly noted, that, while such is the object which the abolitionists have in view, no one, not even the most sanguine of them, entertains the idea of jumping forward to it all at once, or even of arriving at it by any thing like a short or summary process. With such rashness they have, indeed, been charged: but this, (and the country should be warned of it) is only one of many calumnies, by which it is sought to excite prejudice against them and their cause. Their views and intentions are to be learned, not from the misrepresentations of opponents, but from themselves and their own statements. Their names, rank, and character, are surely a

sufficient guarantee for candour, plain dealing, and honesty. Independently of the many noble and distinguished individuals among them, men of unquestionable honour, the name of Wilberforce alone will furnish a sufficient security, that nothing underhand, nothing but what is openly and distinctly avowed, is in contemplation. What then is the plan, which they propose? Is it a rapid termination of slavery? Is it the sudden emancipation of the Negroes? No; but such a series of precautionary measures, and preparatory steps, as shall, in a course of years, qualify the slaves for the enjoyment of freedom. Their plan, as explained by Mr. Buxton, in the speech already referred to, embraces the following provisions:

1. That all children of slaves, born after a certain day, shall be free; care being taken of their education and maintenance, until they shall be capable of acting for themselves.

2. That the slaves shall cease to be chattels in the eye of the law; and that they shall be attached to the island, and, under certain modifications, to the soil.

3. That their testimony shall be received in courts of justice.

4. That, when a claim is made to the services of a Negro, who asserts that he is a freeman, the onus probandi shall rest on the claimant.

5. That all obstructions to manumissions shall be removed; and that the provisions of the Spanish law (fixing by authority the value of the slave, and allowing him to purchase his freedom at once, or by a day at a time) shall be introduced.

6. That no governor, judge, or attorney-general, shall be a slave-owner.

7. That an effectual provision shall be made for the instruction of the slave; and that the Sunday shall be devoted to repose and religious instruction; and that other time shall be allotted to him for the cultivation of his provision grounds.

8. That marriage shall be enforced and sanctioned.

9. That proper measures shall be taken to restrain the authority of the master in punishing his untried slave.

10. That some substitute be found for the driving system.

Such is the proposed plan for ameliorating the slavery of the Colonies. The planters meet it by an outcry against any interference on the part of the British Parliament. These are matters which, they assert, belong exclusively to the local legislatures; and to them they should and must be left. On this denial of the right of the British Parliament to interfere, suffice it to say, that it has already interfered over and over, and that its right to do so has been recognised by some of the most distinguished statesmen of the country; among others

by Mr. Burke and the late Lord Melville. If indeed the local legislatures were likely to do their duty, it would be more eligible, on various accounts, to leave the work in their hands. But does their past conduct warrant any confidence in them? Very far from it. From the period of the abolition of the slave-trade to the present, what substantial change for the better have they introduced into the condition of the slaves? The present wretched and degraded state of those slaves answers the question. So far from having applied a remedy to the various abuses, at that time described by the abolitionists, they have even rejected the reforms pointed out and strongly recommended to them, at different periods since, by their own friends and advocates: and instead of being disposed to adopt the measures now recommended, they have repeatedly avowed their conviction, that such measures would prove the destruction of the Colonies. How then can any one, who seriously desires the amelioration of the slave-system, recommend, that the reforms should be committed to the West Indian legislatures? It is quite natural, indeed, that the planters should make this demand, because their object is to defeat or delay the proposed measures. Let the British Parliament undertake and accomplish the work! or it will remain undone.

But not only is the British Parliament not to interfere with the slave-system by legislation, but, according to the West Indians, even a word should not be spoken on the subject in the British House of Commons, lest the most frightful consequences should follow from it. All the debates in Parliament, we are told, as well as all the measures of the abolitionists are known throughout the West India Islands, the slave-population of which are like a mass of combustibles, which a single spark may ignite, and kindle into a destructive conflagration. Even Mr. Canning, whose name is so honorably identified with the most decided abolitionists, and whose conduct in the debate, on Mr. Buxton's motion, gave general satisfaction, even he spoke on that occasion of the danger, attending a discussion, in which "one rash word, perhaps even one too ardent expression, might raise a flame not easily to be extinguished." Now this appears to us passing strange. We should be glad to know what is the channel of communication between the British Parliament and the negro slaves. Is it the public press? We should be curious to ascertain, which of the London newspapers has the widest circulation amongst them. We should like to see the list of negro subscribers to the *Times*, *Courier*, *Post*, and *Chronicle*. Or is it at evening meetings, at certain News Rooms or Coffee Houses, established in the Islands for their

recreation, that the negroes, while they sip their coffee, read and inflame each other with the Parliamentary debates? We shall be told perhaps, that "the people of colour form the connecting link between the whites and blacks, that they are in the habit of reading the newspapers and of communicating to the negroes the discussions, that relate to them." Here then a new feature in West Indian policy comes into view. With a fearful majority of blacks in the West Indies, who are represented as always ready for insurrection, and only restrained by the exercise of absolute power, it might seem natural to win over by favorable enactments the free people of colour to the side of the masters, and thus at least to diminish the majority, against which they have to contend. So far however is this from being the case, that the very reply admits, that the people of colour are on the side and of the same party with the slaves: and this is notoriously the fact; for the whites despise them, as of African origin, and thus themselves drive them into the ranks, from which they are naturally separated by no less a boundary than that which distinguishes slavery from freedom. On the whole (it must be admitted) these negroes are a most extraordinary race of beings; for though they are so degraded as to be insensible to every impulse, but that of the lash, they can yet, (it appears) enter so keenly and with so much acuteness into the discussions of the House of Commons, that even one rash word, or one too ardent expression in these discussions cannot escape them. But there is a still more extraordinary and unaccountable anomaly in their character. It is this. Treat them ever so ill; flog them; torture them; over-work and under-feed them; and they remain submissive and peaceable: but let one word be said about altering their condition for the better; let the most distant rumour reach their ears, that they are no longer to be flogged and tortured, and they will immediately break out into revolt, and put all their masters to death!

All this is certainly very incredible, and it will appear so, we are persuaded, to the country at large. Indeed it cannot be otherwise, when it is recollected that this is the story we have heard, and this the very alarm, which has been rung in our ears every time, for the last thirty years, that the subject of slavery has been under discussion in Parliament. On all such occasions, a hundred warning voices have been raised; deprecating all interference, beseeching us, as we value the lives and properties of the West Indians, not to say a word about emancipating or altering the condition of the slaves. And what has been the conduct of the parties themselves? To shew the reality of this alarm, and their anxiety to keep

such subjects from the ears of the slaves, they have carefully published in Colonial papers the most inflammatory articles, which have appeared in the British press; nay, they have used language themselves, in their speeches and resolutions, calculated to give the impression to the slaves, that there is a party in England, determined on procuring for them instantaneous freedom. Such is, at this moment, the conduct of the planters in Jamaica.

Although this article has run to a considerable length, we must extend it still further by a short examination of the other two pamphlets the titles of which are prefixed to it.

We commence with the "Counter Appeal," by Sir Henry William Martin, Bart. This gentleman is, according to his own account, a slave-owner; and therefore, although we are quite disposed to give full credit to his assurances respecting the humane treatment, which his own slaves receive, he must excuse us, if, when he makes general statements concerning the slave-system, and the conduct of the other planters, we regard his testimony, as that of an interested party, and consequently, however honorable his character, and however abhorrent his dispositions and habits from intentional misrepresentation, to be received with caution. Indeed, some of his statements are of so extraordinary a nature, so directly opposed to evidence, which cannot be impeached, to that for example of several of the governors of the islands, as well as of clergymen established there, nay more, to the admissions of many of the most respectable planters themselves, that we can account for them only on the supposition, that he confined himself to what occurred under his own authority on his own estate, or that he has repeated the unauthenticated stories, with which he has suffered himself to be imposed on by others. No doubt also, the partiality, with which he views the slave-system, has had considerable effect on his mind. That this is the case, appears from various parts of his publication. We have a specimen of it in his first page. He objects to one of the mottoes, prefixed by Mr. Wilberforce to his appeal. The motto consists of the following text of Scripture:—"Wo unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work." This (he says) is a direct anathema, and highly unjust, as applied to the planters; "for they give abundant remuneration to the negroes." Is it really so? This is the first time we have heard of it. We have always understood, that the negroes received no wages; that they were merely fed and clothed, that they might be able to work, when summoned to

it by the sound of the lash, or impelled to it by its stroke. Is this what Sir Henry Martin considers abundant *remuneration*?

This gentleman arranges his arguments under the three following heads:—

“First, That slavery was not unjust in its origin, and is not unjust in its continuance, nor displeasing to God; secondly, that, as existing in the West Indies, it is not contrary to humanity; and thirdly, that it cannot now be safely or advantageously abolished in the West Indies.” (P. 2.)

We cannot but admire the magnanimity of this outset. It required more than ordinary courage to undertake, and certainly more than ordinary powers to accomplish the task, which he has set himself; it being nothing less than to prove slavery not unjust in its origin, not unjust in its continuance, not displeasing to God, nor, as existing in the West Indies, contrary to humanity. This is what may be called taking the bull by the horns; and assuredly, if he can establish these positions, the question at issue is completely set at rest.

Under this feeling, it was with not a little curiosity, that we proceeded to examine his arguments. In tracing the origin of slavery, under the first head, we naturally expected some allusion to slave-dealers, and to Africa, with its wars, outrages, and kidnappers: for we had been accustomed to connect the slavery of the Colonies with the slave-trade, the slaves there being either negroes, bought by the planters, or the children of those so bought. The origin of such slavery therefore, appeared to us to have been this: The planters bought the negro from the slave-trader, and the slave-trader bought him from some one in Africa, who had stolen or seized on him by violence. This, which we conceived to be the origin of slavery, seemed to establish its injustice and iniquity. What then was our astonishment on reading the following notice in Sir Henry Martin’s statement on the subject!—

“I will refer to the Bible for the origin of slavery, and in the ninth chapter of Genesis it is thus written.” (P. 2.)

He then proceeds to quote those verses in which Noah pronounces his son Canaan accursed, and declares, that “a servant of servants he shall be to his brethren.” This is a very extraordinary mode of answering Mr. Wilberforce’s appeal. Mr. Wilberforce discusses the present state of West Indian slavery; and to the origin and continuance of the slavery there existing, and to that only, does he allude in his work. As an answer to this, Sir Henry Martin raises a discussion on the abstract question of the lawfulness of slavery.

But let us take the argument, as we find it! and perhaps Sir Henry adopted this mode of treating the subject, in order

to vindicate the planters under the serious charge brought against them, of preferring their own interest to every consideration of justice and mercy. He probably designed to shew, that all this time, while they have been abused, as the most selfish and cruel of men, their sole object has been to fulfil the pleasure of the Almighty, and to accomplish the predictions of his word. Hence a new light breaks in on the subject. What an injured class of men these planters have been ! With the Bible in their hand, in which the descendants of Canaan are doomed to servitude, and with the example of the patriarchs, and the law of Moses before their eyes, they have been endeavoring to do their duty by so working and flogging the African negroes, that they may appear to the whole world in the very position, in which the descendants of Canaan ought to be exhibited, viz. as "the servants of servants ;" an Hebraism, signifying slaves in a sugar plantation under the lash of the cart-whip.

Ready as we are to applaud this religious principle of the planters, we cannot at the same time refrain from expressing our apprehension, that their respect for the authority of the Bible is carrying them rather too far. They seem to consider themselves, as placed under the conscientious necessity of retaining the negroes in bondage for ever. We are led to entertain this apprehension, from the circumstance of Sir Henry Martin's having quoted the following verses from the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus :—

"Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen, that are round about you. Of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers, that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families which are with you, which they beget in your land ; and they shall be your possession ; and ye shall take them, as an inheritance, for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession. They shall be your bondmen for ever." (Pp. 3, 4.)

Now it will doubtless be gratifying to these gentlemen to learn, that this expression, "for ever," in the verses just quoted, means only a *few years*, and that no such thing as perpetual servitude was allowed under the Jewish law.* The Jewish slave was to be restored to freedom at the end of six years, and then to be liberally rewarded out of his master's substance : and all other slaves (that is, those who were not Jews) were to be dismissed free at the year of Jubilee, whenever that might occur.

* To this statement a single exception is to be made, in the case of the servant who had become so attached to the family of his master, as to refuse to leave him. Provision was made for allowing a master to retain such a servant.

As Sir Henry respects the authority of the Bible, we shall now, in our turn, give him a quotation or two from it. The first shall be from the same chapter in Leviticus which he has himself quoted. We regret, that it should have escaped his notice, when he read the other part of the chapter with so much care. "Thou shalt number seven Sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of seven Sabbaths of years shall be with thee forty and nine years. Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the Jubilee to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month. In the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land: and ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family."

Our other quotation is from the fifteenth chapter of Deuteronomy.—"And if thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee. And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go empty: Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine-press: of that wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee, thou shalt give unto him!" From these quotations it appears that the authority of the Old Testament, far from imposing on the planters the necessity of retaining their slaves in perpetual bondage, directly prohibits and condemns such a procedure.

The worthy Baronet concludes this part of his argument in the following manner:

—"To set the question quite at rest, I will shew that slavery was recognized and sanctioned under the Christian dispensation, for which purpose I will make a quotation from"—(P. 4.)

doubtless our readers will suppose,—*from some book of the New Testament*. But it is no such thing, he quotes not a single line of it; but he quotes "Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology." Now, highly as we respect this distinguished prelate, we most decidedly deny, that any quotation from his works, or from the works of any other human being, is to be taken, independently of the word of Scripture itself, as decisive authority respecting what Christianity sanctions. His Lordship would, we are satisfied, equally disapprove of the manner in which he is put forward, as authority, and of the object or design, with which the quotation from his works is made. It must be obvious to every one, acquainted with his Lordship's *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Pitt*, that he is decidedly opposed to Sir Henry Martin on the subject of

slavery : and as for the quotation from his works, which Sir Henry has introduced, it contains not a single syllable, from which it can be deduced, that he considers Christianity as giving its sanction to slavery. His Lordship merely intimates that Christianity does not, by any system of direct precepts, interfere with civil institutions ; or as the late venerable Bishop Porteus expressed it in the House of Lords, in the year 1806, in a debate on the slave-trade—"That slavery was permitted (that is not forbidden) under the Christian religion, is perfectly true. But what has this to do with the African slave-trade ? Nothing ; nor with slavery in the West Indies. But with regard to slavery, there was no such thing as perpetual slavery under the Old or New Testament." And he adds—"It is said, that our Saviour did not forbid slavery. That was, because he did not interfere with civil institutions, but left it to the spirit of his religion to correct their evils. He inculcated obedience to ruling powers on earth, without reference to any institution. Therefore you find no command of his for or against slavery. But the principle and spirit of the Christian religion is against slavery of every kind."

We have dwelt so long on this first head of the worthy Baronet's argument, because we feel, with Bishop Porteus, that, "to say the Christian religion sanctions slavery, is the grossest libel that ever was published against that religion."

Sir Henry Martin's statements, under his second head, in which it is his object to prove that slavery, "as existing in the West Indies, is not contrary to humanity," (P.2.) cannot fail (we conceive) to injure the cause, of which he is the advocate. With respect to the treatment and condition of the slaves, he asserts, as fact, what has been disproved over and over a hundred times : and he denies what has been as frequently acknowledged, even by the planters themselves. We give one specimen.

"Mr. Wilberforce expresses himself to be extremely shocked and displeased at the assertion of the planters and their partisans; that the negro slaves are as well, or even better off than the British peasantry. Nevertheless I do assert it—The negroes, as I stated before, are generally Christians, and equally with the British peasantry enjoy the rest of the Sabbath, and the opportunity of attending divine service on that day. Both are the slaves of necessity. Both are compelled to labour for their daily bread. The peasant has no claims upon his employer beyond his daily wages; and, if these should not be sufficient to support himself and his family, while he is able to work, and also to lay by enough for their maintenance, when he can no longer labour, they have no alternative, but quitting their cottages for

the parish-workhouse ; the miseries of which are too generally known to require comment. The negro has no fear of being compelled, to resort to such an asylum in his old age, but retains all the advantages he enjoyed in his youth ; and at his decease, may leave his cottage to whom he pleases, (belonging to the estate,) and his money and moveables to any one without restriction." (P. 18.)

With this extract we consider it quite sufficient to place in juxtaposition the paragraph of Mr. Wilberforce's appeal, to which Sir Henry alludes.

"The West Indians (says Mr. Wilberforce,) in the warmth of argument have gone still further, and have even distinctly told us, again and again, and I am shocked to say, that some of their partisans in this country have re-echoed the assertion, that these poor degraded beings, the negro-slaves, are as well or even better off than our British peasantry ; a proposition so monstrous, that nothing can possibly exhibit in a stronger light the extreme force of the prejudices, which must exist in the minds of its assertors. A Briton to compare the state of a West Indian slave with that of an English freeman, and to give the former the preference ! It is to imply an utter insensibility of the native feelings and moral dignity of man, no less than of the rights of Englishmen. I will not condescend to argue this question, as I might, on the ground of comparative feeding and clothing, and lodging, and medical attendance. Are these the only claims ? Are these the chief privileges of a rational and mortal being ? Is the consciousness of personal independence nothing ? Are self-possession and self-government nothing ? Is it of no account that our persons are inviolate by any private authority, and that the whip is placed only in the hand of the public executioner ? Is it of no value that we have the power of pursuing the occupation and habits of life which we prefer ; that we have the prospect, or at least the hope, of improving our condition, and of rising, as we have seen others rise, from poverty and obscurity to comfort, and opulence, and distinction ? Again, are all the charities of the heart, which arise out of the domestic relations, to be considered as nothing ; and (I may add) all their security too, among men who are free agents, and not vendible chattels, liable continually to be torn from their dearest connexions, and sent into a perpetual exile ? Are husband and wife, parent and child, terms of no meaning ? Are willing services or grateful returns for voluntary kindnesses, nothing ? But, above all, is Christianity so little esteemed among us, that we are to account, as of no value, the hope, full of immortality, the light of heavenly truth, and all the consolations and supports, by which religion cheers the hearts and elevates the principles and dignifies the conduct of multitudes of our laboring classes in this free and enlightened country ? Is it nothing to be taught, that all human distinctions will soon be at an end ; that all the labours and sorrows of poverty and hardship will soon exist no more ; and to know, on the express authority of Scripture, that the lower classes, instead of being an inferior order in the creation, are even the preferable objects of the love of the Almighty ? But such wretched sophisms as

insult the understandings of mankind, are sometimes best answered by an appeal to their feelings. Let me therefore ask, is there, in the whole of the three kingdoms, a parent or a husband, so sordid and insensible, that any sum, which the richest West Indian proprietor could offer him, would be deemed a compensation for his suffering his wife or his daughter to be subjected to the brutal outrage of the cart-whip, to the savage lash of the driver, to the indecent and degrading, and merciless punishment of a West Indian whipping? If there be one so dead, I say not to every liberal, but to every natural feeling, as that money could purchase of him such a concession, such a wretch, and he alone, would be capable of the farther sacrifices, necessary for degrading an English peasant to the condition of a West Indian slave. He might consent to sell the liberty of his own children, and to barter away even the blessings, conferred on himself by that religion, which declares to him, that his master, no less than himself, has a master in heaven, a common Creator, who is no respecter of persons, and in whose presence he may weekly stand on the same spiritual level with his superiors in rank, to be reminded of their common origin, common responsibility, and common day of final and irreversible account. (Pp. 45—48.)

The third division of the worthy Baronet's argument is, "that slavery cannot now be safely or advantageously abolished." But, as nothing can be plainer or more explicit than the avowal of Mr. Wilberforce and his associates, that no immediate or sudden emancipation of the slaves is in contemplation, we pass over this division of his argument without remark, and proceed at once to the publication of the rector of Manchester.

It is entitled, "A voice from Jamaica:" and its author, the Rev. G. W. Bridges, B.A. writes only, "as the feeble advocate of a Church Establishment, as the impartial spectator, the friend of truth and justice." (P. 2.)

Nevertheless we have reason to believe, that the Reverend Gentleman is a slave-holder: and therefore we maintain, that his impartiality and disinterestedness are not to be pronounced, *a priori*, from his profession and station, or even from his good account of himself, but that they are to be established by the nature and contents of his publication.

The first circumstance, which comes under our view in examining his production, is a very virulent attack on Mr. Wilberforce; in which not only his conduct and character are vilified, but the very worst and basest motives are attributed to him. This we leave unanswered, believing, as we do, that the name of Wilberforce does not require a defender. The author himself informs us, (and this avowal should be particularly noted) that he "possessed as much respect for that champion of the abolition as ever enthusiast felt," when, seven years ago, he went to the West Indies.

Thus, from his own acknowledgement it appears, that as long as he resided in this country, where Mr. Wilberforce's conduct and character are open to investigation, and where a just estimate of them may best be formed, he felt for him an enthusiastic respect; and that it is since he went to the West Indies, and became a slave-owner, the associate of the resident West Indians, and familiarized to the view of whips, and stocks, and slave-drivers, and human degradation, and human misery, it is since that, and amidst such scenes as these, that he has learned, that Mr. Wilberforce is a man of disordered fancy, the enemy of the church and the clergy, the tool of designing men, who procured the abolition of the slave-trade, not by a long course of unwearied and honorable exertion, not by a manly appeal to the justice and humanity of the country, not by the aid of the most enlightened and upright men in the land, but by basely bartering his vote with Mr. Fox.

After this specimen of the Reverend Gentleman's ingenuousness and impartiality, we feel it unnecessary to enter into any minute examination of his statements. To a few of them, however, we shall advert, that our readers may have some idea of his mode of reasoning.

Mr. Wilberforce asserts in his appeal that there exists in the West Indies

"a natural tendency towards the maximum of labour and the minimum of food and other comforts." (P. 8.)

The remarks of Mr. Bridges on this are deserving of notice. After describing the labour of the negro, as a mere trifle, when compared with that, which an English day-laborer has to perform, entirely forgetting however the negro's night-work, and after telling us, that he has even a cook provided for him to dress his abundant food, which he considers as palatable as what the Sunday oven affords to the laborer, he represents this same negro, as returning home at night, secure of finding his wife and children (who no doubt have been amusing themselves all day, as there is not a word about their having been at work) round a good fire (an ingredient, by the way, in West India comfort which had not before occurred to us) happy and contented as himself. In this comfortable house the negro passes the night, secure of the same provision for the morrow. Now under such happy circumstances we might hope that he would enjoy a good night's sleep. But, no; perfect enjoyment, alas! is not the lot of any mortal. This negro, Mr. Bridges intimates, cannot enjoy such sweet slumbers as the English laborer, because he wants that which sweetens the laborer's slum-

bers. Our readers might puzzle themselves for a long time before they would be able to find out what it is which the negro wants. He has his wife and children, his cook to dress his food, his warm home, and moreover his good fire : what then, in the name of wonder, can he want? He wants

FATIGUE. It is

"fatigue, which renders sweet the slumbers of the English laborer:" (P. 12.)

and the want of that fatigue may prevent the negro from having the same. Still Mr. Bridges comforts us with the assurance, that

"his enjoyment is as perfect as his nature is capable of." (P. 12.)

In reply to Mr. Wilberforce's arguments in favour of the admission of the slave's evidence in Courts of Justice, Mr. Bridges says,

"Be assured that you are joined heart and hand by the great body of colonists!" (P. 19.)

Nevertheless, how does he treat the proposal? The bare idea of a slave being permitted to be a witness seems to have set him beside himself. "Prematurely admit their evidence, and the consequence" (says he) "will be"—what? That some of them may be ready to perjure themselves? Yes. But this is not all.

"We should," says Mr. Bridges, "sign our own death-warrants, in the first assizes, which followed." (P. 21.)

The slaves (he appears to think) would go in a body to the next assizes, which should be held, after they were permitted to give evidence, and swear away the lives of their masters; after which no doubt the masters, as becomes persons who have a due respect for the law, would quietly proceed and execute the sentence upon each other.

"Recollect," says this terrified and half-distracted gentleman, "they are numerically ten to one against the whites; and that, in their present state, they are only held in subjection, and prevented from immolating their masters by this *slight retention*." (P. 20.)

Hitherto it has been supposed that the security of the Colonies depended partly on the troops, together with the number and power of the whites, and partly on the want of arms, discipline, and concert of the blacks. But this, it seems, is all a mistake. Their security has depended on the circumstance of the slaves not being permitted to give evidence. Allow them once to open their mouth in a court of justice, and the first oath they take will

"give impetus to a fearful power, which must inevitably crush every white inhabitant of the British West Indies." (P. 20.)

But our readers will probably think with us, that they have

listened quite long enough to this "Voice from Jamaica." We shall, therefore, dismiss Mr. Bridges, after recording only one other grave accusation, which he has brought against Mr. Wilberforce.

"In page 17 of your Appeal," he says, "you confidently make an assertion, which it happily falls peculiarly within my province to reply to, upon the authority of that character beneath which I claim credit for my affirmations. You state, that no attempts have been made to introduce among the negro slaves the Christian institution of marriage. Now, Sir, this I positively contradict, by stating that I have myself married one hundred and eighty-seven couples of negro slaves, in my own parish, within the last two years, all of whom were encouraged by their owners" (differing of course in judgment from the Rev. Mr. Nash,) "to marry; and that the anxious wish, at present expressed by them to bind themselves by this sacred institution, we hail as one of the first fruits of the dispensation of Christian principles. In another parish, St. Thomas in the East, I have reason to know, that there have been three times that number married during the incumbency of the present rector, Mr. Trew: and, though not speaking from numerical information, I can safely affirm, that the labours of the clergy, in the remaining nineteen parishes, have been equally active, and doubtless crowned with the same success. I therefore trust, Sir, that your candour will induce you to acknowledge the untruth of what your want of charity towards the labours of our established clergy has led you blindly to assert." (Pp. 22, 23.)

We beg particular attention to this very plausible and imposing statement. Mr. Bridges declares, that he has married, within the last *two years*, one hundred and eighty-seven couples, in his parish of Manchester. Let it be noted, that Mr. Bridges must have written this in the month of April or May, 1823; and of course, the two years he speaks of must be those of 1821 and 1822. Now, it appears from the official returns of marriages, laid last session on the table of the House of Commons, that up to the year 1820, not a single marriage was celebrated in the said parish of Manchester; and further, that in 1821, the first of the two years referred to by Mr. Bridges, three took place, and in 1822, the other of the two years referred to by him, none took place. Therefore the remaining 184 marriages must have been celebrated by Mr. Bridges between January, 1823, and the following April or May, when he wrote his pamphlet: that is, they must have been celebrated, after Mr. Wilberforce's Appeal had reached Jamaica. We ask, then, what other conclusion can be drawn, than that they were got up to serve a purpose? The marriages were celebrated, that the story of them might be told, and thus a practical refutation furnished of Mr. Wilberforce's statement. But, being true friends of the Church and its clergy, we wish, that, since this story was to be told, and

told in such a manner, some other person, not a clergyman, had been employed to tell it.

On this subject of marriages in the Colonies, we subjoin some of the returns laid before Parliament, which tend to show the number of marriages for the last fourteen years in the parishes mentioned: and it is to be recollected, that the average slave-population in these parishes is sixteen thousand: in St. John's parish, one marriage; St. Thomas in the Vale, none; Vene, one; Clarendon, two; St. Anne's, none; St. Elizabeth's, none; St. James's, two; Hanover, none; Falmouth, one; Port Royal, two; Portland, twenty-seven; St. Mary, thirty-six; St. George's, forty-seven. From the parishes of St. Catherine and Westmorland, no returns have been made. In the parish of St. Dorothy, where Mr. Bridges had been rector, before he went to Manchester parish, there has not been a single marriage.

There is yet one other point connected with this important subject, to which we must advert in conclusion.

The recent disturbances in Demerara have been triumphantly pointed to by the advocates of the West Indian system, as the accomplishment of their predictions concerning the pernicious consequences likely to arise from the discussions in Parliament on the subject of slavery. Touch this subject, said they, and blood will be shed. Accordingly blood has been shed; and they trace it to this cause. But it is obvious to remark, that, if the objection be good for any thing, it lies against all discussion concerning the state and treatment of the slaves, at all times. It was urged incessantly during the debates on the abolition of the slave-trade; and, if it had been then attended to, that execrable traffic would, to this hour, have disgraced the British nation. It was advanced also during the discussions on the Registry Acts, and ever will, when any measure is proposed, connected with the colonies, to which the planters shall be hostile. How different is the impression on the mind of the governor of Demerara, appears from the proclamation, which he issued as soon as the disturbances had broken out. So far from imagining, that any rumour of an intended improvement in their condition, originating in this country, had inflamed the slaves, and that therefore it might be necessary to suppress such rumours, or in some way to counteract the effect of them, he set forth in his proclamation, issued for the very purpose of bringing them back to their duty, an assurance, that it was intended by the government of this country to mitigate the rigours of their slavery. This fact speaks strongly; especially, when we take into account, that the governor is himself a

planter, and therefore deeply interested in the tranquillity of the colony, as well on the ground of his property, which is at stake, as from an honorable anxiety to discharge in the most effective manner the duties of his office. But is it, because this is the first instance of disturbances in the colony, that the recent debates in Parliament have been considered as the cause, in which they have originated? So far from it, a spirit of insubordination has shewn itself there at times, when it was impossible to trace it to any excitement from without. Nor can any extrinsic excitement be deemed necessary to account for discontent and tumult among the slaves in Demerara. The causes are to be found in the peculiar severity of the system in operation there, and in the nature and component parts of its slave-population. The slave-population there consists, not of negroes born on the spot, but, for the most part, of imported Africans, and of slaves transported from our other colonies. Of these latter, thousands within the last few years have been torn from the places, where they had formed family-connections, and where their servitude was comparatively lighter, particularly from the Bahama Islands, and consigned to the worst species of colonial slavery amidst the woods and swamps of this pestilential climate. Is there not in these circumstances more than sufficient to account for the recent disturbances, without attributing them to the discussions in Parliament, of which (it is highly probable) the slaves never heard, till informed of their result by the governor's proclamation?

The planters deceive themselves, if they suppose that such misrepresentations will divert the House of Commons from redeeming that pledge, which it gave in the last session, by the unanimous adoption of Mr. Canning's resolution. It will be highly proper indeed, to investigate carefully the nature and causes of an insurrection, in which the insurgents, while they have not shed a single drop of blood, nor burned even a single shed, nor, as far as we have learned, even offered resistance to the force, which opposed them, have been not only slaughtered in the field, but to the amount of nearly one thousand, as has been reported, put to death by the executioner. We see in these occurrences fresh ground for parliamentary interference, and another powerful reason for the immediate adoption of meliorating measures.

ART. XXIII.—NORTH AMERICAN EPISCOPACY.

1. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in a General Convention, held in St. Peter's Church, in the City of Philadelphia, from the 20th to the 25th day of May inclusive.* A. D. 1823. New York. 1823. Pp. 115.
2. *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.* By William White, D. D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia. 1820. Pp. 474.
3. *Journals of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Ohio, from 1818 to 1822.* Columbus, Delaware, Worthington. In all pp. 186.
4. *A Sermon preached before the Auxiliary Education Society of the Young Men of Boston, Jan. 1822.* By Samuel Farmar Jarvis, D. D. Rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston. 1822. Pp. 24.
5. *Thoughts on the Anglican and Anglo-American Churches.* By John Bristed, Counsellor at Law. New York, printed. London, reprinted, 1823. Pp. 500.
6. *A Letter from Bishop Chase, on the subject of his going to England, for the relief of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Ohio; addressed to the Right Rev. Bishop White.* New York. 1823.
7. *Address to the Episcopal Churches in the Atlantic States, on the subject of extending the Church into the new and rising States in the West.* By the Rev. Amos Baldwin, late Agent of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In the Philadelphia Recorder, Oct. 4, 1823.

THE state of religion in the American Union is a subject of the deepest interest and importance to the Christian, as well as to the politician. The greatest legislators in all former ages have acknowledged the necessity of religion, for the establishment and well-being of civil society: the only instance, in which it has been attempted to found a government upon atheism occurs in the history of France; and the bitter effects of that mad and impious attempt are yet fresh in our recollections. On the establishment of the United States of America, as an independent power, the enemies of religion and of religious establishments were loud in their anticipations of the triumph of liberal opinions, as they were pleased to term them. Forty-one years have elapsed since

that event; and the results, as far as we have been able to collect them, are not the most favorable to the diffusion of pure and undefiled religion. Originally, the confederation consisted of thirteen members; but by the formation of new states, the number is now increased to twenty-four; which, with the territories of Michigan and Arkansas and the district of Columbia, comprise, according to the census of 1820, now before us, a population of 9,625,734 persons, (of whom 1,531,436 are slaves) and extend over an immense territory, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Lakes to the Gulph of Mexico. This territory is rapidly becoming the abode of civilized man; the tide of emigration is passing along with the rapidity and force, and so far as the native tribes are concerned, (we fear it may be added also,) with something of the desolating influence of a mountain torrent. The necessities of life being easily attainable, there is nothing to check the growth of population: and the settlers of these new regions are already beginning to talk of *Old* and *New* America, just as their forefathers spoke of *Old* and *New* England. But, what is the condition of these new colonists? The Rev. Dr. Jarvis computes, that on the general estimate of one pastor to a thousand souls, there are not enough, at present, to supply three millions of the population of the American Union: consequently there are upwards of six millions of souls, (not seven, as he states) who are either wholly or partially deprived of the means of religion. This gentleman evidently means clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church: but Mr. Bristed, himself an episcopalian, states the number of ministers of religion of all denominations, in round figures, as follows:

Anglo-American or Protestant Episcopal Church	300*
Presbyterian - - - -	1,300
Congregational or Independent - -	1,600
Baptists, chiefly Particular, some General	3,000
Methodists—Travelling Preachers - -	1,000
Local Preachers - -	4,000
All other denominations, including Roman-Catholics	600

Total, in 1822 11,800:†

which gives more than one clergyman to every thousand souls. But these ministers of religion are by no means ade-

* This number is under-rated: the *present* number of Episcopal Clergymen is 354, besides ten Bishops.

† Thoughts on the Anglo-American Churches, p. 284.

quately or equally distributed. The Methodists and Baptists are found in all parts of the United States; the Congregationalists or Independents are chiefly confined to what are called the New England States. The Presbyterians are scattered over the middle and southern states; the Society of Friends, who have upwards of three hundred congregations, are most numerous in Pennsylvania and the adjoining states; and the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in New York, Connecticut, Maryland, and Virginia. In the middle states; German Lutherans, German Calvinists, and Moravians are numerous; and the Roman Catholics are the leading denomination in Maryland.

The existence of this diversity of communions is accounted for by the circumstances, which led to the formation of the different colonies in North America. While some parts were peopled by colonists, who emigrated to the new world on account of their religion, others were settled by persons, who went thither from widely different motives, being either impelled by discontent at home, or allured by the thirst of gain. At the commencement therefore of the political existence of the colonies, they were composed of the most discordant materials, as it regards religion: and, when the independence of the United States was recognised, it became necessary to prevent the public councils from being influenced by the preponderance of any one denomination. On this account the constitution of the Federal government only tolerates, but does not support, Christianity; *every* denomination of professing Christians being equally under the protection of the law. In a few states, however, certain modes of belief are required as qualifications for office. Thus, in Massachusetts and Maryland, a declaration of belief in the Christian religion is demanded: in Pennsylvania, Mississippi, and Tennessee, a declaration of belief in the existence of God, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, is sufficient. In North Carolina, no person, who denies the truth of the Protestant religion or the divine authority of the Scriptures, is capable of holding any office; in Massachusetts, the Governor must be of the Christian religion, but in the other states no religious test is required.

No minister of the gospel is eligible to be a legislator in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee: in South Carolina, they are ineligible to be either governors or legislators; in Missouri the only civil office they can hold is that of a justice of the peace: while in New York, Delaware, and Louisiana, ministers of religion are not eligible to any civil office whatever. New Hampshire is said to be the only state, in

which the constitution makes any provision for religious establishments. Its legislature is empowered to authorize the several towns, parishes, &c. therein, to make adequate provision at their own expence for the support and maintenance of *Protestant* ministers of the gospel.

Such is the general external state of religion in the American Union: its actual effects on Society in *Old America*, and its future probable influence on *New America* present a theme for the deepest reflection. The Rev. Dr. Jarvis, adverting to that part of the federal constitution, which only tolerates, but does not support Christianity, introduces the following remarks, which we earnestly recommend to the lovers of innovation in this country.

“ This single measure has altered the whole aspect of affairs. The constitution of the general government immediately became a model for the constitutions of the several States. Thus a force was created, which sapped the foundations of all establishments: and though the religious institutions of Massachusetts and Connecticut have been seated deep in the habits and affections of the people, yet the constantly accumulating power of this formidable lever has at length heaved them from their base. It is now left to men, as individuals, to associate for the purpose of public worship, as they would associate for any object merely of private and worldly interest. In our cities and other large places this may be done. Enough may be found already united in sentiment, to unite in the formation of a Christian congregation. But, when you look beyond them, and contemplate the small villages and hamlets, the population of which is thinly scattered over an area of many miles, you behold the same divisions rending society into shreds and patches, various in texture, and form, and colouring. The few of each religious denomination cannot agree to worship together, and are unable, from the smallness of their number, to support separate places of worship. The consequence is, that they are left destitute of the means of religion. The sanctity of the Lord’s day is either violated by an attention to worldly concerns, or is observed in a manner worse than the violation, by being made the occasion of idleness and vice. In this part of our country,* religion was supported by law, until it became the habit of the Community; and therefore it still continues to act with the force of an establishment, as a wheel continues to turn, after the force, applied to it, is stopped. Yet even here we are beginning to feel the evils, arising from division, and to feel them severely. Your parishes are crumbling into ruins. Party is arranged against party. To settle a minister becomes impracticable; or, if two or more are settled, the scanty pittance, given to them for their support, obliges them to escape from the horrors of poverty by removal.

“ If it be so here, what must it be in our newly settled territories, where

* The State of Massachusetts.

religion has no nursing fathers or nursing mothers? One clergyman, it is said, is necessary for a thousand souls. Be it so; but when it is remembered that this thousand may be composed of five or six different denominations, it will be seen at once how the divisions of the Christian community, by increasing its wants, increase the difficulty of supplying them. Can it be a matter of surprise, that, in the midst of all that life and energy which are exhibited in our new settlements, the goodly plant of Christianity should have taken no root, and is withering and dying for want of nourishment? The sound of the axe may ring through the forest; the plough may pierce the sod, which had been before undisturbed for centuries, excepting by the hunter's tread; the streams may be pent up in their narrow bed, and powers not their own given them, to turn the mill-wheel, and afford nourishment and protection to man; villages, and towns, and cities, may spring up and flourish: but, while the smoke is seen to curl from many a domestic hearth, where, alas, are the altars?—where is the village spire, pointing to heaven, and telling to the distant traveller, that he is approaching the abode of Christian, as well as of civilized man? My brethren, the divisions, the hapless divisions, of this little community weaken their strength, and deprive them of all the means of grace. Their children remain unbaptized and uninstructed. The incense of prayer never ascends from the altar of their hearts. The walls of the sanctuary never reverberate with their praises. The memorial of their Redeemer's love never touches their lips. The oblation of charity is never offered by their hand. In the first generation, religion wears itself away by a gradual decline; in the second, it can hardly be said to have existed. As our population increases, therefore, the prospect is shrouded by a more portentous gloom: and there is great danger, that, with all the exertions, which the pious and benevolent can make, we shall become a nation of heathens, and not of Christians." (Jarvis's Sermon, pp. 9---11.)

This, the reverend preacher proceeds to state, is no exaggerated description, for the purpose of making an impression upon the minds of his hearers: he asserts, what we have every reason to believe to be the fact, that it falls far short of the dreadful reality; and it would be no difficult task to corroborate his statements by the opinions of other transatlantic writers. Having, however, given some of their observations on this subject in a former volume of our Journal,* we shall subjoin only one additional testimony, which is the more worthy of attention, as it is given by a recent British traveller (Mr. Welby,) who visited America, particularly its interior, full of prepossessions in favour of that country and of all its institutions, civil and political. Having described the plea-

* British Review for August 1819, Vol. XIX. Pp. 83—87.

sure, with which he had seen Christians of different denominations repairing to their respective places of worship, this writer thus expresses himself: "Whether such a state of religion will long continue, or whether, professing the same end, they may at length unite in the same means, time only will demonstrate. There are, indeed, people who seem to be of opinion, that it will end in no religion at all; and I must confess thus much, that though theoretically it is certainly pleasing to contemplate religion, free from state-trammels, and each man, walking before his God, as his unbiassed conscience shall dictate, yet, as religion ought to influence men's conduct in the world, and as "a tree is known by its fruit," it would be satisfactory to perceive, as the result of such religious liberty, more probity in the every-day dealing between man and man than I have witnessed in the United States. While they talk of the moral and religious principle, of true liberty, honesty, &c. their actions belie their words, and make them appear a nation of unprincipled atheists."

In corroboration of these very severe remarks the traveller proceeds to relate an instance of baseness and ingratitude, one, (he says) among the many, which he witnessed, but which (we sincerely trust) is a singular one; and then asks with becoming indignation,—“Can either a religious or moral principle prevail, where such things are commonly perpetrated? Can the laws be good? can the government be efficient? can a country last, where such things pass as clever strokes of practice, and the most successful swindler is praised as the smartest fellow?” (Welby's *Visit to North America*, Pp. 178, 179.)

If this traveller's statements be correct, (and we certainly have not the means of proving the contrary,) we hesitate not to reply in the negative: nor can it excite surprise, that such should be the state of morals in some parts of the American Union, when it is considered, how scanty are the public means of education in almost every state; and that these scanty means would have been much less, had there been no publicly recognised means at all, and were not vigorous efforts making by the missionary societies of different denominations of Christians, for diffusing the blessings of Christianity among the inhabitants of the newly settled countries.

In this pious undertaking the “Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America” is now zealously laboring; and, as the actual condition of this branch of the Universal Church is comparatively but little known in this country,

we shall devote the remainder of the present article to a sketch of its history and present state, collected from the various documents in our possession.

Before the revolution, which separated the United States of America from the mother-country, a number of churches had been planted there by the missionaries of the venerable Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts : these were withdrawn, when the dependence of the States on the parent-country ceased ; and the church in America was reduced to a languishing and precarious state of existence. But the attachment of its members was too deeply rooted to suffer them to witness its decay without an effort to arrest it ; and their first care was directed to the provision of a valid ministry. In this important undertaking the clergy of the State of Connecticut took the lead ; and, having chosen the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, who had been one of the above-mentioned society's missionaries, they sent him to England, to solicit consecration at the hands of the English bishops. But, as no civil provision had then been made for the consecration of prelates out of the British dominions, and as the necessities of the American church were pressing, he was induced to apply to the bishops of the Scottish church, where (it was understood) no obstructions of a civil nature existed, and was consecrated to the episcopal office on the 14th of November, 1784, by the Right Rev. Dr. Kilgour, then Primus, or senior bishop of that church, assisted by bishops Petrie and Skinner. Three years afterwards, when the obstructions in England had been removed by an Act of Parliament, which enabled the archbishops of Canterbury and York, under his Majesty's sign manual, to consecrate bishops, the subjects of a foreign country, without requiring from them the usual oaths and subscriptions, the Rev. Dr. W. White, of Pennsylvania, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Provoost, of New York, both of whom had been ordained in England, were consecrated at Lambeth, on the 4th of February 1787, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Archbishop of York, and by the Bishops of Peterborough, and of Bath and Wells ; and in 1790, the Rev. Dr. Madison, of Virginia, was also consecrated by the same authority. Bishop White is now the only survivor of those, who received their consecration in England ; and the remaining *nine* American Bishops have all been consecrated by him.

The following is an outline of the constitution and discipline of this branch of the 'Catholic church.' The whole church is governed by the *General Convention*, which sits once in three years, but which may be specially

convened in the interval, should circumstances render it necessary. This convention is divided into two houses, an upper house, consisting of the bishops, and a lower house, composed of clerical and lay deputies from each diocese. The bishops have the right to originate and to propose acts for the concurrence of the house of deputies, and also have a negative on any acts proposed to them by the latter. All acts of the Convention are to be authenticated by both houses: In every case the house of bishops is to signify to the Convention their approbation or disapprobation (the latter with their reasons in writing,) within three days after any proposed act shall have been reported to them for their concurrence. The election of the house of deputies is thus regulated: The church in each state is entitled to a representation of both clergy and laity, consisting of one or more deputies, but not exceeding four of each order, who are chosen by the convention of the State. If, however, the Convention of any State neglect or decline to appoint either clerical or lay deputies, or if any of these do not attend, from whatever cause; such State is nevertheless considered as being duly represented by the deputies present, and is bound by the Acts of the General Convention.

The *State-conventions*, just mentioned, are annually or biennially held in each diocese, and consist of the clergy, and of lay-delegates, from every separate congregation. These bodies legislate for their respective dioceses, but their local canons must not contradict the constitution of the General Church. Every state in the American Union may become a diocese, whenever the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in such state are sufficiently numerous. There is a standing committee in each diocese or state. The Bishops are to be chosen agreeably to the rules fixed by the convention of such state; and every Bishop is required to confine the exercise of his Episcopal office to his own diocese or district; unless he be requested to ordain, confirm, or perform any other episcopal function, by any church destitute of a Bishop. In every state the mode of trying clergymen is to be instituted by the convention of the church therein: and at the trial of every Bishop, one or more of the Episcopal order must be present; and none but a Bishop can pronounce sentence of deposition or degradation from the ministry on any clergyman, whether Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon.

The regulations concerning the qualifications and testimonials of candidates for holy orders are very strict. Previously to ordination, the candidate must subscribe a declaration that he believes "the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testa-

ment to be the word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation ;” and he solemnly engages “ to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States.” And no person, ordained by a foreign Bishop, is admissible to officiate, as a minister of this church, until he has subscribed this declaration, and complied with the canon or canons, in that case made and provided.

In the several States or dioceses, each separate church is governed by its rectors, churchwardens, and vestrymen ; and the parochial clergy are elected according to the charters of the congregations. In some churches the minister is chosen by the vestry, consisting of persons annually elected by the pew-holders : in others, they are chosen by ballot, the whole congregation voting. The bishops have no direct patronage ; the clergy are settled by the choice or call of the people, to whom they minister ; their stipend is fixed by the compact between the pastor and the congregation, the fulfilment of which, on both parties, is enforced by the common law ; whence all undue dependence of the clergy upon the people is effectually prevented. No revenues are specially appropriated to the Bishops, who are generally parish-priests ; but, in several dioceses, the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church are laudably endeavoring to raise a “ *Bishop's Fund*,” in order to disengage the diocesan from parochial duty, and leave him at leisure to perform the services, which are deemed more peculiarly Episcopal.

The Liturgy of this church is almost identically the same with that of the united church of England and Ireland ; such alterations only having been made, as circumstances rendered necessary. The American Episcopal Church believes in the same Articles of the Christian Faith, and acknowledges the same Book of Homilies to contain sound expositions of Christian Doctrine and Practice. The singing-psalms, used in divine worship (which, however, form no integral part of the Liturgy, though commonly bound up with it) are those of Tate and Brady, together with a selection of fifty-seven hymns. As many of these are confessedly in bad taste, and the whole requires revision, the General Convention, held in last May, appointed a joint Committee, consisting of three Bishops, seven presbyters, and seven laymen, to consider and report to the next General Convention, (which will be held in 1826,) whether any and what alterations or additions are necessary to be made to the singing-psalms and hymns. This committee (we learn from a transatlantic correspondent) commenced its labours at Philadelphia, last Octo-

ber ; and, as its members are men of distinguished character and talents, we may anticipate the happiest results from their labours. Another very important measure, adopted by the last convention, was the passing of a canon, prescribing the mode of publishing authorized editions of the standard Bible of this church : by which it is directed that

“The Bishop, in any state or diocese, or, where there is no bishop, the standing committee, is authorized to appoint from time to time some suitable person or persons, to compare and correct all new editions of the Bible, by the standard edition, agreed upon by the general convention ; and a certificate of their having been so compared and corrected, shall be published with the said Book.” (Journal. P. 67.)

To the credit of the British Press, we record with much pleasure, that the ‘Standard Bible’ here mentioned, is the equally beautiful and correct edition, published in 1813, by his majesty’s printers, Messers. Eyre and Strahan.*

From the official “List of the Clergy,” annexed to the Journal of the General Convention, it appears, that there are ten bishops and three hundred and fifty-four clergymen, who have the care of about six hundred congregations, including from 250,000 to 300,000 souls ; a small number indeed, compared with the great mass of the population, but annually and steadily increasing. The report of the actual state of this church, laid before that convention, is truly encouraging. But, as we have not room to extract it entire, we shall only notice the more prominent and interesting parts of it, introducing such additional particulars as the several diocesan journals and other documents in our possession may enable us to offer.

In *Vermont* there has been a gradual and steady advancement of the church ; which, by a late decision of the supreme court of the United States, will shortly come into possession of landed property to a large amount, and will thus command a permanent revenue for the support of the clergy. As it is understood, that a part of this revenue will be devoted to the support of a bishop, it is probable, that, in no long time, this state, which at present forms part of the eastern diocese, will be erected into a distinct see. For this munificent addition of property, the American church is indebted to the venerable Society in this country for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to whom these lands belonged before the revolutionary war.

* An account of the singular pains bestowed, in order to secure accuracy to this edition, as well as that of 1806, may be seen in Horne’s Introduction to the Critical study of the Scriptures, vol. II. p. 251. note. (Fourth Edition.)

In *Massachusetts* the church may be represented, as flourishing, when we consider the difficulties and trials it had to encounter. Notwithstanding the political and religious prejudices, which operated here with peculiar hostility, there were seventeen churches founded in *Massachusetts Proper*, between the years 1679 and 1774. During the American Revolution, two clergymen only continued their public ministrations : yet of the seventeen churches, thus founded, fifteen have been preserved to this day, 'through evil report and good report.' Since that event, eight new congregations have been organized, and seven of these within the last ten years. It is remarkable, that the recently formed churches in this state are, generally speaking, more vigorous than those which existed previously to the revolution. This fact is accounted for, in the official report, from the absence of those political prejudices, which were then excited by the supposed inseparable connexion of episcopacy with monarchy. To this statement we shall take the liberty of adding, that the pious and exemplary conduct of its learned and laborious clergy has, with the divine blessing, greatly contributed to the prosperity of the church in the state of *Massachusetts*; and also, that many well informed and exemplary individuals, weary of the tyranny of independency, have been induced diligently to investigate the records and early history of the Christian church, the result of whose inquiries has led them deliberately to join the communion of the Protestant episcopal church.

In the diocese of *Connecticut*, the state of the church, (notwithstanding some local disadvantages) is upon the whole truly encouraging. In some instances the increase of communicants has been altogether unprecedented; and in every parish where the ministrations of the word and ordinances are regularly enjoyed, the congregations are advancing in numbers, respectability, and zeal. After struggling against popular prejudices for between twelve and fifteen years, the members of the church in this State obtained, in 1823, from its legislature, a charter for an episcopal college. On the subject of this college, we understand an application is making in this country for contributions in aid of a library and philosophical apparatus. The bishop of this diocese, the Right Rev. T. C. Brownell, D.D. LL.D. is at this time publishing an edition of the *American Liturgy*, entitled, the "Family Prayer-Book;" respecting which we have much pleasure in communicating the following information from an ably conducted *Journal*, published at Boston, *Massachusetts*, under the name of the "*Gospel Advocate*," for August last. "The history,

which this work gives, of the origin of the customs and observances of our church, and the explanation of their design; the elucidation of the arguments by which its doctrines are supported, and, above all, the spirit of piety, which runs through it, the constant exhibition of the truths of the Gospel, and the illustration of the tendency of the several parts of our liturgy to promote a devout spirit and a holy life, render it exceedingly valuable to all, who would maintain our excellent 'form of doctrine,' and would make it the means of promoting the 'power of godliness' in their own hearts."

The State of *New York* having become a royal government and vested in the king, on the accession of James II. to the British throne, this arrangement seems to have been favorable to the Episcopal Church: for the clergy of this diocese constitute one fourth of the total number in the American Episcopal Church. Within the last three years fifteen deacons and twenty-four presbyters have been ordained, and there are at present twenty-four candidates for holy orders. Twenty missionaries are employed in it, and seven new congregations have been duly organized and received into union with its convention. The different societies of the church in this diocese are in full activity; and a charity-school, originally established long before the revolution, has lately been enlarged and organized according to the admirable system of Dr. Bell; by which daily instruction is now extended to two hundred and fifty poor children. Over this diocese the Right Rev. John Henry Hobart, D.D. presides; and when, in addition to the diversified and laborious duties of an American episcopate, (which under even the most favorable circumstances is by no means a sinecure office,) our readers learn that this active and zealous prelate has for many years had the care of a large and populous parish, including one church and two spacious chapels, to which is to be added the responsible office of Professor of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence, in the 'General Theological Seminary,' noticed in a subsequent page, they will not be astonished, that such labours, unremittingly prosecuted for many years, should have compelled him to visit Europe for his health; and that on his departure from New York, he was most honorably accompanied to the ship's boat, by all the episcopal clergy who were not unavoidably prevented from paying this mark of affectionate homage to their bishop, as well as by a large number of the most distinguished of his fellow-citizens. While we thus notice the extremely flourishing state of the church in the diocese of New York, it is with no small gratification that we are able to add, in the words of the official report,

“There is reason to hope, that, in the much more essential point of spiritual prosperity, the divine blessing continues to rest upon it; and that, in the enjoyment of this, *very satisfactory evidence is afforded of the very natural tendency of the institutions of our church*, and of conscientious adherence to her primitive and evangelical order, to promote the interests of true Gospel piety, and, with them, the glory of the Saviour, and the spiritual and eternal good of his people.” (Journal, p. 29.)

Passing the generally flourishing churches in the several States of Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania,* Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia, we cannot forbear to mention in terms of congratulation the addition to the episcopal body, made during the last year, by the consecration of a bishop for the state or diocese of *North Carolina*, in the person of the Right Rev. John Stark Ravenscroft, D.D. from the state of Virginia, who was unanimously elected by the clergy of North Carolina. The prospects of the Church in this state had for a long time been very discouraging: the congregations are now twenty-five in number, seventeen of which have been added within the last three years: they are under the care of *eight* clergymen only! But the most pleasing part of the report is the fact, that

“It is evident to those, who have observed the condition of the church in this state, that a greater zeal for the Gospel, and a higher standard of moral principles and conduct have been produced among its adherents. A greater knowledge has been acquired of the distinguishing principles of our church, and an increasing attention has been paid to its forms and ceremonies.” (Journal, p. 39.)

Among the various interesting particulars communicated from *South Carolina*, we must notice the efforts now making to erect a free church at Charleston, the metropolis and chief port of that state, for the poor members of the church, who are not at present connected with any congregations; which church will also afford additional accommodation to the people of colour. In this respect, a noble example has already been set in the city of New York, in the building of St. Philip's church, the minister of which, the Rev. Peter Williams, now in deacon's orders, is a colored man, and his congregation is composed of colored people. It appears, that in the state of South Carolina a large number of this class, both bond and free, have a decided preference for the worship of the episcopal church. This state has the largest slave-population, except Virginia, in the American Union. According to the census of 1820, the white population amounted to 231,812 per-

* Over this diocese presides the Right Rev. William White, D.D. the senior bishop and father of the American church, now in the ninetieth year of his age.

sons, while the number of slaves was 251,783, and that of free colored persons was 6,714. In communicating Christian instruction to the people of colour, although many and peculiar difficulties are unavoidable, the attempts of faithful laborers have been blessed with success. On this subject we cannot withhold the following admirable passage from the official report, which will (we are assured) be read with the highest satisfaction by every one, who feels any interest in the welfare of those, whose lot it is to pass their lives in perpetual slavery.

“It should be recorded, as an encouragement to perseverance, and in gratitude to the Giver of Grace, that the salutary influence of Christian motives is evidenced in the lives of many of them, in their fidelity to their masters, in their kindness to each other, in their recognition of the claims of government, in contentment, meekness, and devotedness to the one thing needful. The calls to attention in the forms of our public worship, the power of its music, the invariable use of the same prayers, the simplicity of language, which adorns our liturgy, the plan of reading the scriptures in order, whereby ‘the whole counsel of God’ is declared in his own words, the concise summary of faith in the creed, and of obedience in the commandments, repeated Sunday after Sunday, the practice of reciting after the minister, whereby prayers for private use are learned, and all the fundamental truths acquired; these and other circumstances prove, that the system of our church is eminently adapted to promote the spiritual welfare of the illiterate, and those who have dull minds.

“To this subject the Bishop” (the Right Rev. Nathaniel Bowen, D. D.) “has constantly, in private, and in his annual addresses, invited the attention of the clergy. He speaks of this class of our fellow-beings, ‘as a portion of that moral creation, for which Christ died, and for whose spiritual and moral happiness, and the alleviation of their temporal lot, as inseparable from that, we are sacredly bound to be concerned.’” (Journal, pp. 41, 42.)

The preceding facts and statements will give our readers a tolerably accurate view of the present state of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the American Union. Her future prospects are flattering; and the labours of her exemplary clergy are unremitting. In most of the dioceses, (we believe we might say in all) the clergy are *ex officio* missionaries, in addition to their stated pastoral duties. Sunday Schools are attached, we believe, to almost every church. Most, if not all, of the dioceses have likewise their separate missionary societies, as well as societies for the promotion of Christian knowledge by distributing bibles, prayer-books, homilies, tracts, &c. Besides these there has been organized “A Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society” of the whole church, which is in correspondence with the Societies in

London for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, and for promoting Christian knowledge; and also with the Church Missionary Society, which in 1821 granted £200 sterling in aid of its important objects.

But how are ministers to be trained for the supply of the existing churches, and for those distant congregations, which are kept together chiefly by the instrumentality of lay-readers, licensed by the bishops of the several dioceses? In looking over the journals of the different conventions, we have seen many affecting addresses of the bishops on this subject. From these, and from the Journals of the General Convention, we learn, that there is now established in the city of New York, a "General Theological Seminary" for the education of young men for the sacred office. This seminary was originally opened in that city, but for various weighty reasons was removed to Newhaven in Connecticut in 1820. While it was *located* here (our readers will pardon the Americanism), a munificent legacy of nearly 80,000 dollars was bequeathed by the late Jacob Sherred, Esq. of New York, to a seminary or college for the education of candidates for holy orders, on condition of its being established under the authority of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, *or* of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of New York. The expression of the testator being ambiguous, in order to settle this important difficulty, a special general convention was convened at Philadelphia, from Oct. 30 to Nov. 3, 1821: and from the journal of its proceedings we rejoice to perceive, that the discussions were carried on in a truly Christian spirit, all local attachments and interests being merged in the paramount object of the welfare of the whole church. In order, therefore, that the General Convention might be enabled to take the benefit of Mr. Sherred's bequest, it was resolved, that the Theological Seminary should be permanently established in the state of New York; and that its trustees should have power, from time to time, to establish one or more *branch-schools* in that state or elsewhere, under the superintendence or control of the trustees, who are fully empowered to regulate the seminary, professors, and students. The House of Bishops are *ex officio* trustees, and also, collectively and individually, visitors of the seminary. The other trustees are to be chosen pursuant to the regulations of the General Convention, which we have not room to extract. For the same reason we must omit the constitution of the "Theological Society of the General Theological Seminary," adopted on the 22d of December, 1822,

and sanctioned by the General Convention at its last meeting. We only remark, that, under the presidency of one of the professors, it is instituted "for the purpose of discussing questions, delivering theses or sermons, declamation, and exercises in reading, and for other objects, connected with literary and theological improvement; and particularly for such religious exercises as are calculated to excite and cherish evangelical affections and pious habits." To this design every lover of the church must cordially wish prosperity.

From the report, annexed to the journal of the last General Convention, it appears, that the progress of the students during the past year has been highly satisfactory, and that the seminary is under the tuition of six professors, *viz.* of Biblical Learning and the Interpretation of Scripture, of Systematic Theology, of the nature, ministry, polity, and history of the Christian Church, of Hebrew and Greek Literature, of the evidences of Revealed Religion, with the application of Moral Science to Theology, and lastly, of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence. The duties of this last professorship were discharged by the Right Rev. Bishop Hobart, until his health compelled him to visit Europe. He was attended by the students one day in every week; who, on these occasions, in rotation, performed the service of the church, as a devotional exercise; and two sermons, frequently more, were delivered by them, which, as well as the performance of the service, were the subjects of the professor's criticisms. The students also went through a short course of instruction on the qualifications and duties of the clerical office. We wish to call the attention of our readers to this topic, because something of the kind is felt to be wanting in our preparation of candidates for holy orders in England.

In justice to the members of the church in America, it must be added, that they have come forward with noble liberality in aid of the General Theological Seminary; and among the list of benefactors to this 'School of the Prophets,' whose names are recorded in the Journal of the General Convention, we saw, with pleasure, the following entry:

"The Rev. Henry Handley Norris, a Clergyman of the Church of England, has made a donation to the seminary of £100 sterling."—(Journal, p. 83.)

The number of Students at present in the Seminary, is *eighteen*; and there are *fourteen* or *fifteen* in the Branch School at Geneva, in the northern part of the State, where we understand it is expected that an Episcopal College will ulti-

mately be established. Yet, were these young men prepared to enter immediately on their sacred functions, they would furnish but a small supply for the growing demand for ministers to dispense the sacraments and ordinances of the Church, and to preach the words of eternal life. Hence in different dioceses we find, that local theological Seminaries are in contemplation; and we observe in the public journals, that the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, D.D. Bishop of Ohio, has arrived in this country, to solicit contributions in aid of a Seminary for that diocese.

It is however not without regret that we learn, that the object of this visit of the Right Reverend Prelate has been viewed with something like jealousy. It was indeed natural to suspect (and we also partook of the apprehension) on first hearing of the measure, that the pressing wants of the infant diocese of Ohio might have led the Bishop to overstep the boundaries within which his functions are limited by the general canons of the Episcopal Church. From an examination, however, of the canons of the American Episcopal Church, as well as of the constitution of the General Theological Seminary, it appears to us, that they neither in letter, nor in spirit prohibit such a measure: and we are the more confirmed in our persuasion by the two following facts, viz. 1. That on the removal of the Theological Seminary from New York to Newhaven in Connecticut, when it was wished to establish a separate Theological School at New York for that diocese, the Right Reverend Bishop Hobart explicitly asserted and ably advocated the right of every diocese to provide for the theological education of candidates for holy orders: * And 2. by the still more important fact, that the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church has officially disavowed any interference with the diocesan Semi-

* In a "Pastoral Letter" addressed in 1820 to the clergy and laity of the diocese of New York, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hobart, it is thus explicitly stated (p. 18)—"The right of every diocese to provide for the theological education of candidates for orders, subject only to the provision of the general canons of the church, cannot be questioned. The ecclesiastical authority of every diocese is responsible for the admission of persons as candidates for holy orders; who in their state of preparation are under the charge of that authority and amenable to it. It is impossible, for a moment, to doubt the right of any diocese to make any arrangements, which they may deem proper, in consistency with the general canons of the church, for the instruction and aid of candidates who are under its charge. *No act of the General Convention has contravened this right.*" To prevent all misapprehension on this subject, the Bishop declares that both the right and the probability of its being exercised were explicitly stated by the New York deputation in the house of clerical and lay deputies; and not only quotes the declaration of the house of Bishops cited in the text, as corroborating his opinion, but also states the fact, that the right had already been exercised in the diocese of Virginia. (Ibid, pp.19, 20.)

naries. In the Journal of the Convention of 1820 (p. 57.) we meet with the following declaration:—"The House of Bishops inform the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, that, in concurring to the resolutions relative to the Theological Seminary and its removal from the city of New York, they deem it proper to declare, that they *do not mean* by their concurrence to interfere with any plan now contemplated, or that *may hereafter be contemplated, in any diocese or dioceses, for the establishment of Theological Institutions or Professorships.*"

The object of Bishop Chase's visit to England being, therefore, in no respect a violation of the laws of his church or an infringement of the constitution of the Theological Seminary, the next question that presented itself to our minds was this,—Are the wants of *his* diocese so much more urgent than those of the other American dioceses, as to justify his application? With this view we perused his 'Letter to Bishop White,' with very minute attention, referring to the Journals of the diocese of Ohio for a verification of particulars. The result to our minds has been most painfully interesting; it has exhibited a picture of Christian disinterestedness, labours, and privations, on the part of the Bishop and his Clergy, that reminds us of ages long since gone by; and we hasten to lay before our readers a *few* of the most striking particulars.

In his "Letter on the subject of his going to England for the relief of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Ohio, addressed to the Right Reverend Bishop White," Bishop Chase gives the following sketch of the formation of the Diocese of Ohio, and the establishment of the Bishopric.

"On the third day of March, 1817, I left my beloved parish of Christ Church, Hartford, State of Connecticut; and, in so doing, bade adieu to many of the comforts, and nearly all the refinements, of well-regulated Christian society. With what sentiments and feelings I did this, may be witnessed by the tears which I shed at parting, and which scarcely ceased to moisten my cheek for many a day, as the rapid vehicle conveyed me fast to the western wilderness.

"My motives in going were those expressed in my Ordination Vows, 'to seek for Christ's sheep, that were dispersed abroad, and for his children, who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they might be saved, through Christ, for ever.' As Abraham, I *went out from my kindred and friends, not knowing whither I went*. But, thé Lord, I trust, being my guide and helper, I commenced my labours in the State of Ohio; concluding, if they were successful, there to continue; if not, to go further among our new settlements, perhaps to Indiana or Illinois. Time, however, soon convinced me, that the field of usefulness was that of the State into which I had first entered. Assisted by the exertions of a fellow-laborer, the Rev. Mr. Searle, the

State was, during the spring and summer, for the most part traversed : parishes were formed, and little societies of Christian worshippers were gathered in many places. Delegates from these attended a Convention, previously appointed, in Columbus, in the following winter, where the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States was adopted, a Diocesan Constitution was formed, and all things regulated according to the usages of our primitive Church. The succeeding June being the time specified by the Constitution for the meeting of the Convention, it was very generally attended ; and a Bishop was, under an existing Canon of the General Convention, unanimously elected. His consecration took place in the following February, A.D. 1819. From this time a new era commenced of labour and care. The new-formed parishes were nearly all visited. Other members of our communion were sought out and found in our woods ; and considerable numbers, who had never professed any sense of religion, were disposed, by the grace of God, in the preaching of the Word and administration of the Ordinances, to forsake their sins, and join the body of the faithful. Our Clergy, this year, consisted of the Rev. Mr. Searle, in the north ; the Rev. Mr. Johnston, of Cincinnati ; the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, of Virginia, officiating, as a Missionary, a part of the time in the State ; and the Rev. Mr. J. Morse, whom in June I admitted to the Holy Order of the Priesthood ; and by these all our parishes, however distant and scattered, were to be sustained." (Bishop Chase's Letter, pp. 3—5.)

This work, however difficult, was attempted. In the following year (June 1820) the Bishop's son, Philander Chase, Jun. was ordained ; who by keeping a School enabled his father to be more extensively useful throughout the State or Diocese of Ohio.

" The labours of the past years," continues Bishop Chase, " were continued with renewed vigour through this of 1820. Cheered by the fond hope, and relying on the promises of God to his church, that he would raise up and send forth laborers into his vineyard, we went on in our exertions to sustain and keep together our infant parishes ; and, though some of them were permitted to enjoy the ministration of a clergyman but one or twice in the year, yet even that was attended with such evident blessings, as for a while to keep them from desponding." (Letter, pp. 5, 6.)

Our readers may form some idea of the overwhelming labour, connected with an infant diocese in such a country as that of the great western wilderness, by the following fact, which we quote from the Journal of the Convention of Ohio, for 1821 (pp. 13, 14.)

" In all this year," says the Bishop, " I have travelled (on horse-back) twelve hundred and seventy-nine miles ; confirmed one hundred and seventy-four persons ; baptized many adults and infants ; and have performed divine service and preached eighty-two times," besides visiting the afflicted, the sick and the dying. " In performing this

almost fatiguing duty" (he continues) "I have found my constitution impaired, and my voice, as you may now witness, almost gone."

In consequence of the view of the spiritual wants of the diocese of Ohio, contained in the report of his episcopal labours for the year 1820, the convention of that diocese requested their Bishop "to prepare and transmit to the Bishops of the respective dioceses, in the United States, an address, setting forth the great necessities of the church in the state of Ohio, and soliciting their aid and assistance in procuring missionaries therein." This address is inserted in the appendix to Bishop Chase's letter to Bishop White; it is too long to transcribe entire, but we cannot withhold the following passages of it from our readers:—

"The Map of Ohio will shew you the extent of our charge. Our extreme parishes, as those of Cincinnati and Ashtabula, are distant, each from the other, rising of three hundred miles. In other directions, their distance is not much less. On this vast surface, our settlements are thinly scattered: and, among these settlements, are mingled the members of our primitive church. Having emigrated from places where the pleasant things of our Zion were freely and in abundance ministered, they remember their past enjoyments, as hungry persons think on their former feasts of plenty. In this situation they sit, like the captive Israelites by the muddy waters of the Euphrates' stream, waiting with sighs and tears for redemption to the Church of God; for that blessed time, when the Word and Sacraments can, with any thing like constancy, be ministered among them.

"Besides innumerable individuals, dispersed throughout our state, there are forty-eight places containing our LITTLE FLOCKS, mostly in circumstances similar to the above. These I have hitherto visited once a year. I have witnessed their joy at meeting, and their grief at parting. Their passionate inquiries, prompted by their love of Zion, and especially by the danger of the rising generations being enticed every day from her order and beauty, into the paths of sin and infidelity, their passionate inquiries for some prospects of relief in the enjoyment of faithful missionaries, almost every where repeated, have sunk deep into my heart, and caused my tears to mingle with theirs.

"Our parishes and places of holding Divine Service, are mostly distant from each other from fifteen to sixty miles; and the amount of parochial services is hardly so much as of five Clergymen to support them all. Though these are faithful, I fear, beyond their strength, yet what are they among so many congregations, and at such distances? To keep from ecclesiastical extinction the little flocks already formed, they have, in many instances, encompassed so great a field of duty, that, before they have finished their circuit, their former labours are no more seen; their fences against error are thrown down; the weeds of sin are grown; and their whole ground is laid waste. Too often have I witnessed this with mine own eyes: too often have I seen the lambs of the fold devoured, because a shepherd was too far dis-

tant to hear their cries. What must be my feelings under such circumstances, the beatings of your own bosoms, as you read this, can best express.

“ In doing the duty above alluded to, I have found the labours of a missionary inseparable from those of the Episcopate ; and, to a person of my age, this assemblage of fatigue is more than can be borne. Incessant speaking in private, as well as in public, in teaching the rudiments of Christianity to the young, in explaining and defending the first principles of our religion to the ignorant opposer, have already much impaired my voice and my general health ; and, should this state of things continue, to all human view, my strength will *soon be brought down in my journey, and my days will be shortened.*

“ So circumstanced, where can I, under Divine Providence, look for aid in the arduous work assigned me, but to you, my Brethren in the Lord ? Think not, I intreat you, that I do this without due consideration ! By what is in print I am apprised of your wants among your own flocks. I see the need you have to apply your own resources at home. But WANTS as well as riches are RELATIVE. They are small or great only by comparison. A family may be in want, and charity should begin at home : but if a neighbour be dying for want of relief, who can refuse that relief, and be innocent ?

“ This, in the eyes of all reflecting persons, is our case. Our parishes and people are too dismembered and too poor to maintain qualified ministers of the word and sacraments. They have made their efforts according to their utmost ability, and they find all is insufficient. Should they be suffered to fail in the Diocese, what will remain of the church in the west ? They will soon disperse. No funds—no clergy—and soon no people. Thus, even should prosperous days return, there will be no foundation, on which to build a future superstructure.

“ Seeing so little hopes of fostering our little flocks which we had formed in the wilderness, even the clergy whom we had, some of them, began to think of removing to more flourishing regions, and leaving the rest to mourn out their days in useless efforts and hopeless solitude. But the Lord hitherto hath helped. Their faith in the expected relief, which this instrument implores, has as yet borne up their spirits. ‘ We will make this last effort,’ say we, ‘ and God of his mercy will smile upon us. This shall occupy our nightly dream and daily prayer. The fathers of our common church, the chief laborers in Christ’s vineyard, will not suffer this *rose in the west*, which God’s own right hand hath planted, to be blasted in its bud, its beauty to fade thus untimely, and its fragrance to cease from us for ever. They will, under God, send forth laborers, faithful ministers : they will incite their people to give liberally of their abundance ; and we yet shall see the prosperity of our beloved Zion.’ ” (Letter, Pp. 23—25.)

Some passages of this affecting address, having found their way into one of our Periodical Journals in 1822, naturally called forth from its conductors an expression of generous Christian sympathy ; which, having been noticed in an

American newspaper by Bishop Chase's son, and reported by him to his father, kindled a ray of hope in their almost despairing minds, and ultimately led to the determination, to visit the distant land of their fathers, where their wants in the western wilderness were thus known and pitied.

The powerful appeal, contained in the Bishop's address, enabled his son, the Rev. P. Chase, to collect 3000 dollars (upwards of 1300 of which, we rejoice to say, were from the opulent diocese of New York,) for the support of such clergymen as might be introduced to exercise their ministry in the wilds of Ohio. That sum, however, remains but little impaired, because clergymen have not been found, who are willing to encounter the fatigues and privations of ministerial labour in this land. On this subject, Bishop Chase thus speaks in his letter to the venerable Bishop White :

“ The result of this application, in a pecuniary point of view, was too favorable to be passed over in silence. With sentiments of sincere gratitude, both to God and man, we received the bounty, fully purposed to expend as little of it in the support of the clergy already in the State, and to reserve as much to defray the expences of other missionaries, whom we might induce to come among us, as possible. Accordingly, our prayers were renewed with redoubled earnestness, and through every channel, that promised success, to our eastern brethren, for some faithful laborers, to *come over and help us*. The Rev. Spencer Wall, this spring, appeared among us, and gave hopes of some assistance : but, being requested to enter on the duties of a missionary, he refused, *by reason of its excessive fatigues and labours*, and, soon after, left the diocese, to the great regret of the parishes which had indulged hopes of his ministrations.” (Letter, P. 7.)

Disappointment followed disappointment, till, of the state of affairs at the time of the last convention of Ohio, held on the 4th and 5th of June 1823, Bishop Chase draws, in the letter just cited, the following affecting picture—

“ All our clergy, residing in the State (six only in number) were present at this convention. Though cheered by God's grace, and (I hope) supported by his Spirit, we had but a gloomy prospect before us.

“ Too well was it known among us that some of our parishes had, by reason of a want of any thing like constant ministrations, become discouraged and had ceased to be : others had complained that the promises of missionaries had not been fulfilled ; that they had kept together under the benefits of lay-reading ; but that, unless some new hope could arise, they could do so not much longer.

“ Added to these complaints of the destitute laity, we had mutually to endure those of the clergy. Their labours, they alleged, were more than the human constitution could reasonably bear. Their parishes and places of preaching were so distant, their travelling in most seasons of the year so bad, and the pressing importunities to officiate so *frequent*, that not only all opportunities of study and im-

provement were cut off, but their families were suffering for things needful and necessary.

“ ‘When,’ said they, ‘shall we have that assistance from our brethren in the east, which we had hoped for ; and which our distressed condition, and the very existence of the church, as a diocese, so imperiously demand ? After so long a period has elapsed, since the affectionate and supplicant appeal was made for missionary aid, and after so many have been ordained to the ministry, is there not one found, who is willing to encounter, what we have encountered, for the glory of God in the good of the church ? If we are to wait, until the Atlantic states are all supplied with clergymen, does not the increasing state of the church there, not only bedim, but for ever extinguish the eye of hope here, that any will ever come from thence ? And, this being the case, who will supply our places when we are gone, to say nothing of the numerous parishes unsupplied ? So poor are we, in such confined and uncomfortable dwellings do the most of us reside, so scanty are our libraries, and so incessantly engaged are we in parochial and missionary duties, that we can neither assist, nor direct, nor teach the young men who apply to us for orders, though there are not a few. If the qualifications for the ministry are kept up to their present standard (and we pray that they may be ever so) by what, except a miracle, can we be supplied with clergymen ?’

“ The only answer to this question was given, by stating the imperious necessity of having an institution for the education of young men for the ministry, among those who are to be benefited by their labours.

“ But this subject is so much better stated by the Right Rev. Bishop Bowen, of South Carolina, in a letter to me, that I beg leave to refer you to it.” (Ibid, Pp. 9—12.)

Bishop Bowen thus writes :

“ It has been painful in a very great degree, to contemplate the obstacles which have seemed to impede the success of your zealous and apostolic labours in the West. I have been aware, that the chief of these was the difficulty of procuring Clergymen, suited, by their education and habits, to the peculiar nature of the service to be performed. The view, which you express, of the characteristic necessity of the case of the Church in the Western States, is not only that, in which I am disposed to acquiesce, but the same, which I have myself for some years entertained. *Your clergy must be sons of the soil.* A Mission to the Western-Ocean Islands does not more require an adaptation of character to circumstances in the ministry, than an effectual propagation of the Gospel, according to the doctrine and discipline of our church, in the Western Territories of the United States. Wales must not more of necessity have clergymen, who are WELCHMEN, than Ohio, Illinois, &c. clergymen, who, by early training and habit, are capable of assimilation to the character of their inhabitants *generally*, and of enduring the travel and exposure of their woods and hills. Do not mistake me ! I am not ignorant of the respectable degree of improvement and intelligence which obtains in your diocese. My allusion, is to the hardships, necessary to be en-

duced by ministers of the Gospel, from the scattered condition of the people, with whom, as members of our church, they may be concerned; and the yet *comparatively* rough state of much of the extensive country which must be the scene of their labours. Men, educated in other conditions of society, are scarcely in any instances capable of this. I am fully sensible, therefore, that, if you have an efficient ministry at all, it must be constituted by the education, among yourselves, of men, born and reared among you." (Letter, Appen. p. 26.)

The plan of the intended Theological Seminary, for the diocese of Ohio, is thus stated by Bishop Chase:

"A landed estate will be given us, already improved, and supplied with pure water, fuel, fruit, and some convenient buildings. From this farm will be produced the principal support of the young men in their board and comforts. That this may be done with the least expence to them, they will covenant, as they enter the school, to attend to horticulture and to the ingathering of the harvest; this, however, never as an impediment to their studies, but to supply the place of that exercise necessary for their health. In the spring and fall of the year, the accounts of the establishment will be settled, and the average expence assessed on each individual: this, it is evident, can be but small. To accustom our youth, the future servants of a beneficent Redeemer, to acts of substantial charity, and as a means of disseminating the principles of our holy religion throughout our barren region and especially among the poor and ignorant, a printing press and types will be solicited; and the young men, or some proper proportion of them, will, at convenient hours of the day, be employed in printing tracts and a periodical publication. The Institution is to be under the immediate care of the Bishop for the time being, or his substitute; assisted by two or more professors of sacred learning." (Letters. pp. 13, 14.)

The estate, alluded to in the preceding extract, is the whole property which Bishop Chase possesses in this world. After securing from it, in case of his own early death (and he is, we understand, considerably advanced in life), some assistance to his widow and the younger branches of his family, he devotes it to the advancement of that object which lies nearest to his heart,—the object of supplying faithful ministers to the flock confided to his charge. The view, which the Bishop of Ohio has given of the peculiar wants of the great Western Territory, and of the best manner of meeting them, is strikingly confirmed by the address to the Episcopal Churches of the Atlantic States, published in the Philadelphia Recorder of Oct. 4, 1823, by the Rev. Amos Baldwin, a clergyman of the diocese of New York; who had been employed by the General Missionary Society of the American Episcopal Church. We wish that we had room for the whole of this document; but we can only find space for the following extracts:—

“ Churchmen have removed from all the Atlantic States into most parts of the New States. These are sighing in their new habitations for the pleasant things of Zion which they left, and mourning over the saddening prospects of their rising families; or have lost all sensibility on the one subject most important to them, as accountable and immortal creatures, and need to be awakened from their spiritual lethargy. There is a wide field in the West, which is rapidly extending on every side, inviting culture from our hands, and promising a rich harvest, and abounding glory to Him whose blessing giveth the increase. There may be, there must be, toils and sacrifices in cultivating these new fields: but those who enter into them shall reap no little satisfaction here in witnessing the success of their labours, and glory hereafter in the presentation of the fruits of their toils before the presence of God in heaven.

“ But the inducing of a few clergymen to remove into the Western States is not the principal object of this Address. The **PLANTING** of a church in any country must be by **FOREIGN** ministers: but the **WATERING** of a church therein---its preservation and increase---must be by the labours of **DOMESTIC** ministers; men who have been brought up and educated in the country where the church exists. To this observation the most serious attention of the reader is solicited. Cast your eye over the history or present state of the church, and you will see sufficient proofs of its truth. Make the attempt to induce a certain number of clergymen to remove into the Western States, and you will perceive the necessity of **THERE BEING PROVISION MADE FOR THE EDUCATION OF YOUNG MEN RESIDENT IN THOSE STATES**, for effecting the object in contemplation---**THE EXTENSIVE FOUNDING AND LASTING PRESERVATION OF THE CHURCH THERE.**

“ Let it not be imagined that there is a feeling of hostility in the breast of the writer toward the rising Theological Establishments in the Atlantic States. There is no more ground for such an imagination, than for the supposition of hostility existing in the minds of the projectors of Literary Institutions in the West towards similar Eastern Institutions; and the interests of the church in those states as much require the founding of a theological school there, as the interests of literature demand the founding of seminaries of learning: and it could with as much truth be said, that the youth in the Western States, designed for the other learned professions, can go to the Eastern colleges, as that the youth, designed for the ministry, can go to the Eastern theological schools. Were there no seminaries of general literature in the Western States, a few gentlemen's sons would be sent to the Eastern colleges; but how, in that case, would literature languish in the West! and how few young men of those states will be prepared for the sacred ministry, if no theological seminaries shall be formed there! I am fully aware of the magnitude of the contemplated object, which I am free to avow has its origin in my own mind, and of the probable difficulties of attaining it. But neither appal my mind.”

It will be observed, that Mr. Baldwin urges the establish-

ment of a General Theological Seminary for *all* the Western States of the Union (which would require the large sum of 50,000 dollars, or £11,250 sterling to carry it into full effect) ; as that already existing at New York may serve for the Eastern States. Bishop Chase's more immediate object is a seminary for his own diocese of Ohio ; and he proposes to erect it on a spot which Mr. Baldwin considers to be the most eligible situation for a seminary even with the most extensive views. The Bishop's plan, however, will be capable of enlargement at any future time ; and it has this superior advantage, that it commences upon a scale, which is speedily practicable. As the patrimony, which the Bishop has so generously sacrificed to the welfare of the church, may be worth 5000 dollars or £1,125, the contribution of 10,000 dollars, or £2,250 more by the friends of the church, would enable him to make an auspicious commencement. In respect to the mode of instruction, best adapted to local wants, Mr. Baldwin entirely coincides with Bishop Chase ; and he has drawn the following picture of the vast field of usefulness.

“ The institution will be a perennial spring, sending out its pure fertilizing waters into every part of those lands, and making glad the cities of our God. And over how large and interesting a section of the American Empire will the waters of that healing fountain flow ! Look on the map of America, and compare the Western States—Transalpine America—with the rest of our rising empire. Observe the facilities of intercourse in the mighty rivers that wash the western parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Suppose a Theological Seminary established near Cincinnati—how great the facilities of visiting it from every part of the Western States, and some of the Southern ! How many and great would be the blessings flowing from it to the numerous people living in those extensive and fertile regions ! From Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Ohio is 800 miles ; and the Mississippi is navigated from its mouth to the Fall of St. Anthony, a distance of 2000 miles. From the Missouri also, the Arkansas, and other large rivers, on which our brethren are fixing their habitations, behold the numerous people, who will in every succeeding age receive inestimable benefits from the founding of a Theological Seminary in the West, and you will see that an Institution there will be above all price.

In order to prevent the possibility of the diversion, in any future generation, of the funds of the seminary to be established at Ohio, as well as to secure the unity of the Church as to all the intents of her constitution and canons, Bishop Chase proposes to insert in the legal act of incorporation of his Theological Institution a proviso, that on evidence of mal-application, the General Theological seminary, or the Bishops as a committee of that body, should be legally authorized to inves-

tigate and to correct abuses. We have not room to state all the circumstances, which led the convention of Ohio to request first Bishop Chase's son, the Rev. P. Chase, and afterwards, when he was incapacitated by declining health, caused by excessive ministerial labours, the Bishop himself to visit this country. Suffice it to state, that the Bishop of Connecticut, Dr. Brownell, the Bishop of the neighbouring diocese of North Carolina, Dr. Ravenscroft, who is well acquainted with the spiritual wants of Ohio, and the Bishop of South Carolina, Dr. Bowen, have expressed their decided approbation of the fatiguing journey which Bishop Chase has undertaken in visiting this country. The following extract of a letter which he addressed to the other prelates of the American Church, a few days before he quitted his home, most forcibly delineates the necessities of his diocese.

"The reasons which have impelled me to this measure are those of imperious necessity. No missionaries make their appearance; nor are there even the most distant hopes of obtaining any from the east. Those who transiently visit us, pass like meteors, leaving behind little or no salutary effect; or stay only time enough to spy out the nakedness of the land, and bear off an evil report of our wants and miseries. Had it not been so ordered that I have found here two or three, accustomed to our wants, and inured to the difficulties, necessities, and labours of a new country, who were in some due degree prepared for the ministry, and willing to enter it in a critical moment, half a dozen of our parishes would have been ere this, as many others already are, extinct.

"The few Clergy we have may keep us alive, under Providence, a little longer; but when they die or move away, we have no means to supply their places. The pious young men, converted unto God, and willing to enter into the ministry under all its disadvantages, having no hope of assistance, and no way pointed out to them whereby there is even a POSSIBILITY of attaining the lowest degree of qualifications specified by our Canons, sink down in despair—a despair, from which we have no power to raise them. We may think of the privileges at the East, of the means of education there; but this is all: they are out of our reach. Besides, if our young men were there, if we could find money in our woods, or drag it from our streams, to send and maintain them at the Eastern Seminaries, who could ensure us, that they would not be enticed by the superior offers, held out to them, to settle there, and leave us still in our wants? In short, unless we can have some little means of educating our pious young HERE, and, HERE being secure of their affections, station them in our woods and among our scattered people, to gather in and nourish our wandering lambs, we have no reason to hope in the continuance of the Church in the West.

"The Church of God is, in this respect, like the habitation of man in the settlement of every new country. Men must begin, as they have means: splendour and prosperity must be the result of previous

privations; and he, that will not for a time be content with a CABIN, shall never have a PALACE. Thus if we wait for Congregations and Churches to arise, before our well-educated Clergy can make their appearance, the country must for ever do without them. We have done so too long already; and most deleterious have been the consequences. For one, I feel disposed, by the grace of God, to mend my ways in this respect. I will endeavor to institute an humble School, to receive and prepare such materials as we have among us. These we will polish under our own eye, to the best of our power; and with these we will build the temple, humble as it may be, to the glory of God.

“Having entered on this resolution, under the guiding and directing hand of Providence, I shall make my best way to the land of our fathers—to the Church of England—to that generous people, who will not turn a deaf ear to the cries of those, who are ready to perish, especially if in them she identify her legitimate children. Thus under God being resolved, the Episcopal Church in the West will not—must not die, without a struggle. (Letter to Bishop White, Ap. pp. 29, 30.)

We feel assured, that no one, who cherishes any regard for the united Church of England and Ireland, will “turn a deaf ear to the cries of those who are ready to perish,” or withhold his benevolent aid from them;* especially when we add, that there are now twenty-eight parishes in the diocese of Ohio, besides a very great number of places, where public worship is occasionally held, and where parishes might be formed, if ministers could be obtained. How arduous the labours of the Bishop and his few clergy (only *six* in number) are, will be evident, when it is stated, that they extend over *thirty thousand square miles of newly-settled or still unsettled country*; that out of a population of nearly SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND PERSONS, (who by the census of 1820 were found to occupy the state and diocese of Ohio,) *numbers consist of our own countrymen, or their families*; and that of those, who are already brought under the charge of Bishop Chase, nearly ONE THIRD are emigrants and their families, from Great Britain, and Ireland, who cherish a fond and devout attachment to the Liturgy, Worship, and Church of ‘the land of their fathers.’

* Since this article was written, we have been informed, that Henry Hoare, Esq. is Treasurer of a fund in behalf of the Diocese of Ohio, and that contributions to the object are received at the Banking house of Messrs. Hoare, in Fleet-street.

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—	35	<i>admonitions</i>	<i>admonition.</i>	
116	15			<i>good.</i>
119	18	<i>veuxdure</i>	<i>veux dire.</i>	
—	28	<i>rapde</i>	<i>rapide.</i>	
121	45	<i>part</i>	<i>port.</i>	
—	46	<i>have been</i>	<i>be.</i>	
130	19	<i>seem</i>	<i>seemed.</i>	
—	22			
150	42	<i>lady</i>	<i>lady's.</i>	
156	2	<i>have</i>	<i>give.</i>	
247	26			<i>as.</i>
248	28	<i>judgment</i>	<i>judgment.</i>	
252	35			<i>2nd of.</i>
262	40	<i>consise</i>	<i>concise.</i>	
273	2 & 13	<i>Irvine</i>	<i>Irving.</i>	
—	31	<i>Guere</i>	<i>Guerre.</i>	
284	9	<i>avid</i>	<i>arid.</i>	
288	45	<i>gay or glad</i>	<i>glad or gloomy.</i>	
293	37			<i>that.</i>
304	15	<i>raugées</i>	<i>rangées.</i>	
306	32	<i>Ætolia</i>	<i>Ætolia.</i>	
309	16	<i>apris</i>	<i>après.</i>	
318	48	<i>the</i>	<i>some.</i>	
323	7	<i>beat</i>	<i>beaten.</i>	
328	38	<i>anti-ministeral</i>	<i>antiministerial.</i>	
—	51	<i>irresistable</i>	<i>irresistible.</i>	
374	32	<i>resting</i>	<i>vesting.</i>	
391	18	<i>shoul dperfectly</i>	<i>should perfectly.</i>	
438	36	<i>Appella</i>	<i>Apella.</i>	
454	11	<i>fovorable</i>	<i>favorable.</i>	
—	21	<i>admittted</i>	<i>admitted.</i>	



